International Relations

SINCE WORLD WAR 1

ASIT KUMAR SEN

This book was taken from the Library of Extension Services Department on the date last stamped. It is returnable within 7 days .

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SINCE WORLD WAR I

By

ASIT KUMAR SEN, M.A.,

Lecturer, Scottish Church College

and

Deshbandhu College, Calcutta

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
2940
Dept. of Extension
SERVICES
25.2.72
CALCUTTA-27

327
Sen

SECOND EDITION

1970

S. CHAND & CO.

DELHI—NEW DELHI—JULLUNDUR—LUCKNOW—BOMBAY

CALCUTTA—MADRAS—HYDERABAD—PATNA

S. CHAND & CO..
H.O. : RAM NAGAR, NEW DELHI-55

Branches:

Fountain, Delhi
Mai Hiran Gate, Jullundur
Aminabad Park, Lucknow
167, Lamington Road, Bombay
32, Ganesh Chandra Avenue, Calcutta
35, Mount Road, Madras
Sultan Bazar, Hyderabad
Exhibition Road, Patna

First Edition 1967
Second Edition 1970

Price : Rs. *13.50*

Published by S. Chand & Co., Ram Nagar, New Delhi-55 and printed at Rajendra Printers, Ram Nagar, New Delhi-55

Preface to the Second Edition

International relations is a complex subject and it is not an easy task to provide a framework within which the mass of available information may be properly adjusted. In the second edition, I have tried to revise the book thoroughly and to add uptodate information as far as possible. I must acknowledge gratitude to my friends and colleagues whose kind suggestions have helped me in my task. My intellectual debt extends to innumerable writers and authors whose books and articles I have consulted. I will consider my labour to be amply rewarded if this book proves useful for the students of international relations. I must also acknowledge with thanks the services rendered by Mr. Sant Kumar Gupta in compiling the index.

September, 1969.

ASIT KUMAR SEN

Preface to the First Edition

A book on international relations becomes outdated as soon as it goes to the press for the world around us is changing very fast. This book is a study of the complex development in the international field since World War I. One of the unique features of the world since 1919 is the ever-increasing tempo of liberation movement in the Afro-Asian countries. The liberation of millions in Asia and Africa from colonial rule has changed the face of the earth. There are several other forces including the old and new Cold War which have generated conflict and cooperation in the international field. The mysteries of the international relations, therefore, cannot be unfurled by any single factor be it power, ideology or geopolitics. The dream of

'One World' serves as the beacon while the clash of self-interest acts as the stumbling block to man's quest for peace and security.

This book is an attempt to present a history of international relations from an objective view-point and to present all the different views on the subject so that a student may know about them at a glance and form his own opinion. Yet I have not hesitated to present my own point of view whenever I found facts, values and reasons so warrant it. The view-point of the author does not flow from any bias rather from an attempt to judge world events from an Indian standpoint.

This book, it is hoped, will be of use to the students of international relations both advanced and beginners. The author feels indebted to those who rendered assistance to him in completing this work. Among the host of people whose help became indispensable for completing this work the services of my colleague Sri Pramatha Chaudhury were of immense value. Thanks are also due to Prof. Shyamal Chakravarti, Sri J. N. Bose, Sri Manik Lal Basu and Sri Tarun Krishna Sen for their cooperation. The author also feels indebted to Sri Rajendra Kumar Gupta and Sri Sunil Kumar Chakravarti of S. Chand & Co., for their kind help and cooperation. A special word of thanks is also due to Prof. Balaram Das Gupta of City College for his aid in the preparation of the present work. To my students through the years I owe a great deal and this book is an attempt to solve the numerous difficulties that they face in understanding the problems of international relations.

ASIT KUMAR SEN

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
Dept. of Extension Services
CALCUTTA-27

Introduction

We are living today in an age when mankind, for the first time in history, has acquired the power to destroy the world. In the words of Fredrick H. Hartmann—"It is a new feeling for man to live, as it were, with a bottle of nitroglycerin in every living room". This development has made 'victory' to either side in a future war pointless. We must, therefore, either accept the principle of 'co-existence' or face 'co-destruction'. For world peace and security a proper understanding of international problems is absolutely necessary.

International relations embrace all aspects of the relations between nations and states. In the twentieth century rapid development of science has brought the interest of the people living in different parts of the world nearer. International developments have become so much inter-connected, that internal developments in a single country may affect the peace of another. The civil war in Laos or Vietnam, for instance, may, at any point, develop into a clash between great powers. Not only political development but also economic interdependence has brought the people living in different parts of the world nearer. The economic prosperity of one nation depends upon the supply of raw materials by another. The interest of men living in different parts of the world has become so much identical that in the words of Mr. Wilke we are living in 'one world' and men are artificially divided and subdivided into states and nations. Therefore, the problems of world politics have assumed more importance today than they did in any other period of history. International politics, in modern times, is complicated by inter-dependence of different continents and nations and by the growing importance of the economic factors in international politics.

There are two schools of thought which advocate two different diagnosis of world events and international politics. Those who assert that the struggle for power supremacy is the decisive factor in world politics insist that ruthless exercise of power moulds all world events. The second school, however, firmly holds that ideological conflicts

like those between democracy and totalitarianism shape the course of political affairs. The first group overemphasizes the role of 'Great men' in history and ascribes all changes to a Ceasar or a Stalin. The second group, on the other hand, looks on individuals as mere expressions of forces greater than themselves. But developments in the international field follow no fixed pattern. Thus struggle for power is not the only motivating force in politics and ideological forces also play their role in shaping events. Therefore Prof. Friedmann in his book 'World Politics' has pointed out that "Ideological and power motivation are almost invariably mixed." Most international conflicts show a mixture of power politics and ideological factors, the most important among which may be enumerated as Religion, Humanitarianism, and Socialism.

Religion was the guiding factor in the politics of the Middle Ages. Today, the link between man and man has become more intimate and religious differences count for little excepting in the backward countries where people are ignorant and superstitious. Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and other religions can no longer be the dominating ideological force. Humanitarianism accepts the principle of equity and service to humanity. On this basis international organisations for peaceful co-operation and promotion of human welfare have originated. This humanitarian principle supports closer relations among men. Such international organisations as the League of Nations and the United Nations as also its specialized agencies have received support from this principle. Socialism has attracted millions for its note of optimism. The polarisation of wealth in modern industrial society, the starvation and proverbial poverty of the people of underdeveloped countries, the prospect of employment for all held out by socialism have mobilised millions under its banner. Marxian socialism interprets history as a long process of class struggle and holds out the prospect of creating a classless society by subverting capitalism through revolution. In this revolution the socialisation of the means of production and distribution is the first stage. Marxian socialism has fascinated many by its promise of inevitability.

Power politics also may assume different patterns. A state may depend entirely upon its own resources and follow a policy of unilateralism or it may conclude alliances and follow the age-old pattern of balance of power. A third alternative is the League System of Collective Security where all nations could be secure if all were guaranteed territorial integrity. There may be a fourth pattern of solving the power problem and this would mean abolition of the nation-state altogether either voluntarily or by force. The voluntary agreement

among nations to form world federation or the domination of one power over the rest, however, would not solve the power problem because there will always exist rival groups and parties even in a world government. The power patterns discussed above are not mutually exclusive and one state may follow at the same time two different patterns for two different problems.

For the peace and security of the nations and states we must seek alternative power patterns to solve the power security problem. The League of Nations created after the First World War was an attempt to solve the power problem on the basis of collective security. But the League lacked the authority and means to enforce its decisions. The weakness of the League was demonstrated when it failed to check Japan's aggression against China and Italy's aggression against Ethiopia. As Lipson says in his book 'The Great Issues of Politics'—"The League was paralyzed by the coolness between Britain and France, by the nationalistic violence of Italy and Japan, by the renewal of German aggressiveness, by the disorganisation of China, by the mutual antipathy between the Soviet Union and the non-communist world, and by the non-membership of the United States." At the end of the Second World War mankind was offered a second chance to maintain world peace by mutual agreement. The threat of atomic war and the menace of ballistic weapons has induced even great powers to support such an international organization. But from the very beginning the U.N.O. was confronted with a sea of trouble. World peace in the post-Second World War period was threatened by the development of the Cold War as a result of the split between the communist countries and the democracies. This Cold War is mainly the outcome of the mutual distrust of two 'super powers' of the post-Second World War period, viz., U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. It has led to the creation of military alliances and pacts such as NATO, SEATO and Warsaw Pact. Thus the world, today, is divided into two rival groups. Again, there has developed inside the two rival camps contradictions resulting in further complications in world politics. The Soviet Union is no longer the unrivalled leader of 'Marxland' due to the Chinese challenge, and De Gaulle's France has created a 'Third Force' in Europe defying U.S.A. leadership of the 'Free World'. But apart from these rival groups there are many neutral nations like India. Many of the newly independent States in Africa and Asia follow a policy of non-alignment with any power bloc. These Afro-Asian countries, today, are playing increasingly important role in the U.N. General Assembly. The Afro-Asian conference held at Bandung in 1955 was attended by 29 states. But the

solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries has been damaged to a large extent since 1955, chiefly due to the policy pursued by Communist China. Judged from the standpoint of potential strength and the possible future industrialization Communist China may prove ultimately a threat not only to Russian leadership of the communist world but also American leadership of the world. (See *Organski —World Politics*, p. 447).

The world, today, in spite of differences in socio-economic structure, is drawing closer together. The space age in human history achieved new laurels with man's journey to the orbit of the moon (December 27, 1968) and the first manned link up of the spaceship (January 16, 1969). On July 21, 1969 two American Lunarnauts, *viz.*, Armstrong and Aldrin touched the surface of the moon. A peaceful competition for the conquest of space, a better understanding among opposing systems of government and society, a desire to avoid co-destruction and a will to co-exist may induce man to accept the principle of live and let live.

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
Dept. of Extension SERVICES
CALCUTTA-27

Table of Contents

CHAPTER		PAGES
	Introduction ...	v—viii
1.	**The Settlement of 1919** The Consequences of War—The Peace Conference of Paris—The Basis of Peace making—The Peace Settlement—The Treaty of Versailles—Other Treaties—Summary. ...	1—20
2.	**The French Search for Security** The French System of Alliances—The Crisis in French Foreign Policy—The Policy of Appeasement—The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance—Geneva Protocol—Locarno Pact—Pact of Paris or Kellogg-Braind Pact—Summary. ...	21—43
3.	**Germany in Defeat** The German Revolution of 1918-1919—The Weimar Republic—Domestic Politics (1924-1932)—The Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic—Causes of the Downfall of the Weimar Republic and the Rise of Nazism—Summary. ...	44—61
4.	**Italy and the Rise of Fascism** Italy's dissatisfaction with the Peace Settlement of 1919—Circumstances favouring the rise of Fascism in Italy—The March on Rome—The Fascist Doctrine and Method and the Establishment of the Corporative State—The Domestic and Economic Policy of Italy under the Fascist Regime—Foreign Policy—Early Phase—The Stressa Front—The Ethiopian Question—Rome-Berlin Axis—Mussolini's Reluctance to Declare War—Summary. ...	62—90
5.	**Storm Centres of Europe** Austrian Republic—Economic Crisis of Austria—Austria's External Relations and the Question of Anschluss—The Republic of Hungary—Hungary's Problems in the Post-Versailles Era—External Relations—The Little Entente—Czechoslovakia—Internal and Foreign Policy Problems of Czechoslovakia ...	91—125

CHAPTER PAGES

—The Minority Problem—The Tragic Betrayal of Czechoslovakia—Romania—Bulgaria—The Balkan Entente—Summary.

6. **The Rise of Soviet Russia** ... 126—156

The Russian Revolution and Lenin—The Foreign and Interventionist War—Wartime Communism and the New Economic Policy—Death of Lenin—Planning for Socialism in One Country and the Five Year Plans—Considerations behind Soviet Foreign Policy—The First Phase of Soviet Foreign Policy—The Fight for Recognition (1921-1933)—Attempt at Collective Security (1933-1939)—Dangerous Collaboration (1939-1941)—Soviet Relations with the Middle East and Far-East—Summary.

7. **The League of Nations** ... 157—199

Preparations for the Formation of the League—The Covenant of the League of Nations—The League Organization and Structure—Membership and Withdrawal—The League Assembly and Council—The Secretariat—The Permanent Court of International Justice—The International Labour Organization—League Activities—The League and the Prevention of War—Procedures for Pacific settlement—Sanctions—Gaps in the League Covenant—Settlement of International Dispute—Other Activities of the League—Administration of Saar and Mandated Territories—Minorities—An Evaluation—Summary.

8. **Reparations, Inter-Allied Debts and the World Economic Crisis** ... 200—223

Reparation and its Basis—Economic and Political Implications—Reparation Commission and the Division and Fixation of Reparation—The Ruhr Occupation—The Daws Plan—The Young Plan—The Hoover Moratorium—Inter-Allied Debts—The End of the War Debts—The Economic Depression—The Spread of Dislocation—The Slum in Europe and the Crisis in Germany—Crisis in Britain—Economic Nationalism—Political Effects—Summary.

9. **Germany under Hitler** ... 224—234

Hitler's Rise to Power—The Nazification of Germany—Foreign Policy of Nazi Germany—The Repudiation of Treaties—The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis—Towards Munich—The Road to War—Summary.

10. **Great Britain and the Policy of Appeasement** ... 235—246

Principles and Problems of British Foreign Policy—Anglo-French Relations—Britain and Collective Security—Origin of Appeasement—The Fruits of Appeasement—French Appeasement—Summary.

11. **The Collapse of Collective Security and the Origin of the Second World War** ... 247—263

The Spanish Civil War—Relative Strength of the Rivals and the Attitude of Different Powers—The Role of the Non-Inter-

CHAPTER PAGES

ventionist Committee—The Victory of Franco and its Effects —Origin of World War II—Poland—Polish Politics in the Post-Versailles Era—Polish-German Relations till 1939—The Reversal of the Position—The Reversal of British Policy and President Roosevelt's Peace Appeal—The Maturing of the Crisis—Causes of World War II—The Follies of the Victors—Failure of Collective Security—Failure of Disarmament—The Policy of Appeasement and Fascist Aggression—Ideological Factor—Summary.

PART II

12. **The United Nations** ... 267—318

War-time Conferences—Origin of the U.N.—The U.N.O. and the League—The Aims, Purposes and Principles of the United Nations—The U.N. Organization—Membership—The General Assembly—Security Council—The Secretariat—The Secretary-General—Economic and Social Council—Trusteeship System—The International Court of Justice—Specialized Agencies—The Bank, the Fund, the International Labour Organization—The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—The U.N.O. as Peace Maker—Settlement of Disputes—A Peep into the Future and a Plea for Charter Revision—Summary.

13. **Cold War and Military Alliances** ... 319—340

The Origin of the 'Cold War'—What is Cold War—Different Phases of the 'Cold War'—Cold War in the Post-World War II Era—Offensive and Counter-offensive—The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan—Military Alliances—NATO, CENTO, ANZUS, SEATO—Warsaw Pact—Effects of the Cold War and Military Alliances—Summary.

14. **Europe in the Post-War World** ... 341—367

Germany in Defeat—The Federal Republic of Germany—German Rearmament—East Germany—The German Problem —France in the Post-World War II Era—French Foreign Policy—Revolt in French Colonies—The Reorientation of the French Foreign Policy under De Gaulle—Attempts at European Politicial Integration—Brussels Treaty—The Council of Europe—European Defence Community—The Western European Union—Summary.

15. **The Eastern European Countries and the Soviet Union** ... 368—383

East Europe after World War II—Soviet aims in East Europe —From Tito to Dubcek—Hungary, 1956—Role of the U.N. in Hungary—From Fucik to Svoboda—Soviet interference in Czechoslovakia and its reaction—Relations among countries of the Socialist Commonwealth.

CHAPTER PAGES

16. **The Common Market and the Commonwealth** ... 384—406

European Economic Integration—Organization for European Economic Co-operation—The Schuman Plan for Coal and Steel Community—Common Market—Object and Organization—Britain and the Common Market—The Creation of a Third Force in the Economic field—The British Commonwealth—The Commonwealth Concept—Commonwealth, World Politics and Discordant Factors—Ideological Ties—British Foreign Policy in the Post-war Era—Summary.

17. **The Middle East** ... 407—457

Arab Awakening—Arab League—Factors that Complicated Settlement in the Middle East in the Post-Versailles era—Peace Settlement with Turkey—Establishment of the Turkish Republic and Her International Relations—Straits Question—Egypt—Nationalization of Suez and the Anglo-French Invasion—The June War – Palestine—Israel since its Birth—Iran – the Oil Crisis—Other Arab States—Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq—Middle East and the Cold War—Summary.

18. **The Far East** ... 458—499

China—Revolution of 1911—The Twenty-one Demands—China and World War I—The Washington Conference—The Progress of the Revolution—Civil War and Japanese Aggression—The Second World War and After—Renewal of Civil War and Emergence of Communist China—Red China and America—Sino-Soviet Relations—Sino-Indian Relations—The Rise of Japan—Japan and World War I—Internal Politics of Japan—Japan in Manchuria—The Chinese Response and the Role of the League of Nations—The Relapse into War—Japan and World War II—Post war Japan—Korea—Summary.

19. **South-East Asia** ... 500—525

Indo-China—The Geneva Conference—Chaos in South Vietnam—American Policy in Vietnam—International Reaction—Laos—Indonesia—Indonesia and Malaysia—Burma, —Cambodia, Thailand and the Philippines—The Bandung Conference—The Neutral Nations Conferences—Summary.

20. **The Awakening of Africa** ... 526—551

A Glimpse into the Past—Factors Contributing to the Growth of Nationalism—Pan-Africanism—The African Scene after World War II—The Progress of African Liberation Movement—The Problems to be Overcome—Congo—Developments after the Death of Lumumba—Algeria—South Africa and the Policy of Apartheid—Summary.

21. **The Foreign Policy of the United States** ... 552—584

Considerations behind American Foreign Policy—Objectives and Role—The Foreign Policy of the United States between

PAGES

CHAPTER

Two World Wars—On the Eve of World War II—American Foreign Policy since 1945—The Development of Tension with the Soviet Union—Policy of Containment—The Increased Emphasis on Military Strength—New Frontiers of the United States Foreign Policy—The United States and Inter-American Relations—Pan-Americanism—The Policy of Good Neighbourliness—Latin America in the Post-World-War II Era—American Intervention in Cuba—Summary.

22. **Soviet Foreign Policy in the Post-World War II Era** ... 585—598

Nikita Khruschev Comes to Power—Alexi Kosygin, the Successor of Khruschev—Summary.

23. **India, Pakistan and Ceylon** ... 599—636

Indian Foreign Policy, Ideals and Principles—Indian Foreign Policy Record—Commonwealth Ties—Anti-colonialism—India as a Mediator—The Liberation of Foreign Enclaves—Indo-U.S. Relations—Indo-Soviet Relations—India, China and Pakistan—Indo-Pak Dispute—Pakistan—Ceylon—Summary.

24. **Disarmament** ... 637—652

Need for Disarmament—Disarmament under the League—Disarmament Outside the League—Disarmament and the United Nations—A Change in the Situation—Ten Nations Committee—Nuclear Test Ban—Non-proliferation Treaty—Summary.

Appendix 'A' ... 653—662

Covenant of the League of Nations

Appendix 'B' ... 663—685

Charter of the United Nations

Appendix 'C' ... 686—690

Tashkent Declaration and Comments

Index ... 691—697

List of Maps

		Page
1.	Europe, 1919.	... 10
2.	Chart showing the Organs of the United Nations.	... 296
3.	Berlin—a divided City.	... 324
4.	Palestine, 1948.	... 434
5.	Israel's invasion on Arab Countries, 1967.	... 428
6.	South Vietnam.	... 506
7.	Africa.	... 530

PART I

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
Dept. of Extension
SERVICES
CALCUTTA-17

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
2940
Dept. of Extension Services
25.2.72
CALCUTTA-27

Chapter 1

The Settlement of 1919

The Consequences of the First World War. The Great War of 1914 which lasted for nearly 1,565 days had far-reaching consequences. It was different from the wars that preceded it. In all previous conflicts between States, the armies of the belligerents fought and engaged themselves in the unproductive activity of organized destruction. But the First World War was the first war of its kind in which all the resources of the countries involved were mobilized. It was not merely a clash of contending armies, it was a 'Total War'. Judging from its results the price of the war was also staggering. In spite of the discrepancy in different estimates it can be safely concluded that nearly eighty lakh soldiers and many more civilians became casualties of the war. According to Langsam, "More than twice as many were killed in battle during the First World War as in all the major wars from 1790 to 1913 together, including the Napoleonic wars, the Crimean war, the Danish war of 1864, the Austro-Prussian war, the American war between States, the Franco-Prussian war, the Boer war, the Russo-Japanese war, and the Balkan wars." Equally damaging were the monetary cost of the battles and the loss in property. According to a rough calculation the cost of the war in terms of money for all the belligerents was 186 million dollars. To this may be added the damage caused by the destruction of property, the loss caused due to the sinking of ships and cargoes, and the labour and energy that has been expended for unproductive purposes. The war resulted in the economic exhaustion of Europe. In Central Europe this economic exhausion became more apparent. Mounting 'National Debt' and inflation dislocated normal economic life. Unemployment and undernourishment ate into the vitals of the economic life of the European nations. According to David Thomson—"It was this dislocation of economic life and this disruption of

world trade which proved to be the most intractable economic result of the war. The war had undermined the foundation of Europe's industrial supremacy in the world, and industrialized Europe could not thus contract out of the world's economy for four years without finding, when it wished to return, that other continents had found ways of doing without it." In Vienna alone, according to the British ambassador, nearly 83 per cent of the children suffered from under-nourishment. Economic dislocation affected Europe's 'Balance of Trade.' The United States of America became henceforth the leading industrial nation. In the Far-East the rise of Japan affected the interest of the white nations who so far had monopolised the trade with the eastern countries.

The political consequences of the First World War were far-reaching. The post-World War I epoch in Europe saw a vogue for democracy. In Germany, Austria and Russia monarchies tumbled down. But the Wilsonian dream of making the world safe for democracy was not realised. The rise of fascism in Italy and Germany was a challenge to democracy. The Bolshevik revolution of Russia was a threat for the old capitalist democracies. In 1848 Marx in his Communist Manifesto had declared that "a spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism." This became literally true when a working class government was established. Labour movement and socialist parties acquired new importance. In capitalist democracies attempts were made to ameliorate the condition of the workers by enacting welfare legislation. The League of Nations encouraged labour welfare activities through its agency, the International Labour Organisation. Democracy was attacked by another new and reactionary philosophy which Mussolini adopted in Italy and Hitler successfully applied in Germany. This reactionary doctrine is known as fascism or nazism. It was adopted from Hegelian idealism punched with ultranationalism which made every thing subordinate to the state. In Germany it was punched with racialism and the theory of the superiority of the German race as also anti-Semitism. The rise of communinst Russia and the growth of fascism in Italy and Germany created a new balance of power in Europe and outside Europe. Under the circumstances the hope for a stable peace and the prospect of the League system of collective security was completely marred. The League of Nations had created opportunities for co-operation in the international field. But the League failed to guarantee collective security due to the existence of mutual rivalries among its members and the world reverted to the age-old system of balance of power. Thus peace was demolished.

Among other events of significance, the rise of Japan in the Far-East was a challenge both to Europe and the United States. The growth of Japan's power was looked upon with suspicion by U.S.A. whose interest in the Pacific naturally prompted her to curb Japan's influence. Japan's effort in the post-war period to capture the market of China, India and South America by feeding them with her textile industry was attended with a large amount of success. The post-war pattern of trade had taken a completely new turn which was detrimental to the interest of Europe. Not only did the European states find it difficult to return to the normalcy of pre-war period, they also found new and formidable competitors in the field of international trade. The growing influence of the United States of America in world trade was an unquestionable fact in the post-war period. The U.S.A. had nearly trebled her exports in the post-war period. The United States had become a creditor country in the years following the First World War. In the post-war reconstruction of Europe and for the repayment of reparations, U.S.A. advanced loans to different European countries. The total effect of the payment of both reparation and inter-Allied war debts was the dumping of world's gold reserve into American vaults. In politics, the foreign policy of United States became insular in outlook and though the League of Nations was the creation of Wilsonian fourteen points yet the United States refused to associate itself with the League System. In the Far-East, however, the rapid rise of Japan prompted the United States Government to call other powers interested in the Pacific and Far-Eastern question to a conference at Washington in November, 1921, to discuss armament limitations and Pacific and Far-Eastern matters. This conference administered a check to Japan and restored the balance of power in the Far-East for at least ten years.

One of the chief results of World War I was the intensification of the forces of nationalism. The application of the principle of self-determination in the Peace treaties of 1919 led to the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire and the creation of many new states in Europe like Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia. In the colonial countries the post-war period saw the strengthening of the national liberation movement. In India, the Congress launched in 1921 anti-imperialist movement, in Egypt, the Wafd forced Britain to give nominal recognition to her independence in 1922, and in December, 1921 the Irish Free State secured the Dominion Status as a result of a long and bitter struggle against colonial rule, though the province of Ulster was separated from Ireland and kept under British rule. "The Great War was more

than an international conflict, it was a revolution." It gave rise to many problems to which the Peace Conference of Paris failed to find any solution. As a result within quarter of a century a Second World War was fought with disastrous effects both for the victor and the vanquished.

The Peace Conference of Paris. The Peace Conference after the First World War was held at Paris which was still reeling under the blows it received during the war. The Conference was attended by delegates from several countries including Armenia, Korea, Thailand, and Estonia. The case of Zionist Jews, Georgians, Lebanese and Livonians was ably represented before the conference together with several other host of problems with which the 58 commissions and committees grappled in their sixteen hundred meetings. Paris took the appearance of a vast caravan-sarai where men of all parts of the world came "to watch and wait for the mysterious to-morrow." Men of wealth, intellect and of commerce, representatives from under-developed countries like Kurdistan, Azerbeijan, and Hedjaz, delegates of great powers like the United States, Britain, Russia and Japan, all assembled together at Paris to observe and participate in the recasting of the political and social systems of the world. The work of the Conference was mainly accomplished under the direction of President Wilson of the United States, Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France and Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister. But though these statesmen enjoyed astounding personality and prestige, their work is largely the outcome of the conditions by which the Conference was hedged. The work of the Conference was to a large extent directed by certain inexorable facts which were beyond the control of these politcians. The limitations under which the Conference worked were many. The tremendous pressure of varied problems and demands, the various interests that worked for realising contradictory interests, the problem of accommodating the secret treaties concluded during the war were few among the host of other obstacles placed before the organisers of the Conference. Among these limitations three stand out as the foremost. The first among these was the problem of militant nationalism. The right of self-determination which President Wilson had advocated through his 'Fourteen Points' was a *de facto* recognition of the actual reality. The Czechs, the Poles, the Rumanians, and the Serbs had set up their own national governments and the Allied powers had neither the will nor the strength to impose upon them any other decision. Secondly, Germany was held responsible in European belligerent countries for the outbreak of the war and the miseries consequent upon it. Therefore public opinion in Europe by

an overwhelming majority demanded compensation of the losses suffered and redress of the wrongs committed due to German atrocities during the war. During the war, as was usual, Germans were pointed as Huns, and after the war, even if the statesmen assembled in Paris desired to offer liberal terms to Germany, they did not dare to do so, because they were already committed to a policy of retribution.

Thirdly, the venue of the Conference was wrongly selected. Paris had not yet recovered from the shock of war. The temper of Paris was hardly suitable for a balanced discussion of the terms of the peace treaties. The pleaders of a more sober policy were, therefore, placed at a great disadvantage in the inflamed atmosphere of the French capital.

But the personal element also counted much in work of the Conference. Among the leaders of the Conference President Wilson enjoyed enormous prestige. His idealism inspired him to look beyond and to strive for 'peace without victory'. His lofty outlook had made him at one time unpopular to many who were pre-occupied with the idea of vendetta. But his 'Four Principles' and his enunciation of the war aims of the allied powers had given a positive end to the senseless fighting that was going on in Europe. Even in Germany he was idealised as a symbol of disinterested morality. But the idealism of Wilson was divorced from the realities of European politics of the day about which he was ignorant. In the prior discussions Lloyd George, the British Primier, occupied a moderating position between Clemenceau, the French Premier, who negotiated expertly for security at any cost for France, and Wilson whose humane naivety was unaccompanied by experience of European affairs. David Lloyd George, the chief British representative, was committed in the general election of 1918, to a policy of reprisal towards Germany. The chief slogan of the British Liberal party of which he was the head was, "Make Germany Pay". He was the most important personality in the conference due to his wit, humour and cleverness in finding the weak points in an adversary's argument. The French delegation to the Paris Peace Conference was led by George Clemenceau who was sceptical and cynical about everything. But he was probably the ablest diplomat in the conference because of his thorough knowledge of world affairs. Though he was critical about both the British Premier and the American President and once remarked that "Lloyd George believes himself to be Napoleon, but President Wilson believes himself to be Christ", yet he was prudent enough to pay outward respect to American ideals and British aspirations. He never lost sight of the French goal for security at any cost to Germany. Among other delegates mention must be made of

the "learned, eloquent, and artful" Premier of Italy, Vittorio Orlando, who when asked to opine about the League said, "yes, we believe in the League, but we want the question of Fiume settled first." From the very beginning the Conference made a distinction between the "belligerent powers with general interest" which included only the Big Five, *i.e.*, the U.S.A., U.K., France, Italy and Japan and other belligerent States. The big five made all preliminary arrangements for the conduct of the Conference. The work of the conference was so varied and the agenda so long that the conduct of affairs was divided into two bodies, the Council of Five (Foreign Ministers of the Big Five) and the Council of Four, consisting of President Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando. Japan soon lost interest and stayed away from April, 1918. Orlando also left the Conference to attend matters at home. He was offended because "Wilson addressed an appeal to the Italian people over his head." As a result, "Most important decisions were henceforth taken avowedly, as they had previously been taken substantially, by the famous 'big three' upon whose personal attitudes much of the outcome of the Conference ultimately depended."

The Basis of Peace Making. The basis of peace making at the end of the war was already laid down by the declared war aims of the U.S.A. as embodied in the speech of President Wilson to the Congress on the eve of entering the First World War (April 2, 1912). President Wilson was in favour of a 'peace without victory' and he urged the Congress to declare war against Germany to make the world 'safe for democracy' and champion 'The Rights of Mankind'. In his address to the Congress on January 8, 1918, the American President enunciated the basis of the future peace. This is the famous Fourteen Points. In his subsequent addresses and speeches he laid the basis of formal peace

The Fourteen Points were as follows:—

(1) "Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

(2) "Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas" in peace and in war.

(3) "The removal, so far as possible, of all the economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace."

(4) "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

(5) "A free, open-minded absolutely impartial adjustment of all

colonial claims" based upon "the interests of the populations concerned which must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined."

(6) "The evacuation of all Russian territory."

(7) "Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations."

(8) "All French territory should be freed and the invaded portion restored, the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine...should be righted."

(9) "Readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be affected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality."

(10) "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

(11) "Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated," occupied territories restored. "Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined along historically established lines of allegience and nationality." The several Balkan states should be assured of international guarantee of their political and economic independence and territorial integrity.

(12) "The Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire should be guaranteed sovereignty, but the nationalities under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development and the Dardanelles should be opened" to all the nations.

(13) "An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea."

(14) "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small state alike."

The speech of January 8, was the most outstanding of Wilson's pronouncements but it was followed a month later by another speech (February 11) in which the President laid down "Four Principles"; on July 4, one setting forth "Four Ends"; and lastly one stating "Five Particulars" on September 27. "Thus there were at least twenty-seven points or items in the president's programme for peace, which he asserted, was America's programme." The Four Principles succinctly stated included the principle firstly of an assurance to meet out essen-

tial justice to each particular case provided such adjustments contribute to a permanent peace. Secondly, a guarantee not to barter sovereign rights of the people for power politics and balance of power. Thirdly, as a corollary to the second principle to make all territorial adjustments in the interest of the populations concerned. Fourthly, to satisfy national aspirations without introducing elements of discord likely to disturb the peace in future.

The Four Ends of the 4th July briefly stated was a warning against unprovoked aggression and a guarantee of collective security to all nations which should be guided in their conduct towards each other by 'a natural mutual respect for right.' This declaration reiterated the demand stated in the 'Fourteen Points' of establishing an international body for the mutual adjustment of dispute between nations.

The Five Particulars of 27th September held out the promise of impartial justice to all, refused to promote the special interest of any single nation in any part of the settlement and forbade any grouping or alliance except under the aegis of the League of Nations. The five particulars denied the right of forming 'economic boycott or exclusion.' The last mentioned right was vested in the League itself as a means of dscipline and control. Lastly, the five particulars forbade secret agreement or combination of any kind.

Some of the principles stated above were, in the words of Hazen, "quite precise but some quite vague. Some appeared to conflict with others and some were, by November, 1918, no longer relevant to the situation, so rapidly had events moved in that memorable year. But however uncertain and sketchy they were in some respects, they had been accepted as the basis of negotiation by both sides, neither of which was any too confident as to what they meant for points apparently precise were seen on examination, to be susceptible of different interpretatoins."

The Peace Settlement. The First World War which started on July 28, with the declaration of war by Austria against Serbia lasted up to November 11, 1918 when the allied powers agreed to an armistice with Germany. The Peace Settlement took five more years to be finalised. In the Peace Conference at Paris five treaties were concluded, viz., the Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919) with Germany; the Treaty of St. Germain (September 10) with Austria; the Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (November 27); the Treaty of Trianon (June 4, 1920) with Hungary; and the Treaty of Sevres (August 10, 1920) with Turkey. The last treaty was revised in the Conference held at Lausanne in the year 1923 and peace was not established formally

throughout the world until the Treaty of Lausanne came into force on August 6, 1924.

The Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty of Versailles is a voluminous document containing 440 articles. Major terms of the Treaty may be broadly classified into the following divisions:—

1. *Territorial Losses of Germany*—The territorial losses of Germany included cession by Germany of Alsace-Lorraine to France; Eupen-Malamidy to Belgium; West Prussia, Posen and, after a plebiscite, part of industrial Upper Silesia to Poland—thus creating the corridor. Danzig was declared a 'free city' and placed under the control of the League of Nations. The plebiscite in Upper Silesia had gone in favour of a complete merger with Germany but due to French insistence the League Council partitioned Silesia leaving more than half of the area and population to Germany but granting the industrial area to Poland. Germany also ceded a part of northern Schleswig after a plebiscite to Denmark. The Allied powers had occupied the port of Momel during the war and in 1923, a Lithuanian force seized it. In 1924 it was formally handed over to Lithuania by a convention signed under the auspices of the League.

Germany had to renounce all her overseas possessions and colonies as Mandated territories of the League of Nations, the 'Covenant' of which formed the first section of the treaty. These overseas possessions of Germany were later distributed among the victorious powers including Great Britain, France, Belgium, Japan, the Union of South Africa, Australia and New Zealand as mandates of the League. Thus Japan occupied the German colony of Kiachow and Shantung in China. Germany had to renounce all her special rights and privileges in China, Thailand and the Middle East. New Zealand occupied the German colony of Samoa and Australia received all the former German possessions in the Pacific area. South Africa secured the possession of South-West Africa, and Britain East Africa as a mandate from the League. Thus Germany lost nearly ninety lakh square mile area of her overseas possessions to the principal Allied and Associated powers.

2. *Military Provisions and Safeguards*—The Rhine was demilitarized for 50 k.m. east of the river. It was to be occupied for up to 15 years. British troops evacuated it in 1926 and the French in 1930. Germany was allowed a voluntary army of one lakh soldiers without modern equipment and a small navy and merchant marine. The German navy was restricted to 6 battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. The fortifications of the Heligoland were dismantled. The Saar was internationalized with a provision for

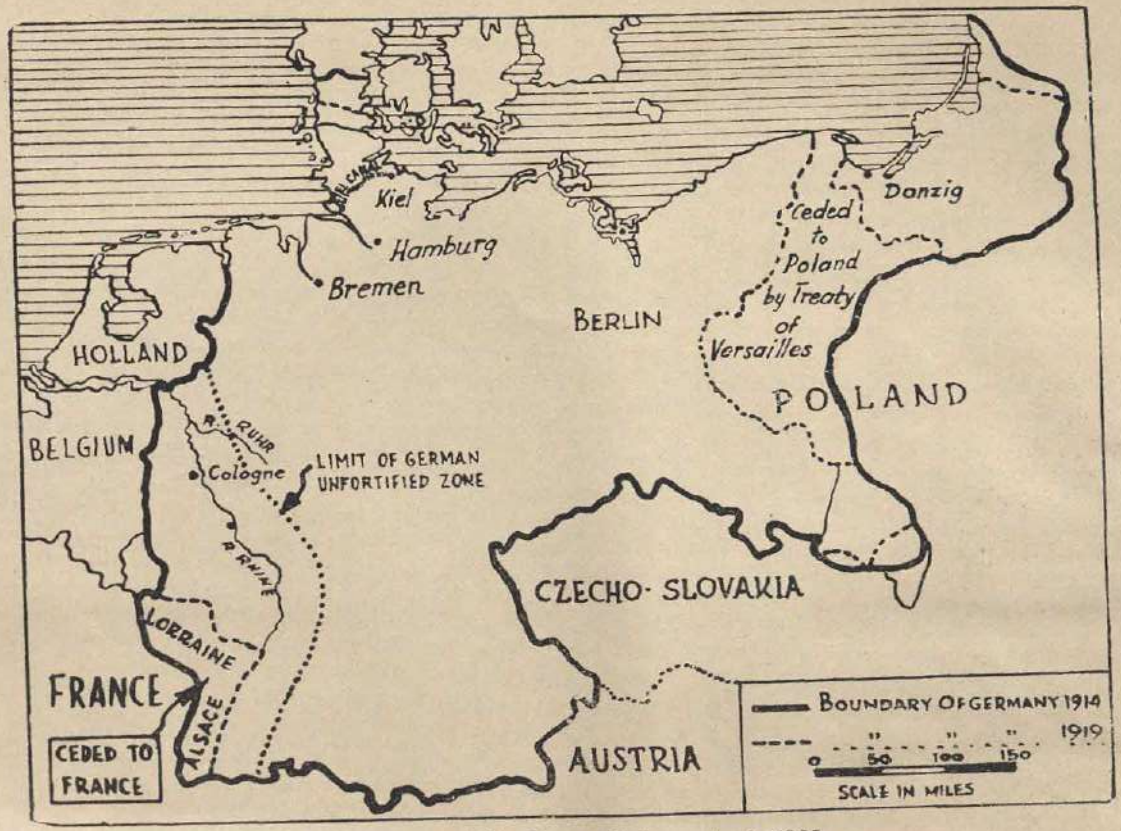
a plebiscite after 15 years (resulting in favour of its reincorporation in Germany). France was allowed to administer the zone and to use its coal-fields. The manufacture of arms and ammunitions was limited and Germany was deprived of the right of possessing any air force. An Allied Commission was appointed to supervise the execution of the disarmament clause.

3. *War-guilt Clause*—The 'war-guilt' clause imposed on Germany and her allies responsibility for all allied loss and damage. Kaiser William II, 'formerly German Emperor', was accused 'for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties.' But as he had taken shelter in Netherlands which refused to extradite him, he could not be brought to trial. Only some dozen 'war criminals' were put to trial at Leipzig and they escaped with minor punishments.

4. *Economic Strings of the Treaty of Versailles*—As the 'war guilt' clause imposed upon Germany the responsibility for the loss and damage caused during the war, naturally Germany was asked to pay compensation to 'Allied and Associated Governments.' Article 232 required Germany "to make compensation for all damages done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated powers and their property." The discussions on reparation revealed wide divergence between the protagonists of harsh view like W.M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia and those who together with Mr. Keynes held sober opinion. Ultimately the question of the size of reparation was referred to a commission which in 1921 fixed the economically impossible sum of six thousand and six hundred million pounds. This amount was successively scaled down; when finally abolished in the year 1932, Germany had paid about a thousand million pounds.

The Reparation Commission consisted of representatives of U.S.A., U.K., France, Italy and one from either Japan, Belgium or Yugoslavia, according to the claims to be considered. It was authorised to make Germany pay part of the reparation in the form of specified commodities. Thus France, Belgium and Luxemburg received large amount of coal annually from Germany. France also received tons of benzol, coal-tar and sulphate.

5. *Political and Other Miscellaneous Clauses*—The Treaty of Versailles recognized the independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia and forbade Germany to revive her custom union with Austria (Anschluss). The Treaty of Versailles required Germany to abrogate the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk which she had concluded with the Soviet Union. The remainder of the Treaty disposed of the question of international financial matter disturbed by the war, *viz.*, property rights,



Europe After The Peace Setlement of 1919

judgements and other miscellaneous matters. The Kiel canal was declared 'free and open' to merchant marine of all countries at peace with Germany. The Elbe, Oder, Nieman and Danube were also 'declared international'. Finally the Treaty of Versailles which was ostensibly based upon 'Fourteen Points' of President Wilson provided for the creation of a League of Nations with the primary object of maintaining international peace. The Treaty also provided for an international labour organisation and of a mandatory system of government for the overseas possessions to be ceded by Germany.

A Critical Estimate of the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty of Versailles was ostensibly based on the principles enunciated by President Wilson. The creation of the League of Nations was largely due to Wilsonian idealism. But in many other respects the Treaty was a departure from the idealism preached by the American President. "The treaty involved the loss by Germany in Europe of more than 25,000 square miles of territory and nearly seven million inhabitants." Germany lost a population of nearly 70 lakhs, 15.5 per cent of arable land, 12 per cent of her livestock and nearly 10 per cent of her manufacturing establishments. Germany also suffered from the loss of two-fifths of her coal reserve, two-thirds of her iron ore and much of her other natural resources which dislocated her industry, trade and commerce. In addition to her losses during the war she had to pay reparation charges. The reparation demand was at first fixed at the almost impossible sum of £6,600 m. All German overseas possessions were ceded as 'Mandated Territories of the League' and the victorious powers distributed it among themselves. Thus in the provisions of the Treaty deliberate attempt was made to impose terms and conditions to cripple Germany economically and militarily. The rich coal-fields of the Saar area were taken away from Germany and placed under French administration for 15 years. The Rhine was demilitarized. Germany was allowed only a small navy and the German voluntary army of nearly a lakh of soldiers was less than the army of Belgium. Riker has rightly pointed out that "No great nation like Germany can submit indefinitely to discrimination in the matter of armament and other things." The Treaty of Versailles had an element of dictation in it. Professedly the clauses of the Treaty were drafted according to the principles enunciated by the Fourteen Points. But it was in reality a peace imposed by the victors on the vanquished. Throughout the Conference the German representatives were not consulted even for once. The German objections to the various clauses of the Treaty were overruled. The German delegates during the ceremony of signature were brought to the 'Hall of Mirror'

under escorts like criminals. The Allied and Associated Powers were exasperated by the objections raised by the German delegation to the Treaty in a memorandum of 443 pages. Lloyd George expressed their sentiment when he said, "These terms are written in the blood of fallen heroes." But the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were no doubt harsh. E. H. Carr has rightly pointed out that "Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end, is in one sense a dictated peace; for a defeated power seldom accepts willingly the consequences of its defeat. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times." The exponents of the Treaty point out that Germany had no right to call the Treaty of Versailles as an unjust peace. As a victorious power Germany had treated Russia and Rumania most harshly in the treaties of Brest-Litvosk and Bucharest respectively. Therefore she had no right to appeal to the principles stated in the Fourteen Points. But to the words of David Thomson, "They had been formulated in January, 1918 before the treaty of Brest-Litvosk had shown Germany's conception of treaty making and before the meaning of the Bolshevik Revolution had become apparent."

The servitudes imposed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles were, however, ultimately relaxed. This is all the more apparent from the fact that when the Reparation payment was finally abolished in the year 1932 about one thousand million pounds had been paid but Germany had received loans of about three thousand million pounds. The Rhine area was evacuated by the British troops in 1926 and the French in 1930. Only a few less important war criminals were brought to trial and they too escaped with minor punishments.

The Treaty of Versailles, it must be remembered was the resul of a compromise of Wilsonian idealism with the exigencies of the victorious powers. It was owing to the insistence of President Wilson that the Treaty provided for the creation of the League of Nations. The Treaty was ostensibly based on certain general principles enunciated by President Wilson, the most famous among which was the 'Fourteen Points'. Germany also accepted these principles as the basis of the settlement before the armistice. But a comparison between the Treaty of Versailles and the text of the 'Fourteen Points' and other statements of principles issued by Wilson before the end of the war would reveal much discrepancy. This was due largely to the fact the leaders of the peace Conference including Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Orlando and others made the age-old theory of balance of power their guiding principle. They only paid a lip service to Wilsonian idealism. In the words of David Thomson, "The international situation that

confronted the peace makers in Paris was, in the brutal realities of history, the result of a temporary redistribution of the balance of power in the world"....

The leaders of the Conference desired "to make a settlement with Germany which, so far as they could contrive, would perpetuate a distribution of power in Europe which was unfavourable to German resurgence as an aggressive military state. They also had to redraw the map of central and eastern Europe, in a way which replaced the old dynastic frontiers, based on realities of national grouping, of economic viability, and of military security." Again the fear of Russian communism and the greed for colony were ever present in the minds of the peace makers of Paris. The whole settlement of 1919 was influenced, therefore, by the need for a new balance of power, the fear of Bolshevism and the greed for colony. The critics of the Treaty of Versailles have pointed out that it was in many respects a violation of the Fourteen Points. Article thirteenth, for instance, stated that "An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish population."...But in reality the territories ceded, by Germany to Poland, included many German nationals. This became all the more glaring when the plebiscite in Upper Silesia went in favour of Germany and yet she was forced to cede a part of industrial Upper Silesia to Poland. Germany's right of self-determination was denied by the Allied powers, when Germany's union with Austria (Anschluss) was forbidden. The Fourteen Points also promised "A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims" (Art. 5). The taking away of all German overseas possessions was a direct violation of the principle stated above. Wilson's idealism came into sharp conflict with materialism at the Conference and in most cases the latter triumphed. Several considerations led the Allied and Associated powers to modify the programme of Wilson. The principle of self-determination, if carried to its logical conclusion, would have meant "systematic transplanting of minorities to different sides of the frontier." The ban on Austro-German union was the outcome of a mortal fear of the resurgence of German militarism. It was done in the interest of 'Permanent Peace'. The Fourteen points and other principles enunciated by President Wilson revealed many contradictions. To assure Poland 'a free and secure access to the sea', for instance, was impossible without violating the right of self-determination of the German people. The application of self-determination in some cases again, would have led to the repudiation of the principle that "each part of the final settlement must be based on the essential justice of that particular

case." Though the Wilsonion principle revealed many discrepancies yet its violation created much discontent and laid the seeds for future trouble.

The Treaty as the Seed of Another War. The dissatisfaction caused by the Treaty of Versailles sowed, according to some, the seeds of a second world war. The violation of Germany's right of self-determination and the suffering caused due to the harsh treatment that she received at the hands of the Allied and Associated powers created a psychology of revenue. But according to some other critics the causes of a second world war should not be searched in the negligence of the Wilsonian principle but in its misapplication. Gauthorne Hardy remarks that "It was the other or nationalist side of the treaties which contained the seeds of future trouble." The complete reshaping of the political map of Europe at the instance of President Wilson created confusion and laid the germs for another war. This argument loses much of its significance when we remember that the right of self-determination was applied only in a limited way and was denied to Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles was "harsh in the wrong places and lenient in the wrong ways." The inclusion of the 'war guilt' clause and the attempt to impose upon Germany the responsibility of the war served to create the impression upon German mind that it was an unjust treaty imposed by the victors. The astronomical figure of reparation (£6,600 m.) fixed in 1921 was unrealistic. It was impossible for Germany to pay or the Allies to receive such a huge sum and it was scaled down later on. But the harshness of the original terms of the Treaty served to embitter German national sentiment. The Treaty was lenient in wrong ways because the material securities taken against Germany were light. The 15-year occupation of Rhine and its ultimate return to Germany and the 15-year administration of the Saar proved unavailing to check the resurgence of German militarism. Again, Germany was able to condemn or repudiate most of the provisions of the Treaty which she disliked. She was helped in this by the policy of appeasement pursued by Britain and France. Thus by 1932 the reparation payments ceased altogether. Germany by this time had paid only one thousand million pounds to the Allied and Associated powers but received three thousand million pounds as loan. With the rise of Hitler German militarism was revived. In 1936 Germany flouted the Rhineland provision and in 1938 the clause prohibiting Anschluss with Austria. Thus by different stages Germany in league with Italy and Japan dragged the world towards an-

other catastrophe till her attack on Poland led to the actual outbreak of the Second World War.

Thus the Treaty of Versailles failed to secure a permanent peace. "This was not to either an excess of realism or lack of idealism, but rather due to misapplication of both." The peace established by the Treaty proved temporary not so much due to any inherent fault in the Treaty itself but largely owing to the subsequent policy pursued by the Allied powers and Germany.

Other Treaties. The Treaty of Saint Germain concluded with Austria was modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty recognized the independence of Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia. Parts of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire—Bohemia, Moravia and Austria—constituted the new state of Czechoslovakia. Serbia together with Slavonia and Croatia constituted the state of Yugoslavia and was given Bosania, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia. Austria ceded to Italy Trentino, Trieste, Istria and Tyrol up to the strategic frontier of the Brenner Pass and to Rumania Bukovina. Austria's union with Germany was forbidden. Her army was limited to a volunteer army of thirty thousand and her navy to a few police boats on the Danube. She was accorded the access to the Adriatic Sea across the territories that formerly formed part of the Habsburg domain. Austria gave a 'blank reparation cheque' and conceded the right of the Allies to try Austrian war criminals. But Austria's economic plight was intensified after the war due to the loss of industrial Bohemia and agriculturally rich Hungary. The Allied Powers repudiated all claims of reparation from Austria in 1921 and the Reparation Commission appointed to realise compensation for war damages was turned into a relief organisation. France, Britain and Czechoslovakia arranged for Austrian loans to help her tide over the economic crisis and to save her from Bolshevism as also from Anschluss. Austria lost more than half of the former Habsburg dominion by this treaty.

Peace was concluded with Hungary separately by the Treaty of Trianon. Hungary received even harsher treatment. The ancient Magyar kingdom was dissolved into its ethnic components. Rumania received Transylvania and some other territories including a part of Banat of Temesvar. Hungary ceded to Yugoslavia Crotia and Slavonia, and Slovakia to Czechoslovakia. Thus nearly 3 million of Magyars were placed under foreign rule. Hungarian army was reduced to a police force of 35 thousand and her navy to a few patrol boats. Hungary was asked to pay reparation for she, too, was made responsible for war damages through the 'war guilt' clauses. The Treaty of Neuilly signed in November 1919 concluded peace with Bulgaria. Her losses

in the Treaty were almost as severe as that of Hungary. But the Treaty of Neuilly merely confirmed Bulgaria's losses in the Second Balkan War of 1913. Bulgaria ceded to Yugoslavia a portion of western Bulgaria and western Thrace and the Aegean coast to Greece. She was, however, promised access to Aegean coast. She was allowed to retain an army of nearly thirty-three thousand and her navy was all but abolished. In addition she had to accept reparation obligations. Bulgaria's total losses were comparatively small and her main new loss in 1919 was Macedonia. Few refugees from Macedonia fled to Bulgaria and formed a revolutionary organisation which occasionally raided Yugoslav and Greek territories.

The Treaty of Sevres was imposed upon Turkey on August 10, 1920. But this treaty never came into effect due to the successful opposition staged by the nationalist party under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Treaty of Sevres was modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. In this treaty Turkey lost all her rights in Egypt, the Sudan, Cyprus, Tripolitania, Morocco and Tunisia. Turkey also renounced her rights over Arabia, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Syria. Turkey ceded Smyrna and south western Asia Minor to be temporarily administered by Greece which power also occupied portion of Turkish land in the Aegean and eastern Thrace. Rhodes and the Dodecanes were ceded to Italy. Turkey was allowed to retain Constantinople but "the zone of straits was demilitarized and internationalized." France received Syria and England Palestine and Iraq as mandates from the League. Turkey retained only a fraction of her former territories including central Anatolia. She was, however, exempted from reparation payment. But this Treaty never came into force owing to Kemal's vigorous opposition. The Turkish nationalists had organized a provisional government at Angora and in the National Pact (Jan., 1920) published by the nationalists who demanded the whole of Asia Minor and Thrace for Turkey. The Greeks had in the meanwhile occupied Smyrna but the nationalists liberated it in September, 1922. They deposed Sultan Muhammad VI (November 1, 1922) and abolished the Caliphate. France and Italy concluded separate peace with Turkey and England also had to agree to cease hostility against Turkey. The way was thus paved for the Congress of Lausanne between Nationalist Turkey and the Allied powers. The outcome of this conference was the Treaty of Lausanne signed on July 24, 1923. By this treaty Turkey agreed to renounce her claim to all Arab territories and her indisputable right over Constantinople, Smyrna and Eastern Thrace was accepted.[1]

1. For details see Chapter XVI.

The penalties, reparation and disarmament clauses imposed in the Treaty of Sevres were abolished and Turkey became independent in the economic sphere. Turkey achieved virtually all that she had demanded in the National Pact.

The boundary adjustment carried out by the different treaties had created the problem of national minorities. It was essential to protect the interests—racial, religious, social, linguistic and economic—of the numerous national minorities. The Peace Conference, therefore, appointed a Committee which recommended a course that would avoid giving so much autonomy to minorities as to constitute them "a state within states", but at the same time provide protection for them, so that their position might not become precarious. Guarantees for the protection of their political rights, religious freedom, provision of schools and the use of their language were included in the treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. Poland, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia were required to sign special treaties regarding minorities. The supervision over the rights of the minorities was left to the League.

SUMMARY

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR

First World War was different from all other previous conflicts because it was a 'Total War' and not merely a clash of contending parties. The total sacrifice in men and material during the conflict was also staggering. Nearly 80 lakh combatants and many more civilians became casualties of the war. In terms of money the total cost of all the belligerents was nearly 186 billion dollars. Inflation and unemployment, undernourishment and trade dislocation was the outcome of the war.

The political consequences of the First World War were no less far-reaching. Monarchies tumbled in Austria, Germany and Russia. The rise of Fascism in Italy and Germany and the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia was a challenge to old capitalist democracies. Among other events of significance the rise of Japan in the Far East was a challenge both to Europe and the United States. Another factor of far-reaching consequence was the growing influence of the United States in world trade. Moreover, the U.S.A. became a creditor country and advanced loans to war-ravaged Europe. The total effect of the repayment of reparation and Allied war debts was the dumping of world's gold reserve into American vaults. America followed an isolationist policy. In Far East, however, she called the Washington Conference in 1921 to administer check on Japanese expansion. This Conference restored the balance of power in the Far East for at least 10 years. Among other results of the war mention should be made of the rise of the new national states such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, etc., and the strengthening of the national liberation movement in colonial countries. In 1921 the Indian National Congress launched the 'Non-cooperation Movement' under Gandhiji's leadership.

In the same year the Irish Free State achieved Dominion Status and in the next year Egypt secured nominal independence from Britain.

The Peace Conference of Paris. Delegates from different parts of the world assembled "to watch and wait for the mysterious tomorrow." But the direction of affairs was mainly in the hands of President Wilson of U.S.A., Clemenceau of France and Lloyd George of U.K. But the leaders were hedged by certain preconditions. Firstly, militant nationalism forced the Allied leaders to grant self-determination to many nations. Secondly, the sense of vendetta created during the war prevented any possibility of offering liberal terms to Germany. Thirdly, the temper of Paris still reeling from the shock of the war was hardly suitable for a balanced judgment. But personal element also counted much. President Wilson was in favour of a 'peace without victory' but his idealism was divorced from realities of European politics. Lloyd George occupied a moderating position but he too was pledged to 'make Germany pay' for war ravages. The French Premier negotiated expertly for security at any cost for France. Among other delegates mention may be made of Orlando, the 'learned, eloquent and artful' Premier of Italy.

The Basis of Peace Making. President Wilson had laid the basis of peace making in his several declarations, the most famous among which were the 'Fourteen Points'. The Fourteen Points provided for (1) Open covenants and not secret treaties should be the basis of peace making, (2) Guarantee of freedom of seas, (3) Equality in trade, (4) Reduction of armaments, (5) Impartial adjustment of colonial claims based upon the interest of the populations concerned, (6) Evacuation of Russian territories, (7) Evacuation and restoration of Belgian territories, (8) Restoration of French territories including Alsace-Lorraine, (9) Readjustment of Italian frontier, (10) Autonomous development of the peoples of Austria-Hungary, (11) Guarantee of freedom to the Balkan states including Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro, (12) Guarantee of the sovereignty of Turkey and the autonomous development of the nationalities of the former Ottoman Empire, (13) A free Poland with access to the sea, (14) Formation of a general association of nations for collective security.

The Peace Settlement. In the Peace Conference at Paris 5 treaties were concluded, viz., the Treaty of Versailles with Germany (June 28, 1919); the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria (September 10); the Treaty of Neuilly (November 27) with Bulgaria; the Treaty of Trianon (June 4, 1920) with Hungary; and the Treaty of Sevres (August 10, 1920) with Turkey. The last treaty was revised by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

Major terms of the Treaty of Versailles included cessation by Germany of Alsace-Lorraine to France; Eupen-Malmedy to Belgium; West Prussia, Posen and part of Upper Silesia (after a plebiscite which went in favour of Germany) to Poland; part of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. German colonies were distributed to the victorious powers as Mandated territories of the League of Nations. The League 'Covenant' formed a part of the Treaty of Versailles. Germany had to accept the demilitarization of the Rhine area for 50 km. east of the river for 15 years.

The Saar area was internationalized (a plebiscite after 15 years resulted in its union with Germany). France was authorized to administer the

area and use its coalfields. Germany's Anchluss (union) with the Austrian republic was forbidden. German army was reduced to less than the Belgium armed forces. Germany was allowed to keep a volunteer army of 100,000 soldiers without modern equipment and a small navy and merchant marine. The Treaty of Versailles imposed the responsibility of war damages upon Germany. The 'war-guilt' clause included among others Kaiser William II as war criminal. Germany was asked to pay reparation charges for Allied losses and damages. A Reparation Commission fixed in 1921 the economically impossible sum of six thousand and six hundred million pound. But this amount was ultimately scaled down. Germany actually paid one thousand pound and in the meanwhile received three thousand million pound as foreign loan.

A Critical Estimate of the Treaty of Versailles. For Germany the Treaty involved a loss of nearly 70 lakhs in population figure; 15 per cent of arable land and 12 per cent of her livestock. In addition to her losses in war and in the peace Germany had to pay heavy reparation charges. It was in fact a treaty imposed by the victors upon the vanquished. It was a 'dictated peace' and its harshness has been justified by the fact that Germany as a victorious power had imposed harsher terms on Romania and Russia in the Treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovosk respectively.

But the Treaty was ostensibly based upon Wilsonian idealism. It was due to President Wilson's insistence that the Treaty provided for the creation of the League of Nations. But a comparison between the Treaty of Versailles and the text of the 'Fourteen Points' and other statements of principles issued by Wilson before the end of war would reveal much discrepancy. Firstly, the other leaders of the conference desired to remould the map of Europe according to the age-old theory of balance of power. Secondly, the fear of Boishevism and the greed for colony was ever present in the minds of the peace-makers. Thirdly, the principle of self-determination was violated when many German nationals were included in Poland and other states. The dissatisfaction caused by the harshness of the Treaty of Versailles and the violation of Wilsonian principle laid the seed for a Second World War. According to some critics it was not the violation of the principles enunciated by Wilson rather its misapplication which laid the seed for future trouble. The Treaty was "harsh in the wrong places and lenient in the wrong ways." The 'war-guilt' clause and the imposition of reparation and other economic and military clauses failed to check the revival of German militarism under Hitler. The Treaty failed to secure a permanent peace. "This was not due to either an excess of realism or lack of idealism, but rather due to a misapplication of both."

Other Treaties. The Treaty of St. Germain concluded with Austria was modelled on the Treaty of Versailles. This treaty recognized the independence of Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia and the newly constituted State of Czechoslovakia. Austria ceded to Italy, Trentino, Trieste and Tyrol and to Rumania Bukovania. Her union with Germany was forbidden, she was asked to pay heavy reparation charges, and her army was reduced to a police force. But her economic crisis became so acute that all demand for reparation had to be repudiated and the commission appointed for realising reparation was soon turned into a relief organi-

zation. Peace was concluded with Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon. Hungary ceded Transylvania to Rumania, Crotia to Yugoslavia, Slavonia and Slovakia to Czechoslovakia and it meant the inclusion of 3 m. Magyars under foreign rule. She was asked to pay heavy reparation charges and allowed to retain an army of 35 thousand men. The Treaty of Neuilly merely confirmed Bulgaria's losses in the second Balkan war of 1913. Bulgaria ceded a portion of West Bulgaria and West Thrace to Yugoslavia and Greece respectively. She was allowed to retain an army of thirty-three thousand and asked to pay reparation. The Treaty of Sevres imposed upon Turkey never came into force due to the opposition of the nationalists under Kemal Pasha. This treaty had allowed Turkey to retain only a portion of her territory including Anatolia. The provisional nationalist government established by Kemal Pasha at Angora demanded Asia Minor and Thrace for Turkey. The Greeks had in the meanwhile occupied Smyrna but the nationalists liberated it in September, 1922. They deposed the Sultan Muhammad VI (November 1922) and abolished the caliphate. The Allied Powers met the demand of the nationalist government by a separate peace treaty called the Treaty of Lausanne. By this treaty Turkey agreed to renounce her claims to all Arab territories and her indisputable right over Constantinople, Smyrna and Eastern Thrace was accepted. The punishment imposed in the previous treaty were unjust. The penalties imposed in the previous treaty were abolished. The Peace Conference appointed a committee for providing ways and means for the protection of minorities. It recommended provisions for the protection of the political, social and religious rights of the minorities and these provisions were included in the treaties concluded with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. Poland, Rumania, Greece, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia signed special treaties regarding minorities. The supervision over the rights of minorities was left to the League.

FOR FURTHER READING

1. Carr, E. H. : The Twenty Years' Crisis.
2. Churchill, W. S. : The World Crisis 1911–1928.
3. Hardy, G. M. Gathorne : A Short History of International Affairs.
4. Keynes, J. M. : The Econmic Consequences of the Peace.
5. Langsome, W. C. : The World Since 1919.
6. Nicholson, H. : Peace Making 1919.
7. Seton Watson, R. W. : Britain and the Dictators.
8. Sharp, W. R. and Kirk, Grayson : Contemporary International Politics.
9. Temperly, H. W. V. (Ed.) : A History of the Peace Conference of Paris.
10. Ward, A. W. and Gooch, G. P. (Ed.) : The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy.

2940. 327 Sen

Chapter 2

The French Search for Security

The period following the end of the First World War is marked by the French search for security against possible resurgence of German militarism. Twice within a span of less than fifty years Germany had endangered French security. In material resources and in genius for military organisation Germany was far superior to the French. The rapid increase of the population of Germany and the stagnation of the French population figure at something less than forty million was another cause of anxiety to the French statesmen. Though the name of Raymond Poincare is associated with this French quest for security most of the French statesmen irrespective of their political view were convinced about the need for some guarantee in the Versailles Treaty against future German aggression. The French were determined to occupy the ten thousand square miles of the territory between the Rhine on the east and Belgium, Holland and France on the west. This area was to constitute an autonomous region under French protection. But the French proposal was opposed by U.K. and U.S.A. In the Treaty of Versailles the Rhine was merely demilitarized for 15 years and France was given the use of the 'Saar' coalmines for a period of 15 years. Thus the French attempt to gain the Rhine and its bridges across which the Germans invaded France repeatedly failed. The physical guarantee which France sought against her sworn enemy was not given to her in the Treaty of Versailles. As a second best alternative Clemenceau had to accept Britsih and American guarantee for French security in case of a recurrence of German aggression. But this proved completely illusory when U.S.A. Senate refused ratification of the American treaty. The French attempt to gain guarantee of security from her allies came to naught because the British guarantee. too, was contingent upon the U.S.A. undertaking.

Failing to secure 'physical guarantee' in the Treaty of Versailles and in the subsequent treaty of guarantee concluded with U.K. and U.S.A.. France became eager to gain 'productive guarantee' by striking at the root of German industrialism. France tried to carry out this policy by the occupation of Rhur under the pretext of German failure to make reparation payments in full. But this policy earned for the French the opprobrium of all other great powers including Britain and the United States. It was inaugurated by Poincare in January. 1923. in alliance with Belgium. But the experiment proved expensive and had to be withdrawn.

Naturally enough the aim of French foreign policy henceforth was to maintain national defence in a state of adequate preparedness, to gain allies and to conclude alliances. France also aimed at keeping Germany isolated. The French persistently opposed any proposal for scaling down of armaments because the question of French security was. from the French viewpoint. interrelated with disarmament. The French claimed guarantee for security before disarmament. The French foreign policy in the post-Versailles period was directed exclusively towards the perpetuation of French ascendancy in Europe and the permanent humiliation of Germany.

The League of Nations itself rested upon a general principle wherein all the signatories were guaranteed 'Collective Security'. But the League System of collective security did not meet the French demand for "prompt military action".

Article 10 of the Covenant stated that "the members of the League undertook to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League." This article together with Article 16 which provided for economic sanction against any Covenant breaking state became an object of criticism from the start and confirmed French suspectibility and distrust of the League system of collective security. Although these Articles were not formally amended, yet resolutions were put forward authorising the League council to modify the application of economic sanction and authorising individual states to decide what measures were to be taken to carry out the obligation under Article 10.

The French distrust of the League System of collective security was natural due to the reluctance of most of the members to carry out the obligations imposed upon them under Articles 10 and 16. France found little comfort in the Covenant of the League and considered the failure of Britain and U.S.A. to guarantee her security as nothing short of betrayal. She, therefore, irritated her allies for alli-

ance and guarantee and induced Britain to pluck up courage to guarantee her security in 1922. But as this guarantee contained no specific commitment of the nature of assistance to be given by Britain, in case of aggression, it was considered worthless and was rejected by Poincare. The relation between France and Britain during the post-Versailles period became less intimate. British diplomacy was less interested in making German humiliation perpetual.

The French System of Alliance. France sought to strengthen her security by system of alliance with other less important powers. In the west she concluded alliance with Belgium which was also in favour of a status quo. The Franco-Belgian alliance provided for mutual help in case of a German aggression. Russia was the natural ally of France against Germany. But the fear of Bolshevism was too strong to admit the possibility of a revival of Franco-Russian alliance of the pre-war period. The next best alternative was Poland. Poland's frontiers with her neighbours were a constant source of anxiety and trouble for her, except in the south where the Carpathian Mountains separated her from Slovakia. Poland had no clearly defined geographical boundary. The Czechs and Yugoslavs were not favourably inclined towards Poland. Because of the dispute which arose between Czechoslovakia and Poland around the town of Teschen and its adjoining area an apple of discord existed between the two states. In East Galicia the Ruthene majority hated the Polish gentry and Poland carried on hostilities against them in defiance of the Supreme Council. The League of Nations was in favour of granting Poland 25 years' mandate in recognition of her de facto occupation of East Galacia. But Poland virtually annexed this territory in March, 1923. On the eastern frontier Polish chauvinism led to an attempt by Marshal Pilsudski to reclaim the ancient possessions of Poland in White Russia and Ukraine. The Polish army gained some temporary success due to the disorganisation of Russia. But ultimately had to sign the Treaty of Riga in 1921. The frontier between Russia and Poland was fixed at 150 miles east of the so-called 'Curzon line'. Poland also entered into prolonged dispute with Lithuania due to her desire to possess Vilna, the ancient capital of the mediaeval empire of Lithuania. The city was also the seat of a famous Polish University. The Soviet government had handed over the city to Lithuania. The Polish army, however, forcibly occupied the place. The mediation of the League of Nations failed due to the refusal of the Poles to evacuate Vilna. In 1923 Lithunia compensated itself by the forcible seizure of Memel. Poland's right over Vilna was now recognised by the Allies. Apart from her frontier

disputes Poland contained a large number of minorities of different nationalities including Germans. The plebiscite in Upper Silesia in 1921 had gone in favour of incorporation in Germany but due to a Polish uprising supported by the French, the League partitioned Upper Silesia assigning the industrial area to Poland and the rest to Germany. This naturally created discontent in Germany and source of trouble for the future. A German revival would spell disaster for Poland because German minorities in West Prussia and Posen also aspired to unite with Germany. The French security problems were in many respects like that of Poland. Poland had relied upon France for the advancement of her claims in the Treaty of Versailles. On Februray 18, 1921 France and Poland signed a defensive alliance in which they agreed to come to each other's aid in case of aggression by any other power. By a secret clause in the treaty France agreed to equip the Polish army. This treaty was followed by an alliance between Poland and Rumania for the defence of the two countries on their eastern frontiers. The Franco-Polish alliance was based upon a solid ground of common interest. It was directed not merely against the possibility of a German aggression but aimed also to seal off the Bolshevik danger. Temporarily it worked well till Russia was torn by civil war and Germany lay prostrate due to economic crisis.

But in spite of her alliance in the west with Belgium and in the east with Poland the French policy was directed for gaining the alliance of a great power like Britain. In post-Versailles period British foreign policy attempted to maintain a balance in the continent between France and Germany. This policy went against French hegemony. Britain, therefore, opposed French occupation of the Ruhr in 1923. Thus the Entente Cordial was destroyed. The British efforts to maintain a balance of power in the continent, however, were, in the words of Hartmann, "either too little or too much, too little really to remove German grievances, too much to keep the French ability to move decisively against Germany intact. Especially in the later stages of the interwar period, when France came to be pathetically dependent upon British moral and diplomatic support, the British hesitated for too long in recognizing the true character and ambitions of the Hitlerite regime. Where the dictates of the balance of power called for a strong joint Anglo-French policy, linked with Russian diplomatic support as much as possible, Britain far too often played a lone and futile hand."

Disappointed in gaining British friendship the French effort to secure more allies became all the more frantic. Among other nations in Europe the states which profited most due to the break up of

Hapsburg dominion were interested like France in maintaining the Versailles settlement and to perpetuate the territorial losses of Russia and Germany and the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The status quo powers included the Little Entente. "The Little Entente was the unofficial name for the alliance between the three states which profited most by the break up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia." (E.H. Carr). In 1920-21 all the Eastern states united together through a series of treaties. All these treaties were directed against the restoration of the Hapsburg or the revival of the Hungarian power. Disappointed at the failure to secure productive guarantee by the occupation of the Ruhr, France now turned to these powers for an alliance. The Franco-Polish treaty was signed in the year 1921 and the other chains in the link were the Franco-Czechoslovak Treaty of January 25, 1924, and the treaties with Rumania (1926), Yugoslavia (1927) and Turkey (1930). The Little Entente was no less determined to maintain the status quo than France. They were tied with France by alliance and agreed to accept French guidance and the aid of French loans. In the treaties concluded they expressed their resolve to oppose all efforts to modify the Peace Settlement whether from Germany from the north, from Hungary or Austria in their midst or from Italy to the west.

The new French hegemony stretched a broad cordon around Germany's frontier. "During the period 1920-24 France, the possessor of a large, well-equipped and victorious army and of enormous stocks of munitions, reached the summit of her prestige and power in Europe." (Carr). But yet the task of championing the cause of status quo and of patronising of Eastern powers caused as much anxiety and uneasiness "as that of the proverbial head that wears a crown." (Schumann).

France and Italy. In the post-Versailles era the relation between France and Italy was peculiarly bitter. France, the leader of the status quo powers, was blamed by Italy for her disappointment in the Treaty of Versailles. Italy had gained considerably in the Peace Treaties. But her imperialist aspiration was not satiated although her boundary with Austria was extended to include the Brenner Pass. Italy complained that the terms of the secret treaty of London (April, 1915), signed on the eve of Italy's decision to declare war against Germany, were not honoured. Italy received Tyrol but was not allowed Fiume. She was also dissatisfied with the settlement of the colonial question. In the words of G.M. Hardy, "By the treaty of London of 1915 it had been agreed that any increase in

French and British colonial territory resulting from the war should be compensated by extension of the Italian frontiers in Eritrea, Somaliland, and Libya at the expense of France and Great Britain." Britain had redeemed her pledge by conceding British Jubland to Italy. But Italy did not gain similar satisfaction from France. Moreover the French protectorate of Tunisia contained a large number of Italian minorities.

In the post-Versailles era France and Italy entered into rivalry in the Western Mediterranean. This resulted in race for armament as also in military preparation in the Franco-Italian border. France was irritated by the insistence of Italy to gain naval parity with France and several naval parleys broke down due to French refusal to admit it. The relation between France and Italy deteriorated further due to the coming of Fascism to power in Italy under the leadership of Benito Mussolini in October, 1922. Fascism aimed at aggressive foreign policy and Italy under Mussolini demanded more space for her growing population. The Franco-Italian rivalry expressed itself in the struggle for predominance in South-eastern Europe. Italy after Mussolini's advent to power won the first round by concluding treaties of friendship and neutrality with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. France was not slow in following suit and succeeded in concluding treaty with the latter two states. The next round, however, went in favour of France when she concluded treaty with Rumania in January, 1926. Italy concluded treaty with Rumania and Spain later in the same year and in the next year with Albania and Hungary. In 1928 Italy concluded alliance with Turkey and Greece. The Franco-Yugoslav treaty was finalised in 1926. In the words of Gathorne Hardy, "It appears that the competition on the French side was not so far deliberate, but that France was prepared to welcome Italian participation in the arrangements concluded; it was Italy alone who was adopting an exclusive attitude." But Franco-Italian relations improved during the year 1928. This was largely due to the revision of the statute of the free city of Tangier on the west coast of Morocco. Italy was invited to participate in the international government of the free city. In 1934 France agreed for readjustment of colonies in Africa in favour of Italy. There took place a rapprochment between Paris and Rome largely due to the collapse of liberalism across the Rhine and the rise of Hitler. The Laval-Mussolini Pact of 1935 settled outstanding colonial questions. The two powers agreed to consult each other in case of Nazi aggression on Austria. This agreement gave Italy a share in the Railway connecting Addis Ababa with Jibuti. The adjustment of the colo-

nial claim secured for Italy a gain of nearly 45 thousand square miles adjoining Libya and Eritrea, an extension of Italian hold over Sahara and an outlet in the gulf of Aden. Italy claimed that Laval had given Mussolini clear understanding through a secret clause of giving a free hand to conquer Ethiopia. The rise of the Nazi State in Germany placed the capitalist world specially France in a dilemma, whether to seal off Europe against Bolshevism or to oppose the Nazi terror. It failed to make decision on the question and allowed the two to join forces temporarily. England desired a revival of Germany within legitimate limit whereas France aspired to confront German militarism by an alliance of such overwhelming forces that would induce Germany to give up all hope of aggression against France. In pursuance of her policy England concluded naval agreement with Germany in June 18, 1935. Thus the British Government unilaterally violated the protest registered at the Stressa Conference of France, Italy and England against Hitler's violation of the Treaty of Versailles by the reintroduction of conscription in Germany. The divergence between the French and the British policy was apparent. France in the meanwhile had concluded an alliance with Soviet Russia in May, 1935. It provided for mutual aid for unprovoked aggression. But the Western distrust of the Soviet Union was apparent even in the terms of this treaty because it was scheduled to run only for 5 years.

The Crisis in French Foreign Policy. Thus the operation of two irreconcilable desires through the French foreign policy helped paralyse judgment. "This paralysis of judgment destroyed the hopes," says Hartmann, "of an effective condition against Hitler until Hitler's own error helped to create it. It should never be forgotten that in the midst of the 'phony' phase of the Second World War, in March, 1940, France and Britain would have sent military aid (French troops and British bombers) to the Finns to be used against the Russians if it had proved possible." Thus the Allies would have found themselves at war with U.S.S.R. and Axis at the same time. Both Hitler and Mussolini took advantage of this fissure in the British and French policies. The lack of common interest in the policy of Britain and France and their fear of communist Russia helped Hitler to violate once more the Treaty of Versailles and Mussolini to go ahead with his scheme of conquering Ethiopia. In European politics of the day the lesson of French and British divergence in foreign policy was not lost and Mussolini matured his plan of conquering Abyssinia (or Ethiopia) in October, 1935. Due to Britain's policy towards Germany France needed the support of Italy

because after all it was due to the prompt action of Mussolini that the Nazis who had assassinated Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor, in 1934 and attempted to effect the Anschluss were deterred for the time being. Mussolini knew it and therefore on October 3, attacked Abyssinia without declaring war. What Mussolini miscalculated was the reaction of his action on the League. The League Council promptly declared Italy as aggressor. France was an ardent supporter of Collective Security and it supported League action in declaring economic sanction against Italy. Sir Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary and the French Premier Pierre Laval devised a scheme for handing over two-thirds of Abyssinia to Italy. But the scheme became public and had to be abandoned owing to a strong public opposition both in England and France against it. Italy, in spite of League sanction, conquered Abyssinia by May 1936. But the policy of Britain and France who were forced to take some action against Italy drove Mussolini in the embrace of Hitler. The latter had already taken advantage of the distraction caused by Italy-Abyssinian dispute by remilitarizing the Rhineland. This action provoked strong protest from England, France and even Italy. Britain, however, was reluctant to take any effective step against Germany. The French in fear of an open breach with London did not take any unilateral measure. Hoping, in the words of Schumann, "that the French inaction in the Rhineland and French support of British initiative in deserting Ethiopia and abandoning sanction against Italy would at least preserve an Anglo-French-Italian front against Germany. Again the hope was in vain." In Spain war broke out in July 1936. The Spanish government of 'popular front' was attacked by the Falangists (i.e., the Fascists of Spain) under General Franco aided by Germany and Italy. The French government under Leon Blum, an avowed socialist, however, followed an impotent policy of peace and non-intervention towards Spain. England and France banned all shipment of arms towards Spain. This barren policy was the outcome of the contradiction in Anglo-French policy which flowed from their indecision about whether to unite against Brown terror or to oppose the Red menace.

The Policy of Appeasement. The reaction of this policy of virtually sacrificing the Spanish Republic was fatal on the foreign and internal situation in France. The question in foreign policy was now to checkmate German domination in the Continent. The Rome-Berlin Axis was already formed in October 1936 and in the following months the Anti-Comintern Pact was signed between Germany, Italy and Japan. Hitler was emboldened to effect Anschluss with

Austria on March 12, 1938. England under Chamberlain was pursuing a policy of peace at any cost which assumed that the ambition of the dictators could still be kept under limits. France under Daladier neglected her alliance in Eastern Europe. The alliance with Soviet Union and Poland as also of little Entente was considered to be of little importance. France was completely under the influence of Chamberlain's policy of appeasement which meant concession for the Fascist power. The other alternative of fighting Fascism in alliance with Moscow was considered dreadful. When Hitler planned to grab Czechoslovakia, Chamberlain and Daladier bent upon avoiding a general war for Czechoslovakia agreed to Hitler's proposal of handing over Sudetenland to Germany. In September, 1938 in Munich the French and the British premiers in a conference with Hitler gave consent to these proposals. Munich was a folly and a betrayal, yet such was not the impression of the French people befooled by paid journalists. Daladier was hailed as 'saviour of peace' and Hitler promised not to demand any more territory in Europe. In March 1939 he let his own words by grabbing the rest of Czechoslovakia which country paid the price of peace under pressure of "Collective blackmail"—a term used by David Thompson to characterise Anglo-French betrayal of Czechoslovakia. France and England were now awakened to the danger of Hitler's inordinate ambition and made belated attempts to build alliance against him and to strengthen measures of defence. Anglo-French assurance was given to Poland, Rumania and Greece. The League system of 'Collective Security' had failed completely. Its last determined action was to expel the Soviet Union from membership for her aggression on Finland. Even under the shadow of a possible Nazi blitzkrieg the Anglo-French power would leave no stone unturned to discredit the Reds. The result was the Nazi-Soviet pact of non-aggression, the end of peace and the coming of war with the attack launched on Poland in September, 1939. Yet a last moment effort was made by Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, to arrange for a second Munich. But Bonnet failed and the Second World War started on September 3, 1939.

The Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. Security Through Pacts. The League Covenant, as has been already pointed out, failed to provide a proper guarantee for security and therefore efforts were directed to strengthen the League System of Collective Security through pacts. The outcome of the first attempt to do so was the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. This Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance was the result of the resolution of Lord Cecil before the

Temporary Mixed Commission of Disarmament. These proposals were placed before the Assembly of the League whereafter it was subjected to due criticism and amendment. The criticism came mainly from Colonel Requin who submitted a separate set of proposals. The two texts were then combined and circulated among the members as also non-members of the League. It is known as the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

To quote Gathorne Hardy, "The Draft Treaty was a highly ingenious attempt to combine the respective advantages of a general guarantee and a local system of alliances, while obviating their defects. While a joint and several obligation was to rest upon all signatories to assist any of their number against a war of aggression, which was stigmatized as an international crime, the duty to engage in military, naval or aerial action was restricted to states situated in the continent in which such operation took place." The League Council was authorised to determine the aggressor, but the members were authorised to form local alliance to resist aggression. The Draft Treaty was an attempt to close the gap in the League Covenant. It linked security with disarmament and proposed reduction of armaments within two years of the ratification of the treaty. But by allotting the responsibility for security on continental basis it made its acceptance extremely difficult to Great Britain. Great Britain could not accept a position in which one part of the Empire would deny help from another part in a separate hemisphere at times of war. The Treaty was warmly welcomed by France and her allies but received cold reception in Netherlands and Scandinavian countries. "The Draft," in the words of David Thompson, "incorporated the French thesis that absolute security should precede disarmament." It was not favourably received by other powers and the first attempt to strengthen the 'Collective Security' system of the League by closing the gap in the Covenant met with failure. The vagueness of the disarmament clause and the want of an arbitration formula led to its rejection by many states.

Geneva Protocol. But without being deterred by this first failure France and her allies, who constituted the security group in the League of Nations, tried to gain Britain and the Scandinavian countries to their viewpoint. Internal politics of France and Britain also favoured this move. In Britain the Labour government had come to power under the leadership of J. Ramsay Macdonald. In France Edward Harriot had become the Premier. Both of them favoured settlement of international disputes through arbitration, conciliation and peaceful discussion, and, therefore, were eager to guar-

antee security and provide for disarmament. The question of German reparation was settled through mutual agreement by the acceptance of the Dawes Plan in August, 1924. The gap in the League Covenant was sought to be closed by taking steps to introduce compulsory arbitration. Thus "an accurate attribution of responsibility for aggression" was found out because those that would refuse arbitration would stand automatically condemned for aggression on others. Both Harriot and Macdonald attended the meeting of the Assembly of the League in September, 1924 and reopened discussion on the problem of security and disarmament. The outcome of their recommendation was the unanimous adoption by the League Assembly of a Protocol for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes known in popular term as the Geneva Protocol.

Article 15 of the League Covenant left war legitimate in the event of failure of the League machinery to settle a dispute. But this gap was closed in the Geneva protocol by making its jurisdiction comprehensive and declaring any aggressive war as an international crime and by making arbitration compulsory. The Protocol closed the possibility of an aggressive war in future because under its terms (Art. 2) the signatories agreed not to go to war against each other and to respect international obligation. All disputes of a legal character are to be submitted to the World Court. The political disputes are to be referred to the League Council. If the League Council failed to reach an unanimous decision (leaving aside the opinion of interested states) the matter would be left to compulsory arbitration (to a committee whose decision the members previously undertook to abide). The members agreed to maintain peace and not to mobilize force while arbitration was going on. The Protocol also specifically defined what it meant by an "aggressor." An aggressor state was one which refused to accept arbitration. The sanctions against an aggressor proposed under the terms of the Geneva protocol were identical with those of Article 16 of the Covenant of the League. The Protocol like the Covenant, therefore, arranged economic boycott against an aggressor state. The latter would be compelled in the event of any war the cost consequent upon it up to the limit of its capacity. Under the initiative of Japanese delegation the Protocol provided that though domestic disputes are beyond the jurisdiction of Article 15 of the Covenant, they should be submitted to the procedure of conciliation under Article 11. Article 11 authorised the League to decide upon "any action that may be deemed effectual to safeguard the peace of nations." According to the terms of the Protocol no power should be deemed as an aggressor if it had

brought the dispute before the League under the above mentioned Article. Last but not least important feature of the Geneva protocol was the linking up of the question of security with the question of reduction of armaments. The Protocol fixed up a date for disarmament conference on June 15, 1925, provided of course sufficient states had ratified the Protocol by that time.

Criticism of the Geneva Protocol. The Geneva Protocol established indisputable test of identifying the aggressor and made arbitration compulsory in all cases of dispute. Thus the Protocol attempted to ban all wars except those fought in defence of the territorial integrity of a state or in pursuance of the sanction enforced by the League or to enforce the decision of the World Court. The Geneva Protocol did not strengthen Article 16 of the Covenant of the League with regard to its power of applying sanction. It fell short of the automatic military sanctions proposed in the Draft Treaty. Still the ingenious arrangements of the Geneva Protocol indirectly secured the strengthening of the Covenant "in the direction that the French desired." It authorised the Council of the League "to receive undertakings from states determining in advance the military, naval and air forces which they would be able to bring into action immediately to ensure the fulfilment of the obligations in regard to sanctions which result from the Covenant and the present Protocol." The Protocol was based upon the interest of the status quo powers and went out of its way to meet the French demand for security and linked it with the inviolability of the Settlement of 1919. "In other words," says E.H. Carr, "The Protocol accentuated what was afterwards attacked as one of the weaknesses of the Covenant; its tendency to identify security with the maintenance of the 1919 Settlement and its failure to provide adequate machinery for the revision of that settlement." Any demand for the revision of the settlement was ruled out as not a 'dispute' to which the procedure laid down in the Geneva protocol would apply; and to seal off the possibility of any such development it was specifically mentioned by the committee which had drafted the report.

Causes of Its Rejection. The Geneva Protocol, however, failed to secure general acceptance due to the opposition of the great powers and it never came into force. The provision for compulsory arbitration was disliked by the British public opinion. It was sure to lead to the increase of the number of disputes and would necessitate the application of sanction in many of them. Moreover, the provision authorising the League under Article 11 of the Covenant to bring matters of domestic jurisdiction under its purview caused a storm of

opposition in the British Dominion. This clause was inserted by the Japanese delegation. In some of the British Dominions including Canada, New Zealand and Australia laws were enacted to restrict Japanese immigration. Japan wanted to take advantage of this provision in the Protocol to evade restrictions on Japanese immigration. Naturally it created alarm in the Dominions which were reluctant to accept the Protocol. The Protocol proposed to involve Britain and her Dominions in continental disputes and to increase the responsibility of Britain under the Covenant. Therefore, there was least possibility of its acceptance by the British Parliament. These proposals included frontier guarantees, mutual pledges of renouncing war against each other for a generation and arbitration projects. The proposals included within its fold Britain and Belgium and were submitted to the Government of the United States. But these proposals were rejected by the French government under Raymond Poincare who was determined to gain 'productive guarantee' by the occupation of Ruhr. They were again repeated by Gustav Streseman, the Foreign Minister of Germany in February 1925. Berlin proposed a guarantee of the Rhine frontier. Britain, France, Italy and Germany would act as the guarantors of this frontier. All disputes should be referred to arbitration in future and Germany expressed her willingness to enter into arbitration treaties with her neighbours. It was now favourably received both at Paris and London. The French government, however, was not prepared to undertake any responsibility under the proposed treaty that would affect her obligation with Poland or agree to any proposal that would interfere with the obligation of the Allies under the Covenant of the League. But the rejection of the Protocol signified the unwillingness on the part of most of the states to accept the obligations which were implied in the Covenant of the League. They had given support to same obligations during the Peace Settlement of 1919 but they now refused to accept it in 1924.

Locarno Pact. The failure of the French effort to secure the guarantee she desired for her security and the rejection of Geneva Protocol redoubled her efforts to gain the same. Britain too was eager to restore some sort of balance between France and Germany. The Treaty of Rapallo signed between Germany and the Soviet Union was causing anxiety among western powers which were more afraid of the Bolshevik menace than a possible revival of German militarism. Strangely enough the solution to their dilemma was provided by a proposal submitted two years back. France desired to

invite Belgium to attend the conference and become a signatory of the Treaty. At French request Germany agreed to these terms and also undertook to seek League membership. The negotiations for an agreement progressed happily and from October 5 to 16, 1925 at the charming town of Locarno in Switzerland, delegates from Germany, Italy, Poland, France, Britain, Belgium and Czechoslovakia met at a conference. The congenial atmosphere of the small Swiss city helped the speedy progress of the Locarno Conference. The cordiality of the delegates and their spirit of co-operation became proverbial in later years. The 'Locarno spirit' as the phrase goes gave birth to 7 historic treaties which were subsequently signed at London and ratified by all the signatories.

The Seven Historic Treaties. (a) The first was a treaty of mutual guarantee. It obliged France and Belgium on the one side and Germany on the other to renounce war against each other but for self-defence and under certain treaty obligations, and to settle all their controversies by peaceful methods, *i.e.*, to use adjudication, conciliation, commission and League machinery for settlement of dispute. This agreement guaranteed the Franco-German and Belgo-German frontiers as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles. In the event of violation of the terms of the treaty the signatory powers which included Great Britain and Italy agreed to take up arms against the aggressor as ascertained by the Council of the League.

(b) The second group of treaties included a Franco-Polish and Franco-Czechoslovak treaty of mutual assistance in case of German aggression.

(c) The third group of treaties included four separate agreements between Germany on one side and France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia on the other. These treaties provided for compulsory arbitration and conciliation and required the parties to refer in case of dispute "with regard to which the parties are in conflict as to their rights", to a permanent conciliation commission, arbitration, adjudication. The dispute may also be referred to the League Council for settlement.

As the British Dominions were reluctant to shoulder responsibility for the preservation of peace in the European continent their objection was met by the insertion of a clause which provided that unless specifically accepted the Treaty obligations won't apply to India and the British Dominions. There were two other obstacles which stood in the way of a final completion of the treaty. The first of these was the British reluctance to guarantee the eastern frontier of Germany. This difficulty was met with French guarantee of the

Czech and Polish frontiers. While the eastern frontier of Germany was not guaranteed, all the parties were bound to resort only to pacific methods of settling disputes. The second difficulty arose out of German fear of a possibility of future war between western powers and Soviet Union. By the Treaty of Rapallo Germany had concluded in 1922 a treaty of friendship with Soviet Union and was unwilling to take up arms against Russia in the event of a war between the West and the Bolsheviks. Germany was informed that under Article 16 of the Covenant a member of the League was obliged to lend support to the action of the League only "to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account". Thus the initial difficulties being overcome the treaties were finally signed in London on December 1. Germany's entrance into the League of Nations in 1926 followed the conclusion of these agreements.

A Critical Estimate of the Treaty of Locarno. The makers of the Treaty of Locarno were three Foreign Ministers, Austin Chamberlain of England, Stresemann of Germany and Briand of France. To these men and to the world in general the period that began in 1924 and ended in 1930 appeared to be a period of increasing stability and apparently decreasing tension. The Locarno spirit, as it is called, preserved the structure of the alignment system desired by the French but at the same time was marked by a rapprochement between France and Germany. A spirit of reconciliation marked the relation among different powers including France and Germany. Germany for the first time after World War I met other powers in a conference on equal terms. The inviolability of the western frontiers of Germany as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles was guaranteed by Germany and all other signatories. Locarno agreements also accommodated the British unwillingness to extend any protection to the eastern frontier of Germany. This difficulty was met with by a series of treaties concluded between France on one side and Poland and Czechoslovakia on the other. The Locarno Treaty, therefore, made important contribution to the pacification of Europe. In the words of E.H. Carr, "It struck, for the first time since the war, a fair and impartial balance between French and German needs. It completed the work which the Dawes Plan had begun by bringing Germany back into the family of Great Powers, not indeed on terms of complete equality (for the servitudes of disarmament and demilitarization remained) but as a full and respected member". It provided simultaneously for the German need for treaty revision and the French need for *status quo*. Great Britain was eager not merely to strike a

balance between France and Germany but also to maintain England's pre-eminence in Western Europe as the deciding factor in the balance. This solidarity of the nations of Western Europe was also cemented by the fear of Bolshevik Russia to seal off whose influence the nations of Europe were determined. England's diplomatic success in this direction prompted its Foreign Minister Austin Chamberlain to state with exuberance that the Locarno Treaty formed "the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace".

The Locarno Pact resulted in an all-round improvement of the international situation. There was no longer any talk of the victor and vanquished, of 'enemy' and 'ally'. Briand, the French Foreign Minister exultantly claimed: "Away with rifles, machine guns, cannon, clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace". The sense of security created by the Locarno Pact was reassuring, particularly due to the British guarantee given to France and Germany. In the words of Gathorne Hardy, "so long, however, as British intervention was feared by the potential aggressors of both sides, it seemed unlikely that the reality of the pact would be put to the test". At the time of adoption it looked like a formidable scare-crow to drive away war mongers.

The Locarno Pact, and the sense of security that it created, was based upon illusory hopes. Though Germany and her co-signatories agreed to resolve their disputes through peaceful methods yet this agreement excluded from its jurisdiction "disputes arising out of events prior to the present convention and belonging to the past". The Locarno Treaty did not oblige its signatories to refrain from resort to arms on questions like Polish corridor which arose out of the Peace Settlement. "The implications of Locarno," says David Thompson "were sinister as well as reassuring". The reassuring features of it disappeared with the disappearance of 'goodtimes' but its sinister features implied the Treaty of Versailles was not sacrosanct enough to be observed scrupulously unless supported by subsequent agreements. Again the Locarno Pact by seeking to strengthen the Peace Settlement of 1919 weakened its foundation because, as has been rightly observed by Carr, "this implied that obligations imposed by the Versailles Treaty were morally, if not legally, less binding than obligations voluntarily accepted".

The Locarno Treaty implied that Great Britain was eager to strengthen the western frontier of Germany, but was not ready to take the same responsibility with regard to the eastern frontier. Thus there arose a peculiar state of things in which some part of the Treaty of Versailles was considered as more binding than another. The

German western frontier was considered more sacrosanct to Germany as also to Britain than the eastern frontier. In this distinction between the western and eastern frontier the general obligation of the members of the League to the Covenant was undermined. Some frontiers were of first rate importance while others were not. It also increased the burden of France and imposed upon her the special responsibility of protecting the eastern frontier and in this task she was deprived of British support. "The Locarno achievements," says Langsam, "were widely hailed as precursors of a new era in world history. But neither the pacts nor the spirit of Locarno were actual guarantees of peace". Apparantly an amicable settlement was made with regard to many outstanding questions between France and Germany. For instance Germany gave up all claims with regard to Alsace-Lorraine and France on her part on Rhineland protectorate. Yet the problem of the eastern frontier was not solved. It increased the apprehension of Eastern Europe from a possible German aggression in future. Later events proved that their apprehensions were not altogether unfounded. Because in 1938 Britain instead of preventing the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia aided and abetted in it.

David Thompson points out that "There were technical absurdities, too, in the notion of planning any effective military co-operation between the general staff of Britain and France against possible German attack, if the British staff were at the same moment supposed to be concerting similar action with the Germans against a possible French attack". All these factors, however, remained obscure and people everywhere became enthusiastic about the Locarno spirit of international co-operation and good will. International developments later on brought out clearly all the implications of the treaty.

Pact of Paris or Kellogg-Briand Pact of August 27, 1928. The attempt to avert war and maintain peace gave birth to yet another pact. This pact carried the attempt at pacification step further by declaring war as illegal. The creator of this new attempt at pacification by pact was Briand, the Foreign Minister of France and Kellogg, the U.S.A. Foreign Secretary. It is, therefore, known as Kellogg-Briand Pact or Pact of Paris (because it was signed at Paris). The negotiations for this treaty had been initiated in June, 1927 by a letter from French Foreign Minister Briand to U.S.A. Secretary of State Kellogg suggesting a bilateral Franco-American agreement mutually renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. M. Briand was perhaps originally inspired to throw out this suggestion by some influential American citizens. He was supported by peace seekers everywhere. There was hardly any possibility of a clash of

interests between U.S.A. and France. Yet such a treaty would have enhanced French prestige as a friend of U.S.A. in Europe. Kellogg was, therefore, somewhat slow in his response and proposed making the treaty multilateral and general. The French government desired to confine it only to "wars of aggression". But failing to gain the co-operation of U.S.A. on this point Briand agreed to general renunciation of war. The British government agreed to become a party but made reservation with regard to a certain (undefined) region of the world, the welfare and integrity of which constitute a special and vital interest for 'our peace and safety'.

The pact was signed at Paris on August 27, 1928 by representatives of 6 great Powers (U.S.A., U.K., France, Italy, Germany and Japan), the other three Locarno powers (Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia) and the British Dominions and India. All other independent countries were invited to sign it. This agreement of 15 original contracting parties was ultimately signed by 65 states including Soviet Union but excluding Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Salvador, Yemen. The Soviet Union which originally considered the pact as the product of bourgeois conspiracy showed much enthusiasm about it and took steps to secure the adherence of its neighbours to this pact and its enforcement through an independent Protocol. This Protocol is known as Litvinov Protocol and was signed by the Soviet Union with Poland, Rumania, Latavia, Estonia and Lithuania in the year 1929.

The Terms of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The terms of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which President Hoover proclaimed to be in force on July 29, 1929, may be summarised as the following:—

Article I—"The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the name of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international policy in their relation with one another."

Article II—"The high contracting parties agree that the settlement of solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means".

The third and the last Article merely mentioned the terms of ratification and adherence. The preamble of the Kellogg-Briand Pact stated that "any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interest by resort to war should be denied the benefits of this Treaty". Thus according to the preamble if any state broke the terms of the treaty other signatories regained their freedom of action with regard to that state.

A Critical Estimate. The Pact of Paris, in spite of its drawbacks, has been rightly regarded as a landmark in the attempt to establish world peace by pacts. It became evident from this declaration of peace that no people in the world desired war. The greatest force behind the treaty was world public opinion. 'The outlawry of war'—the term used by the American sponsors of the treaty did not mean that there existed any authority to punish the violation of this law. Therefore some are of the opinion that the pact merely paved the path for undeclared war.

The pact gave birth to the conception of unlawfulness of war and "the conception itself struck root in the political thought of the world."

This universal repudiation of war was 'a gesture indicative of a new ethical attitude to the war'. Henceforth great powers outside the League such as U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. were also drawn in the camp of peace and this undoubtedly contributed towards strengthening collective security.

But the Pact made important exceptions. At French insistence the Pact did not apply to wars of self-defence. Thus the Pact though it found universal acceptance left the right of the nations to self-defence unimpaired. At British insistence, the pact was not to interfere with areas vital to the interest of a state. This has been called 'a British Monroe Doctrine'. The U.S.A. understood that the pact in no way interfered with the Monroe Doctrine. Thus the two major powers made special regional reservations. It was agreed by all parties that the pact applied only to 'wars of aggression' and did not apply to obligations assumed under the League Covenant or for the fulfilment of obligations under previous treaties or Locarno agreement. "Even without these specific exceptions", says Hartmann, "the unimpaired right of self-defence was an exception of such signification that compared with it the obligation to be peace loving became exceedingly anemic".

The Pact, moreover, lacked effective means of enforcement. It merely provided that a state violating its obligations would lose the advantages secured by it as a signatory. A state resorting to force may take cover under the plea that it was acting in self-defence. If other states disagree and the world opinion condemn such an action it would in no way restrain a strong and determined state. Verbal censure in lieu of superior force is not effective in checking aggression. The actions of Japan and Italy were flagrant violations of the pact in the years immediately following its acceptance, yet nothing could be done to restrain their actions.

The Pact and the Covenant. The Pact of Paris had the effect of a moral declaration. It left national sovereignty and the right of the nations to decide their course of action unimpaired. The Pact was expected to be an improvement on the Covenant. But in reality the Pact did not go even as far as the Covenant in creating international security. The Covenant was a political treaty and did not ban all war, but merely allowed some and prohibited others. The Covenant also made provision for punishing those wars which it had banned. The Pact on the other hand outlawed war but punished none.

Attempts were made in 1929 and subsequently to amend the Covenant and apply the sanction under Article 16 to all wars prohibited by the Pact of Paris. This would have resulted in a combination of Pact and Covenant. But the efforts came to nothing. The failure was due to obvious reasons. In the words of E H. Carr, "If you merely pitchforked the articles of the Pact into the Covenant, you produced a document of which one part prohibited war altogether, and another part allowed it in certain conditions—a flagrant contradiction". If on the other hand a more thorough fusion of the Pact and the Covenant was attempted the result would produce an amended Covenant in which though all wars are banned but, only some are punishable.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was "born of American initiative and French courtesy". It was a major attempt to achieve collective security through arbitration and conciliation, outside the League. Some even looked upon it as "the American attempt at alternative world system under American leadership to the League of Nations which had fallen under British-French leadership". It failed largely because it lacked the "teeth" necessary to punish its violators.

SUMMARY

The post-Versailles era is marked by the French search for security. France feared the ambition and militarism of Germany. French desire to occupy the Rhineland was frustrated by Anglo-American opposition in the Conference. Poincare desired to substitute productive guarantee for physical guarantee by the occupation of Rhur. France attempted to cope with the problem of her guarantee through the League system of Collective Security but failed due to the reluctance of its members to carry out the obligations imposed upon them under Article 10 and 16. Britain's opposition to French aim of gaining assurance for her security made her relation with Great Britain less intimate. France now tried to build a system of alliance and concluded a treaty with Belgium which was also in favour of status quo. Her natural ally against a possible German re-

surgence was Russia but anti-Bolshevism was too strong to materialise such a possibility.

Poland's frontier problems made her inclined towards a French alliance and in 1921 France and Poland concluded a defensive alliance. The French-Polish alliance was directed not merely against the possibility of a German aggression, but aimed also to seal off the Bolshevik danger.

Disappointed in gaining British friendship the French encouraged the formation of the Little Entente of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia and signed agreement with all of these states. This French policy of alliance stretched a cordon sanitaire between Germany and the Soviet Union.

In the post-Versailles era the relation between France and Italy was peculiarly bitter. France a status quo power found in Italy—a power occupying intermediate position between revisionism and antirevisionism —a troublesome neighbour. In the post-Versailles era France and Italy entered into rivalry in the Western Mediterranean. Franco-Italian rivalry expressed itself in the struggle for predominance in South-eastern Europe. Mussolini concluded treaties of friendship with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, France won the next round when she concluded treaty with Rumania in January, 1926 and Yugoslavia later in the same year. The French were not exclusive in their attitude like the Italians. France invited Italy to participate in the international government of the free city of Tangiers and agreed for a readjustment of colonies in Africa in favour of Italy. France and Italy came to terms in the Laval-Mussolini Pact and according to Italian claim the Pact gave Italy a free hand with regard to Ethiopia.

The re-orientation of the French attitude towards Italy was largely the outcome of the rise of Hitler in Germany. But the divergence of British and French policy during this period weakened the states opposed to Hitler and destroyed the League. Poland hastened to sign a pact with Germany in 1934 and the French in reply tried to establish closer contact with Russia by a pact signed in 1935. Mussolini took advantage of the situation by invading and occupying Ethiopia. The half-hearted protests and sanctions that Britain and France staged against Italy had no other result than driving Mussolini in the arms of Hitler.

Taking advantage of the distraction caused by the Abyssinian dispute Hitler remilitarized the Rhine. The British unwillingness to take action paralysed French action. In Spain war broke out in July against the popular front government of Spain. Franco received aid from his Fascist co-partners in Italy and Germany while Britain and France, under Socialist Leon Blum, followed an impotent policy of peace and non-intervention. The Rome-Berlin Axis was formed in October, 1936 and in the following months the Anti-Comintern Pact was signed between Germany, Italy and Japan. This emboldened Hitler to effect the Anschluss with Austria on March 2, 1938. Britain under Chamberlain adopted the policy of appeasement. France herself lacked confidence. The growing military strength of Germany and the disparity of population between France and Germany as also Hitler's exploitation of his opponent's psychological weakness, paralysed French action. In September, 1938 Chamberlain and Daladier gave consent to Hitler's demand of partition-

ing Czechoslovakia and handed over the Sudetanland to Germany by signing the Munich Pact.

In March 1939 Hitler grabbed the rest of Czechoslovakia. But even under the shadow of war the Anglo-French powers would leave no stone unturned to discredit the Reds. The result was the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, the end of peace and the coming of war with the attack launched on Poland on September 3, 1939.

Review of the Attempted Pacification by Pacts. The post-Versailles period is marked by several attempts at pacification by pacts. In fact, the League Covenant was such a treaty. Article 10 of the Covenant provided that "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled". Article 10 and the subsequent provision (Article 11) definitely imposed Collective Security as responsibility of the League members. But these provisions were vague. Neither did the League make arbitration compulsory. Moreover, Article 15 provided that "If the council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than Representative of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice". The League machinery for sanction provided under Article 16 and 17 were objected to by members from the very start and in meeting of the League Assembly held in the year 1921 a resolution against automatic application of the League Sanction was passed. The League could recommend application of armed force but that would require "the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting." (Article 5).

The League Covenant had several other loopholes and its efficacy as a machinery for Collective Security was in doubt. Therefore following the establishment of the League a long series of efforts were made to render more specific and effective the obligations not to resort to war. The first effort in this connection was the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1923. It declared that "aggressive war is an international crime" and the contracting parties "severally undertook that no one of them will be guilty of its commission". Upon its rejection the Geneva Protocol appeared. The protocol also described aggressive war as an international crime. The signatories agreed not to resort to war except in resistance to the aggressor with the consent of the League. They also agreed to abstain from any act which might constitute a threat of aggression against another state. The Protocol provided for compulsory arbitration.

A state refusing to accept procedure for pacific settlement or flouting decision was defined as aggressor. The Council was authorised to designate the aggressor in doubtful cases and apply sanction. The difficulty of the British government and its dominions to accept the Protocol led to its rejection. In 1930 a French proposal to lend financial support to the states suffering from aggression through the League was adopted by the League Assembly. "But it remained no more than a project". In 1927 according to the proposal of the Netherlands delegation the Assem-

bly authorised the Preparatory Commission for the Disarmament Conference to set up a Committee on Arbitration and Security with a view to evaluate ways and means "calculated to give to all states such guarantees of security as will enable them to fix the level of their armaments at the lowest possible figure in an international disarmament treaty". The Committee proposed a series of 'Model Treaties' to be accepted by groups of states as applicable between themselves. The League Assembly of 1928, approved three of them and converted them into a General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes. The first chapter of this act provided for conciliation commission for pacific settlement of disputes between each pair of signatories. The second chapter directed the submission of disputes of a legal character to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The third provided for arbitration of non-legal disputes. Lastly the act provided that League members could subscribe to one or more chapters of their act and they were also allowed to specify disputes which they were unwilling to submit. But this act failed to gain general support because only Belgium and the Scandinavian countries accepted the whole of it and Holland and Sweden accepted it only in part.

The attempt to secure Collective Security outside the League machinery through pacts resulted in the signature of the Locarno Pact in 1925 and the Kellogg-Briand Agreement or the Pact of Paris in 1928. The Locarno Pact was a regional substitute of a general agreement. It resulted in multilateral agreement among western powers including France, Britain, Italy, Germany and Belgium. In this pact the powers "collectively and severally guaranteed the western frontier of Germany as fixed by the Treaty of Versailles." France entered into agreement with Poland and Czechoslovakia and guaranteed their frontiers. The signatories agreed that they would not resort to war except in self-defence, or in case of flagrant breach of demilitarisation formula or in fulfilment of League sanction under Article 16. Although it was claimed that Locarno formed the real dividing line between years of war and years of peace, it failed to guarantee peace or remove the roots of the old dispute.

It merely served to weaken the basis of the Versailles Treaty and the Covenant of the League. The Kellogg-Briand agreement or Pact of Paris which followed was merely a moral declaration. It prohibited all wars but created no effective instrument to enforce it. Such incidents as the Sino-Japanese wars of 1931 clearly demonstrated that the Pact of Paris could be effective only if it were provided with proper means to enforce its ideals.

FOR FURTHER READING

1. Brown, W.E. and Covsh, A.W. : The Map Approach to Modern History.
2. Hardy, Gathorne G.M. : A Short History of International Affairs.
3. Hartmann Fredick, H. : The Relations of Nations.
4. Jackson Hamnden, J. : The Post-War World.
5. Langsam, W.C. : The World Since 1914.
6. Sharp, W.R. and Kirk, Grayson : Contemporary International Politics.
7. Taylor, A.J.P. : Origin of the Second World War.
8. Thompson David : Europe since Napoleon.

Chapter 3

Germany in Defeat

The Allied powers, specially France, were determined to make Germany pay for the damage caused by war. The years after the war were years of French predominance and German humiliation. A deliberate attempt was made in the Treaty of Versailles to paralyse any future revival of German militarism. German army was reduced to a figure less than even the armed strength of Belgium, and Germany was asked to surrender most of her navy and heavy artillery. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles Germany was forced to accept permanent restrictions on her military strength.

Allied Commissioners were appointed to supervise German disarmament in Army, Navy and Airforce and these Commissioners nearly 2.000 in number were not withdrawn till 1929. Thus Germany was subjected to a rigorous disarmament measure. The Treaty of Versailles also provided for the demilitarization of the Rhineland and its occupation by the Allied powers for a period of 15 years and internationalized Saar for 15 years, France administering the area and having the use of its coal-fields. Though the civil administration was left in the hands of the Germans, the Inter-Allied High Commission undertook the task of taking adequate steps through ordinances for securing the maintenance, safety and requirements of the Allied Army of occupation. American troops stayed in Rhineland up to 1923 though the United States had failed to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. Soon, however, wide divergence of view appeared between the British and the French governments. The war had produced hate and a sense of vendetta and the British, no less than the French, had approved the war-guilt and other clauses in the Treaty to humiliate Germany. But when peace was established Great Britain reverted to her original policy of maintaining a balance of power between France and Germany. She was no longer eager to see Germany humbled

any further. The French, on the other hand, keenly grasped every opportunity to punish the fallen foe. The British army of occupation in Rhineland made itself friendly to the local population but the southern portion of Rhineland under the French army became a hot-bed of discontent due, largely, to the haughty and exacting attitude of the French soldiers. Such difference of attitude between the British and the French naturally widened the gulf between them and due to a number of incidents in this area this Anglo-French difference was further enhanced. The first of these incidents was the employment of coloured troops by the French army of occupation. This episode gave German propagandists handle to convince the western world about the deliberate insult hurled upon a defeated country by the victors. Britain and specially U.S.A. suffer from colour prejudices and they were easily persuaded to bring pressure on the French to withdraw the detachment of coloured troops from Germany.

The second event of importance that further embittered the relation between France and Germany was the encouragement given to the 'Separatists' in the Rhineland. Rhineland was united with Prussia more than a century, hence the tendency to segregate it from Germany and form it into a separate principality existed only in French imagination. But the local French authority in Palatinate invented through French patronage few persons prepared to play the role of the leader of the 'Separatists'. Armed by the local representative of French High Commissioner and backed by the French they took up the local administration. The French and the Belgium High Commissioners extended their prompt support to what they called "autonomous government" of the Palatinate. In this they shamelessly set aside the opinion of the British High Commissioner. But strong pressure was brought to bear upon the French government to withdraw their recognition from the so-called 'Separatists'. The French government ultimately had to bow before the storm and the withdrawal of French support resulted in the total collapse of the movement. The third incident is connected with the French attempt to gain productive guarantee from Germany. This led to the French occupation of Ruhr in January, 1923 in spite of the protest registered by Great Britain. It ended in failure due to the passive resistance staged by the Germans and proved quite expensive for the French. A detailed discussion about the causes, events and effects of the Ruhr occupation by the French shall be explored in connection with the reparation problem.

The German Revolution of 1918-1919. The establishment of a democratic form of government in Germany was preceded by a civil

war. In September 1918 Prince Max became the Chancellor of Germany and carried through a number of reforms which virtually converted Germany into a constitutional monarchy. But the seething discontent in the army and the navy and among the people in general against Kaiser William II, whose policy had resulted in Germany's defeat and misery, was so great that from every quarter came demand for his abdication. It was first raised in the Reichstag by Haase and was supported by the socialists like Geistav Noske, Ebert and Scheidmann. Later on the newspapers took up the slogan and it was voiced everywhere. The working class in alliance with the sailors raised up a revolutionary government of workers and soldiers council at Kiel. Their example was followed by Munich, Berlin and other towns and ports. William II fled to the Army Headquarters at Spa and from there to Holland. From Netherlands he sent his letter of abdication on November 28, 1918. Everywhere workers and soldiers councils were set up and in December, 1918 a national gathering of these councils was held. In the meantime Prince Max had resigned and Ebert, a socialist, had become the Chancellor. He shared power with the local councils and the situation was as revolutionary as the one that existed in Russia in November, 1917. The socialists in Germany, however, took advantage of the mistakes committed by the communist party led by Ros Luxemburg and Liabknecht. The communists in Germany were called Spartacist. This name is derived from the uprising of the Roman gladiators under Spartacus. Liabknecht had taken up this surname in an article written by him. The Spartacists were in favour of establishing outright a communist government in Germany and were even opposed to a Constituent Assembly. They declared January 5, 1919 as the beginning of the 'Spartacus Week'. The communist movement was drowned in blood by the government and Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were brutally killed by the troops of a socialist government.

Weimar Republic. A national gathering of the workers councils already mentioned had taken the decision to call a National Assembly. This Assembly met in Weimar on February 6 and adopted a previously drafted constitution. As the Assembly had a majority of the Social Democrats wedded to the idea of a democratic republic, Ebert a moderate socialist was elected as the President. Thus the Social Democrats were forced into an alliance with the military and conservative leaders to check a social revolution led by the communists.

The Assembly faced the three-fold task of setting the home government in order by suppressing extremist uprisings within, of

making peace with the Allied powers. and of evolving a constitution. There were frequent strikes, violent demonstration and much fighting. The Spartacist uprising at Berlin and the setting up of a provisional government at Munich, prompted the Social Democrats in reluctant alliance with the militarists to crush these extremist movements. The conclusion of the Peace treaty with the Allies presented a very difficult task. Because the various parties and groups wasted valuable time in useless debate. But as the Allied powers had fixed the time limit for the acceptance of the terms presented by them and had also served an ultimatum, the Assembly had to accept the terms before June 23, that is exactly before the expiration of the time limit.

The Assembly accepted a democratic constitution. It defined the Reich as a federation of republican states. The constitution provided for bill of rights and universal adult suffrage on the basis of proportional representation. There was provision for a Reich President to be elected by a popular vote for a term of 7 years. It also provided for a Chancellor and a Cabinet directly responsible to the Reichstag or Legislative Assembly. The Legislature was composed of two Houses. The Lower House, Reichstag functioned as the chief legislative body. The Upper House was called Reichsrat. The Assembly extended President Ebert's term of office which was continued by a regularly elected Reichstag until 1925. The republican constitution provided for a Supreme Court on the model of Supreme Court of U.S.A. The system of referendum was borrowed from Switzerland and the fundamental rights of the citizens such as equality before law, civic and economic freedom was guaranteed.

In May, 1919 the seat of the Assembly was transferred to Berlin The Weimer republic which attempted to establish peace and order in Germany after World War I had a hard hoe to row", as Mr. Schumann puts it, in foreign and internal affairs. The Assembly was accused for surrendering Germany to the mercy of the Allied powers by accepting the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. In the words of David Thompson, "The new political democracy was thus superimposed upon a social order that had changed surprisingly little An overriding and universal national resentment against defeat against the terms of Peace, against the Allies who were responsible for both, was the only common sentiment. The new regime commanded little emotional loyalty, and was soon to be unjustly condemned as having been delivered in the baggage trains of the Allies'.

'The result of such disloyalty towards the republic soon manifested itself in the attempts made to overthrow it. The first such attempt was the Kapp Putsch of 1920. On March 11, 1920 a detachment of German

crack troops disbanded by the Allies marched into Berlin under Captain Ehrhardt. They were in alliance with the commander of Berlin General Luttwitz. The republic was dissolved and a provisional government headed by Dr. Wolfgang Kapp and Luttwitz was formed. The Government which had taken shelter first at Dresden and then at Stutgart, was helpless to resist this coup d'etat. But the workers of the city of Berlin opposed it and went on strike. The conspirators fell out among themselves, gave up the attempt and fled. Thus the attempted counter-revolution was checked not to any vigorous measure taken by the government but due to the opposition of the workers. Even when the attempted coup failed miserably the government did not take strong measures to punish the offenders. General Seeckt who had refused to open fire on the insurgent fellow officers was now the appointed chief of the German army in place of Luttwitz. Thus for his indirect co-operation with the rebels the General was virtually rewarded by the government.

The failure of the Kapp Putsch, however, did not end the attempt of the reactionaries to overthrow the democratic republic. They instituted a sort of inquisition against Jews, supporters of socialism and persons connected with the signing of the peace treaty. Ezberger, a centrist leader and Walter Rathenau, a prominent industrialist and Philosopher, were among those who fell to the dagger of the assassin and attempts were made upon the lives of Ebert and Scheidemann. In Munich in January, 1919. the German Workers' Party was created. It was christened as the National Socialist German Workers' Party (N.S.D.A.P.) after Adolf Hitler, an unknown Austrian corporal, joined it in March, 1920. This party was backed by the reactionaries, Junkers and militarists including General Ludendroff. It was vehemently anti-communist, and anti-semetic. In November, 1923 an attempt was made by this group in Munich to overthrow the government. It is known as Ludendroff-Hitler putsch. But the army remained loyal to the government and the plan of the conspirators clashed with another group of Bavarian conspirators. It ended in a fiasco and Hitler found himself in jail where he wrote his autobiography or *Mein Kampf*. In his *Mein Kampf* he outlined his future policy, plans and programmes. In the meanwhile the republic had to tackle various problems including financial crisis and a French occupation of the Ruhr.

The financial problems of Germany after World War I were enhanced due to the dislocation of the factories and industries after the war. The government followed a meek policy in financial matters and failed to tax the industrialists and the profiteers. The adverse balance of trade, inflation, reparation payments and deficit budget

affected Germany's financial stability. The policy of issuing paper currency to tide over the crisis resulted in a precipitous fall in the value of Mark which in November 1922 stood as compared to dollar in the proportion of 1:7000. The war had left Germany exhausted, with immeasurable loss in men, money and wealth. Welfare activities in health, or social improvement were dropped. Millions suffered from lack of food and shelter and barest necessities of life. Under these circumstances Germany's economic miseries reached its climax when the French government, eager to gain productive guarantee from Germany, occupied the industrially advanced Ruhr area under the pretext of Germany's failure to make the reparation payment according to schedule in January, 1923. But the Ruhr occupation ushered in certain far-reaching changes in Germany. These changes were, mainly, acceptance of the Dawes plan upon French withdrawal from the Ruhr, the advancement of a large amount of foreign loan to Germany, the fall of Poincare ministry and the beginning of the period of Streseman's domination in German politics.

The financial crash which Germany faced immediately after the post-Versailles period was heightened as we have seen by the indiscriminate printing of the paper money and the Ruhr occupation. But a determined effort on the part of the German government and people to rescue their Fatherland from ruin as also a foreign loan to the extent of 800 million Marks under the Dawes plan saved Germany for the time being. German recovery was also due to the scheme of rationalization under which labour savings were effected. For instance a bank that worked in 1914 with 334 persons carried on the same volume of work in 1929 with only 284 persons. Such economy and labour saving devices were applied also in agriculture, industry and other departments of economic life. But it had the fatal drawback of throwing thousands out of employment. For the time being, however, it worked apparently for the recovery of German business and economic life. German recovery was also visible in the development of coal, chemistry and cartel. The development of coal industry was effected by the improvement of technique as also by the replacement of black coal by the brown coal. The growing demand of the rising steel industry was met by this development in coal mining which reached nearly pre-war level. German chemists invented synthetic quinine, camphor, indigo, menthol, nitrate, rubber, gasoline, artificial silk and other chemical products. These products rapidly minimized Germany's dependence upon outside world for the raw materials. In Germany there developed even before the outbreak of the First World War large trusts or cartels which united all stages of production. These

trusts had become so powerful in the post-Versailles period and had so abused their power in controlling prices and sales that the government was forced to pass in 1923 a cartel law for curbing their activities. But in spite of this law for curtailing the activities of the cartels the system made compensatory progress in the development of international cartels in steel, rail and potash industries. The development of German merchant marine received government patronisation. German shipping occupied twelfth place among world's commercial fleet, but by 1930 German merchant marine made such rapid strides that it came to occupy third place, next only to U.K. and U.S.A. In motor industry Germany received the aid and cooperation of U.S.A. firms which opened branches in Germany. Berlin with its skyscrapers appeared to be more influenced by Americanism than any other city of Europe. Defeated Germany was endowed with new factories, industries, schools and new techniques of production. In 1929 the Young Committee granted Germany a further loan of 300 million dollars and in the Lausanne Conference of 1932 the reparation payment virtually ceased. But this economic prosperity was based on unsound grounds. Firstly, the problem of securing foreign loans and making reparation payments presented increasing difficulty. Secondly, rationalization meant mounting unemployment. Thirdly, German attempt to decrease consumption in rye and potatoes increased the economic crisis of the agriculturists. Fourthly, increasing foreign tariff enhanced the problem of marketing German goods in foreign market. Fifthly, the withdrawal of government patronisation from munition industries caused loss for business in military and naval supplies. Lastly, the loss of the Russian market caused serious damage to German trade and industry. The result was mounting unemployment. The government had undertaken welfare projects and had kept the per capita taxation at a lower rate than even the rate of taxation in Britain and France. This was done notwithstanding heavy reparation obligations. Germany's economic prosperity entirely depended upon foreign loan, and it collapsed as soon as foreign loan stopped. During these years the United States was the creditor country which helped Germany to reconstruct her industry and make reparation payments. The money ultimately flowed back to America through the payment of inter-Allied debts. It did not, however, contribute to actual flow of goods in international trade. The result was a pressure on world's economy which resulted in the economic crash of 1929. The Great Depression, at first, affected the economy of the United States where in October 1929 alone there was such a great rush for selling stocks that on 24th of the month—'the Black Thursday'—

thirteen million shares were sold. This had its repercussion on European economy. In Germany and Austria it had a shattering effect. The famous Austrian Bank Credit Anstalt closed its doors. Foreign investors started withdrawing their investment, and as a result there was contraction of trade and commerce. Banks and factories closed down and thousands were thrown out of employment. As a result of this disaster 6,000,000 men were thrown out of employment and there was general bankruptcy. President Hindenburg issued emergency decrees which cut down expenditure and imposed new taxes. Germany appealed to Britain for financial help. Unemployment insurance schemes and doles seemed quite inadequate to meet the problem. The Great Depression affected lawyers, doctors, professional men, old pensioners, clerks, shopkeepers and middle class people and workers whose suffering was immeasurable. The result of this Great Depression was to create a breach in the Weimar republic through which Hitler stepped in and grabbed power.

Domestic Politics—1924-1932. Domestic politics in Germany during these years was unstable due to the growth of a number of small parties. Between 1919 and 1933 Germany had no less than 19 ministries. This lack of stability affected the domestic politics of Germany adversely. The Weimar republic has been often painted as a democratic regime which fell a prey to the conspiracy launched by the militarists who during 1919-1933 were slowly laying the foundations of their power till it was ruthlessly destroyed by the National Socialists. The Weimar republic was moderate, it is said, in dealing with the extremists. But such an assumption is wide off the mark. Germany under Weimar republic had a coalition government from the very start. In this coalition mostly the Social Democrats shared power with the Centrists and the Rightists. The result was, soon the balance fitted in favour of the Rightists and from 1922 onwards the coalition governments formed under the Weimar republic could govern only with the help of the Rightists. The coalition thus was composed of the Centrists and Democratic parties in alliance with the Social Democrats and people's parties. It rested mainly on the right centre and held together for more than six years (1923-1930). In 1925 after the death of Ebert (February, 1925) Field Marshal Hindenburg was elected president defeating socialist and communist candidates. The left parties polled together more votes than the right but the communists and the socialists failed to present a united front.

Hindenburg's election in 1925 as President was considered to be a blow at the republic. He, however, promised to hold up the constitution without reservation and appointed a coalition ministry under the

Centrist leader Marx. This ministry lost support in 1928 election and the new Assembly which contained an increased number of socialist deputies elected 'Muller' who had signed the Treaty of Versailles as the Chancellor. His ministry being a coalition could not pull on together for a long time.

The world economic crisis which began in 1929 had its repercussion in the domestic politics of Germany. In 1929 the Young Plan came into operation and relieved Germany of much of its reparation problems. The evacuation of the Rhineland in 1930 further eased the situation for Germany. But yet the fruits of these improvements could not be utilised for strengthening the prestige of the Weimar republic. The great economic depression stopped foreign loans and resulted in destroying the economic stability of Germany. In politics extreme parties gained ground. In 1930 election the Nazis increased their membership in Reichstag to 107 whereas in the previous assembly they had only 12 seats. Correspondingly the communist party's representatives increased from 55 to 77. The socialist members of the Reichstag secured 143 seats whereas they had 153 seats in the previous assembly. The same inclination of a preference for the extremism found expression in the presidential election of 1932. In this election President Von Hindenburg won by securing 19¼ million votes. But Hitler received thirteen and half million votes, that is 5¾ million less and the communist candidate Ernest Thalmann received 5 million votes The crisis in German economy continued and unemployment figures rose to six million. But in the Reichstag no political group could command majority, which resulted in a series of unstable ministries that governed through emergency decrees. These emergency decrees authorized the President under Article 48 of the Weimar constitution to "declare the fundamental rights of the citizens wholly or partially in abeyance." In May, 1932 Hindenburg dismissed the Bruning Cabinet which was ruling through emergency decrees. The President now appointed Papen as the Chancellor. His cabinet was called the 'Baron's Cabinet' because he selected colleagues from a group of conservatives. He now hatched the plan which ultimately placed all power in the hands of Hitler. The ministry of Papen lacked popular support and therefore to retain power Papen entered into tacit bargain with the Nazis. They tolerated the revival of the Nazi party's activities. The election of July, 1932 of a new Reichstag resulted in the emergence of the Nazi party as a single majority party with 230 seats, as against 133 socialist, 97 centrist and 89 communists. Fresh elections were held the same year in November and the Nazis lost 34 seats. The communists gained 11 more seats in these elections. But by this time Ger-

many's parliamentary institutions had reached a deadlock because the communists and the Nazis refused to cooperate with each other. The ministry of General Schleicher formed in December 1932 lasted only for a month. It failed due to the intrigue of Papen who misjudged the whole revolutionary situation and decided to use Hitler as his tool. On January 30, Hindenburg was persuaded by Papen to appoint Hitler as the Chancellor. Thus the Nazis rose to power outwardly through constitutional method but in reality through the conspiracy woven by Papen and his friend Thyssen, the steel magnate. On March 5, Hitler ordered fresh election on the eve of which the Reichstag was conveniently burnt and the blame was shifted on the shoulders of the communists. This gave Hitler opportunity to attack the communists brutally and to outlaw the communist party. Thus debarring the communists from election Hitler and his party secured 288 seats in the Reichstag. The Nazis were supported by the Nationalists, *i.e.*, the conservatives representing big business and aristrocracy. The Nazis gradually eliminated all opposition. The Enabling Act gave Hitler dictatorial power for 4 years. Hitler's assumption of power was sanctioned by plebiscite in November. In August 1934 President Hindenburg died and Hitler became the Fuhrer and Chancellor assuming all his Presidential power. Thus the graveyard of the Weimar republic was dug by Nazis. Soon the cabinet by a decree declared that the only legal party in Germany was the Nazi Party.

The Foreign Policy of the Weimar Republic. In foreign affairs the men of Weimar had to face grave problems. Born of the emergency situation arising out of Germany's defeat the Weimar republic had to face an extremely difficult situation in foreign affairs. During this period German's foreign policy was guided mostly by Stresemann. Among the problems of Germany that required immediate attention was the question of revival of her trade and commerce. In international politics Germany was completely isolated. It was urgently necessary to break this isolation. Moreover Germany's weakness had led France in the post-Versailles era to make excessive demand. The desire of German people to re-establish Germany to her old position of power and prestige and swift change of ministries in the Reichstag enhanced the problem of following a consistent foreign policy. In the freak of German election Stresemann managed to retain his position as the most dominating figure in foreign politics. In 1923 he became the Chancellor and although his ministry fell in November he remained the foreign minister until his death in October, 1929. In the post-Versailles period Germany looked east-

ward to escape treaty obligations and restrictions. Soviet Union, another defeated power, was eager to make alliances with western powers. After the Bolshevik revolution she was treated as an outcast by the west. The two defeated central powers now agreed to forget the old enmity and treat with each other. In this the policy makers of the Weimar were pursuing a path chalked out by Bismarck. In 1922 the German and Russian delegates to the Genoa Conference concluded a treaty known as the Treaty of Rapallo. The Genoa Conference was in reality called to promote the post-war economic reconstruction of Central and Eastern Europe. In April, 1922, in the midst of a deadlock in the proceedings of the Conference, Rathenau, on behalf of Germany, signed a treaty with Russia. This treaty provided for mutual restitution of claims and mutual recognition. It also provided for the promotion of trade between two countries. Germany and Russia also arranged for surreptitious military cooperation. The alliance with Russia was concluded before Stresemann came to power, and he used the possibility of a closer alliance between defeated Germany and Bolshevik Russia to gain concession from England and France. In the words of Hartmann, "considering the problem involved he had to walk a narrow tight rope." To safeguard Germany's interest Stresemann tried to reconcile France and England. Therefore, he had to leave the question of Germany's eastern frontier open. He also persuaded the Germans to desist from their passive resistance in the Ruhr. As a result the relation between France and Germany improved, and France was persuaded to evacuate Ruhr, Dusseldorf and Duisberg. Stresemann was also responsible for inducing Germany to accept the Dawes Plan. The economic recovery resulting from the acceptance contributed to a large extent to improved relations in international field. The growth of a cordial relation between Germany, on the one hand, and France and Britain, on the other, resulted from the policy pursued by Stresemann, and Aristide Briand, the French Foreign Minister. England whose policy of maintaining balance in the continent fitted in with the sort of mutual guarantee treaty proposed by Stresemann to Briand in 1925 readily supported the project. France agreed with certain reservations and on condition that Germany should become a member of the League of Nations. The fruit of these negotiations was the Locarno Pact which while "underwriting the *status quo* of the German-French and German-Belgium frontiers" did not provide for similar guarantee with regard to Germany's eastern frontier. Britain and Italy gave guarantee for the treaty. This Locarno honey-moon.[1]

1. David Thomson—Europe since Napoleon, pp. 634-640.

as David Thomson puts it, apparently improved international situation by placing Germany back again to her status of equality with other great European powers. Austin Chamberlain, Britain's Foreign Minister and one of the architects of the Locarno Pact, described it as "the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace". For Germany at least the Locarno agreement ushered a temporary revival of confidence and a re-establishment of her dignity and status. The Locarno Pact definitely improved the international situation. Germany's application for League membership was made on condition that the republic should not be made a battleground, in case if, the west goes to war against Soviet Union nor should Germany be asked to take up arms against Russia. But in reply to German apprehension it was pointed out that Article 16 of the Covenant clearly states that a member state is bound by the Article "to an extent which is compatible with its military situation and takes its geographical position into account." Thus assured Germany appealed for League membership and requested for a permanent seat in the Council. The German request for permanent seat in the Council created immediate deadlock because to the surprise of Germany, Spain, Brazil, Poland, China and Czechoslovakia also decided to put up similar claims which created an impasse. Britain and France were playing dubious roles on the question of Germany's admission to the League council. The former supported Spanish claim while the latter upheld the case of Poland. Under this situation Germany felt that the spirit of Locarno was not genuine. German sentiment received a great shock and Germany turned her face once again towards the east. At the height of the controversy over Germany's admission to the League Council Stresemann signed another treaty with Moscow in April, 1926. It was the threat of an alliance with Red Moscow which Germany now held before the west and used it as a lever to gain concessions. This treaty between Berlin and Moscow reaffirmed the terms of the Treaty of Rapallo. Germany and Russia agreed by this pact to remain neutral towards each other. This had its desired effect and in September, 1926 when the League Assembly met again, Germany was elected unanimously to the League Council. The non-permanent seats in the Council were increased from 6 to 9 to accommodate the sentiment of other applicants for Council membership. But Spain and Brazil withdrew in protest from League membership. The unfortunate developments connected with Germany's admission to the League left bitter memories and nationalist sentiment in Germany entertained strong resentment against

the League. Berlin felt that perhaps Germany's return to a status of equality with other powers was more apparent than real.

But there was an appreciable improvement in Germany's status after the signing of the Locarno Pact. In 1927 the last of the Allied Commissioners was withdrawn from Germany. The Young Committee in the meanwhile started its work for a reassessment of the reparation problem and published its report on June 27, 1929. The Young Plan which was accepted in 1929 eased Germany's reparation problem. As a result of the acceptance of the Young Plan Stresemann was able to persuade the Allied powers to start evacuation of the occupation troops from Rhineland five years ahead of the schedule. This evacuation was completed in June, 1930. "This was the final fruit of Stresemann's policies. After this point, with the coming of depression, little happened in foreign affairs until the convening of the World Disarmament Conference in February, 1932. There Germany, with the bulk of its attention concentrated on problems at home, continued to argue without success for equality of armaments with other great powers."[2] But with the Great Depression raging in full swing there was hardly any chance of Germany's gaining any success in foreign affairs. The result was the Weimar republic sank in the estimate of the German people and the Nazis took advantage of the breach created by the economic crisis. Henceforth Germany's foreign affairs will be guided by men who had little respect for peace and democracy.

Causes of the downfall of the Weimar Republic and the rise of Nazism. The Weimar republic "had a hard hoe to row"[3] in foreign and internal affairs. From her very birth she had to face tremendous difficulties. The revolution of 1918 was a superficial change. The Kaiser and other 25 princelings of Germany were driven out. But the bureaucratic structure of the state and the socio-economic base remained the same. The democratic form of government established through the Weimar constitution was a superimposition with which Germany was unfamiliar. German unification itself was the work of the authoritarian statesman Bismarck. German tradition was not acquainted with the democratic form of government established in the post-Versailles period.

From the very outset the Weimar republic was associated in the mind of Germany with the hated Treaty of Versailles. The stringent and harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the imposition of the

---

2. **Fredrick H. Hartmann**—Relations of Nations, p. 521.
3. **Schuman**—International Politics, p. 472.

war guilt clause and the humiliations associated with it were criticised by the enemies of the Weimar republic which was held unjustly as responsible for accepting such terms. The Social Democrats and republicans were branded as betrayers of German cause and were held responsible for Germany's defeat and degradation. The militarists and malcontents together with the Nazis and Junkers sought to discredit the democrats as the architect of Germany's misfortune in the First World War. The Reichswehr undermined the authority of the Weimar republic. Disbanded soldiers, hungry, unemployed, disillusioned youth, and discontented industrialists and businessmen lost confidence in the high sounding phrases used by parliamentarians. The opportunists and supporters of the Nazi party took advantage of this smouldering fire of discontent to create the myth that Germany's salvation lay in in the abolition of the Weimar constitution and the establishment of strong government. The working of the democratic system of government in Germany was not easy-going. Between 1919 and 1933 it saw the rise and fall of 19 ministries. Naturally parliamentary system did not inspire confidence among the majority of German people who hoped for the return of the good old times and prayed for the rise of a saviour.

With the introduction of the Dawes Plan and the signing of the Locarno Pact the credit of the Weimar republic was temporarily revived. The foreign policy of Stresemann rescued German prestige for the time being. Germany took her place in the League of Nations as a great power. The decision of the French to withdraw from the Ruhr led to the release of German foreign exchange. The foreign loan made available to Germany through the Dawes Plan and later on Young Plan resulted in a temporary revival of trade and industry. But the consequence of the Great Depression resulted in undermining all this make-belief prosperity. German economy crumbled into pieces consequent upon the world economic crisis of 1929-31, and through the breaches created thereby the National Socialists stepped in to hold firmly and ruthlessly the reins of government.

The crisis in confidence in the Weimar republic was also psychological and the National Socialists took advantage of it in full. This psychological factor was all the more strengthened by the attitude taken up by the Allies towards Germany. The French occupation of the Ruhr and the opposition that Germany faced on the question of her admission to a permanent seat in the League Council are few among many other developments in international field which hurt German feeling and pride. The men of Weimar readily discarded old German symbols and heroes. Many in Germany including young

war veterans, university students, conservative peasants and aristocrats yearned for the good old days of pomp and glory of colour and triumph. The result was a loss of credit for the republic. The most significant book produced during these years was Spengler's—'The Decline of the West'. "He appealed enormously to the German intellectuals already full of Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Wagner, to German youth in revolt against reason as was the early nineteenth-century romantic movement, but rebelling now against the reason of mechanization, technology and science, and to Europeans everywhere, who sensed in Spengler's intoxicating, mystical pessimistic ideal, some hint of explanation of a World in decay...."[4] In a period of gloom he prophesied with confidence a revival of the west by caesarism. Hitler's rise and a German totalitarian world state was a predestined affair, if Spengler was right. He foreshadowed "even in detail that New order which Herr Hitler tried in 1939 to impose on a curiously ungrateful world".[5] Increasingly the German people felt the need of a 'strong man' who would salvage Germany from the predicament in which she found herself in the post-Versailles period due to the bungling of her democratic statesmen.

Hitler came to power not by using force but by using constitutional machinery. He banked upon the desire of the German people to secure for themselves a place in the sun. The failure of the Weimar republic to restore the prestige of Germany was one of the chief causes of its downfall. Hitler merely voiced their desire. The antisemetic policy of the Nazis also found easy response among the Junkers, militarists and industrialists of Germany. The alliance of Germany with Soviet Union and the growth of the communist party had alarmed the vested interests. The Nazi theory of race-superiority appealed to the German mind. Thus the dirge of the Weimar republic was sung from its very birth and the path for an easy victory for the Nazi Party was paved.

SUMMARY

The Treaty of Versailles had reduced German army and navy to a figure less than the armed strength of Belgium. The demilitarization of Rhineland and its occupation by Allied forces for a period of 15 years and internationalization of Saar (France having the use of its coal-fields) for 15 years hit Germany hard. But soon there arose differences between England and France, the latter favouring further humiliation of the fallen foe. The French employed coloured troops which called for pro-

4. David Thompson—Europe since Napoleon, p. 661.
5. See History by V. Ghordon Childe (Colbett Press), p. 62.

test from Germans and encouraged separatist movement in Rhineland. But due to England's opposition both these measures were discarded.

The German Revolution 1918-1919 led to the abdication of Kaiser William II and the growth of the working class movement. But the Sparacist or Communist movement led by Rosa Luxemburg and Liebknecht was drowned in a blood bath in the Spartacus week declared by the Communists on January 5. The Germans adopted a republican constitution under the leadership of Ebert, the Social Democrat who subsequently became president. The Assembly that gave Germany the republican constitution met in Weimar and therefore the republic is called the Weimar Republic. The Assembly faced the three-fold task of setting the home government in order, of making peace with the Allied powers and of evolving a constitution. It accomplished its tasks in face of grave difficulties. From the very outset the Weimar republic had to defend itself from the attempts to overthrow it. The Weimar constitution did not change anything in the social order. It was associated with defeat and became an object of violent attack for the stringent terms of the Versailles Treaty in the making of which they had no hand. In the early period there were two attempts to overthrow it forcibly. The first is known as Kapp-ptusch (1920 A.D.) which failed due to the alertness of the Berlin workers who went on strike as a mark of protest. The second was the Ludendroff-Hitler putsch which ended ignominiously.

The Weimar republic was saddled with financial difficulties due to adverse balance of trade, inflation, reparation, profiteering, unemployment and deficit budget. In 1922 the dollar-Mark ratio stood at 1:7000. It was further enhanced by the French occupation of Ruhr on the pretext of Germany's failure to make reparation payment according to schedule. But the Ruhr occupation secured the Dawes Plan for Germany consequent upon which the French withdrew from Ruhr and Germany secured foreign loan. German recovery was effected by the introduction of rationalization, development in coal and steel industry and the invention of synthetic products such as quinine, indigo and menthol. U.S.A. loans helped the recovery of German industry and shipping. In 1929 the Young Committee granted Germany a further loan of 300 million dollars and in the Lausann Conference of 1932 the reparation payments virtually ceased. But Germany's economic prosperity entirely depended upon foreign loans and it collapsed as soon as foreign loans stopped due to the Great Depression of 1929-31. In domestic politics the Weimar republic failed to secure for Germany a stable government due to the growth of a number of splinter parties. The Weimar republic had a coalition government from the very start. In these coalitions mostly the Social Democrats shared power with the Rightists and as a result soon the balance fitted in favour of Rightists. In 1925 after the death of Ebert, Hindenburg was elected president and he remained as such till his death in 1934. The economic crisis of 1929-31 had its repercussions in German domestic politics and in 1930 elections the extreme parties gained ground. The Nazis or National socialists increased their number in Reichstag to 107 and the number of Communist representatives increased from 55 to 77. But in the Reichstag no political group could command majority, which resulted in a series of unstable ministries that

governed through emergency decrees. In May 1932 Hindenburg dismissed the Brunning ministry and appointed Papen to form the 'Baron's Cabinet.' In the July election the Nazis secured 230 seats as against 133 Socialists, 99 Centrists and 89 Communists, and in November election the Nazis had lost 34 seats. German parliamentary system now reached a deadlock due to the refusal of the Nazis and Communists to form coalition. On January 30, Hindenburg was persuaded by Papen to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. Outwardly the Nazis came to power through constitutional method but in reality the Nazi seizure of power was largely the result of the conspiracy hatched by Papen and his friend Thyssen, the steel magnate. Immediately afterwards Hitler ordered a fresh election on the eve of which the Communists were ruthlessly suppressed on the pretext of the burning of the Reichstag. The Nazis gained 288 seats in the election and Hitler assumed dictatorial power by the Enabling Act. Hindenburg died in August 1934 and all the Presidential powers were usurped by Hitler.

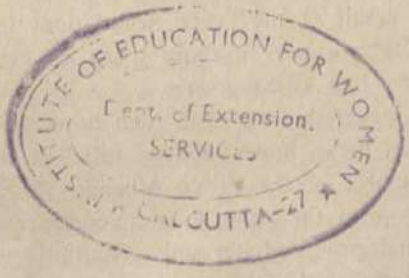
In the post-Versailles era Germany eager to regain her prestige and revive her trade entered with Soviet Russia into a treaty known as the treaty of Rapollo (1922). It provided for mutual restitution of claims and mutual recognition. The treaty also provided for promotion of trade and surreptitious military co-operation. During these years German foreign policy was dominated by Stresemann who became the Chancellor in 1923. Though his ministry fell in November he remained the Foreign Minister until his death in October, 1929. Stresemann used the possibility of a closer alliance with Bolshevik Russia to gain concession from England and France. The latter power was persuaded to evacuate Ruhr. He proposed a sort of mutual guarantee treaty which was readily accepted by France and England. The fruit of these negotiations was the Locarno Pact which while "underwriting the status quo of the German-French and German-Belgium frontiers" did not provide for similar guarantee with regard to Germany's eastern frontier. Subsequently Germany was admitted to the League of Nations in 1926 and was given a permanent seat in the League Council though the later event took place after overriding similar claims put forward by Spain, Brazil, Poland, China and Czechoslovakia. The obstacles placed in the path of Germany's admission to the League Council was a great shock which induced Germany to sign another treaty with Moscow in 1926. The Locarno Pact provided for an improvement of relation between Germany and other powers. The Young Plan eased Germany's economic problem. The Allied powers were persuaded to start evacuation of the Rhineland. But in the ill-fated World Disarmament Conference of 1932, Germany argued without success for equality of armaments with other great powers. With the Great Depression raging in full swing there was hardly any chance of Germany's gaining any success in foreign affairs. The result was the Weimar republic further sunk in the eyes of the German people and the Nazis took full advantage of it to impress upon the masses the need for a strong man to guide the destiny of the Tutonic race.

The Weimar republic was a superimposition with which Germany was unfamiliar. The causes of its failure are many. The causes of its failure are interwoven with the causes of the rise of the National Socialists or

fascists in Germany. Firstly, the creators of the Weimar republic were from the very outset branded as traitors for accepting the Treaty of Versailles which certainly was not their making. Secondly, the Nazis and militarists unjustly discredited the democrats as architects of Germany's misfortune and pleaded for the need of a 'strong man' for Germany's salvation. Thirdly, the unstable coalitions between 1919 and 1933 doomed the democratic experiment in Germany to failure. This period saw the rise and fall of 19 ministries and caused disappointment among the people who prayed for the return of the good old days and for the rise of a saviour. Fourthly, the World economic crisis shattered all hopes for Germany's recovery, created breaches through which the Nazis marched to seize power. Fifthly, the crisis in confidence in the Weimar republic was psychological and the Allied policy towards Germany was largely reponsible for creating it. The conservative peasants, the university students, the young war veterans, all yearned for the return of the pomp and glory of the past. In this gloom Spengler in his famous work—The Decline of the West—predicted the revival of the white race by Caesarism. Sixthly, the rise of Hitler to power was largely contributed by the men of Weimar who offered him the chance of grasping the reins of government, through constitutional means, from the weaker hands.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE :—

1. **Birdsall, P.** : Versailles Twenty Years After.
2. **Carr, E.H.** : The Twenty Years' Crisis.
3. **Nicholson, H.** : Peace Making 1919.
4. **Thomson, David** : Europe since Napoleon.
5. **Shotwell, J.T.** : What Germany Forgot.
6. **Seton-Watson, R. W.** : Britain and the Dictators.
7. **Schuman** : International Politics.



Chapter 4

Italy and the Rise of Fascism

Italy's dissatisfaction with the Peace Settlement of 1919. Italy was a member of the victorious camp of the Allied powers in the First World War; yet she emerged from the world war a defeated nation. The Italians were defeated decisively at the battlefield of Caporetto in October 1917 by the Austrian army. The Italians could not efface the bitterness of the memory of this defeat in spite of their subsequent victory over the Austrians at Vitorio Veneto with the help of British and American troops. In the peace negotiations at Paris the Italian claims were ignored by the Allied statesmen. President Wilson had, in fact, appealed to the Italian people over the head of the Italian delegates Orlando and Sonnino who left the conference in a huff and returned after receiving from the Italian Chamber of Deputies a vote of confidence. Italy was disappointed and discontented by the result of the peace negotiations in which her purpose of obtaining 'Lebensraum' or more space for her growing population was defeated by the Allied powers.

Italy had joined the war with high hopes and she had reasons to believe that these hopes will be fulfilled after the war. Italy, originally a member of the Triple Alliance, was induced to leave the Central powers with the promise of a considerable bribe. Germany and Austria had promised her only Trentino but the Allied powers held out the hope of the above mentioned territory plus Trieste and Istria, all Dalmation coast except Fiume, Vallona and a protectorate over Albania. Italy also received the promise of a share in the German and Turkish empires in Africa and the hope of gaining Adalia in Turkey. With all these inducements she deserted the Central powers and joined the Allied powers. The compact was signed by the secret treaty of London in April, 1915. In May of the same year

Italy declared war against Austria and against Germany 15 months later. To Italy the war proved a great strain and resulted in much sacrifice in men and material. Italy had mobilised nearly six million men of which 700,000 were killed. The war cost Italy nearly 12 million dollars. She naturally expected that in the peace treaties she will be amply rewarded for her war efforts. But in this she was disappointed. The encouragement given by Wilson to the principle of self-determination created illusion in the Italian mind about the possibility of gaining Fiume in the Adriatic coast. But after the war the Allied statesmen were not at all in a mood to oblige Italy. It was decided in the Peace Conference at Paris that Italy should have her frontier extended from Trentino to the Brenner. She should have the Dalmatian port Sara and the island Lagosto, but not the rest of the Dalmatian coast. Italy could not secure the protectorate over Albania or the port of Valona, key to the strait of Otranto. Not much of Africa excepting small extension to Libya and Somaliland was gained by Italy in the peace treaties. In the Near East the gains of Italy were confined to some commercial concessions. The territories promised to Italy were either gained by Greece or retained by Turkey. Above all, the acquisition of the port of Fiume was a slavic ambition and therefore Italy could not acquire it at the Peace Conference. Gabriele D'Annunzio, a popular Italian poet, led a band of desperados in a chartered boat to assail Fiume and capture the city which they held for some time. But Giovanni Giolitti, the Prime Minister of Italy, recognised the independence of Fiume in a treaty with Yugoslavia and sent a warship to drive out Annunzio and his followers. This incident further deepened the discontent of the Italian nationalists.

The Italians felt themselves cheated at the Paris peace conference. Italians felt that the sacrifice of the Italians in the First World War had gone in vain. Italy was full of dissatisfaction; in Europe she did not gain all that she desired, above all, not Fiume; outside Europe, she had secured nothing tangible. "Italians felt themselves disgraced in the eyes of the world, swindled by their own politicians. War had cost Italy dear, draining her of money, saddling her with a budget deficit of over twelve thousand million lire, forcing up the cost of living. The political party in power in 1919 was pacifist, its leaders old and cynical. It is little wonder that Italians turned to violence".[1]

---

1. The Post-War World—A short political history—J. Hampden Jackson, p. 80.

From criticism of the Allied statesmen the Italians now turned to a violent criticism of domestic politicians. Fierce nationalists and patriots referred to old politicians as parasites. The feeble government of Italy deserved much of criticism directed against it. The general impression that the ordinary man in the street carried about the government was Italy had won the war but lost the peace due to the incapacity of its leaders. The government had to face problems which it was beyond its capacity to solve. The demobilization of a large number of soldiers increased the army of unemployed. Foreign trade and tourist traffic offered no relief because the restrictions in international trade had adversely affected Italy's trade with other countries. The chaos in that country had scared away many tourists. Economically, therefore, Italy in the post-Versailles era was in a bad plight. The Italian currency was rapidly declining in value. For instance, the value of Lira in 1914 was 19.3 cents but in 1920 it stood at 5 cents. Banks were inclined to restrict credit. Factories were closing down and a shortage of consumers goods was accompanied by the rise in price by three to four hundred per cent. Italian economy was in a bad plight and naturally it had its repercussions in her domestic politics.

Circumstances favouring the rise of Fascism in Italy. The chaos of the post-Versailles era favoured the rise of Fascism in Italy. The economic crisis of the period led to the spread of Bolshevik ideology and to many in Italy the path chalked out by the extremist parties proved more alluring than the empty talks of armchair politicians of a sham democracy. "The circumstances under which Fascism developed in Italy, though in a sense peculiar to that country, confirm the thesis that this form of autocracy is the product of situation when democratic sentiment proves incompatible with effective parliamentary government."[2] In Italy conditions were unfavourable for the growth of a democratic tradition. Italy, a geographical expression, even in the nineteenth century was united by military action. Regionalism and local attachment still divided the people and hampered the growth of national integrity. The Italian parliamentary system was modelled on the British constitution. But it cracked under the strain of the First World War. In the elections the constitutional parties won the majority. Among the major parties in Italy during this period, the moderate Liberals were led by Giolitti, the Social Democrats by Bonomi and the new Catholic party by the priest Sturzo. But the government failed to guarantee a stable administration due

2. G. M. Gathorne Hardy—A Short History of International Affairs, p. 154.

to the lack of stable majority by a single party. Between 1919 to 1922 Italy saw six governments which were mostly the results of short-term coalitions of heterogeneous majority of discordant factions secured as a result of concession and bargains. Giolitti, the ageing party boss, was a past master in the art of manipulating parliamentary majority and thereby established a virtual dictatorship. Italy was more than ever plagued with poverty and violence. A faction calling themselves 'Fascists' that had been created in Milan rapidly gathered strength. The word fascist is entomologically derived from "the Roman rods or fasces, which were carried by the lictors before the chief magistrate of the state as emblems of authority."[3] But the term Fasci has been used in Italy for conveying the sense of 'political combinations."[4] It was in the ultimate analysis the product of the mortal fear of capitalism of the 'spectre of Communism' which was haunting Europe at this critical juncture of history. Unemployment and lock-out in factories resulted in strikes and seizure of factories by Bolshevik minded workers. The philosophy of Communist revolution was preached with more and more vehemence. The Socialists who had gained 156 candidates in the Chamber of Deputies and were the largest single party in the legislature preached the necessity of setting up workmen's councils. The war veterans and disbanded soldiers were mocked at the street. Frightened industrialists and landlords sought to buy protection and Benito Mussolini the Duce or leader of the Fascism in Italy was the product of this mortal fear of the vested interests and paralysis of national force in Italy. The rise of Fascism in Italy was also largely contributed by the dissension among the left forces of the country. In January, 1921 there took place split between the communists and socialists. The left forces in the country thus failed to maintain a united front against the increasing possibility of violence from the right. What the left lost in disunity the Fascists gained due to the solidarity achieved by their party when they elected in 1921 Benito Mussolini as their sole leader or Duce.

Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) was born of poor parents at Foril in the Romagna. His father was a blacksmith and his mother a school mistress. In the early part of his life the struggle to ward off poverty drove him to the socialist camp. Mussolini took to journalism and became an active agitator for the socialist party. He became the editor of the socialist paper "Avanti". But the outbreak of

3. H.A.L. Fisher—History of Europe, Vol. III, p. 1193.

4. G.M. Gathorne Hardy—A Short History of International Affairs, p. 156 F.N.

the First World War led to his defection from the socialist party because he was favouring a war against Austria in 1915. He joined the army and was wounded on Isonzo front. After his discharge from the army Mussolini returned to Milan as an editor of the "Il popolo d'Italia". Mussolini called in 1919 a meeting of those discontented agitators and malcontents who professed to solve Italy's problem. The different groups (fasci) formed earlier and affiliated to the society known as fasci d'azione were merged in March, 1919 into the Fascist party. Mussolini borrowed much of the political ritual of Fascism from the poet Gabriele d'Annunzio (1863-1938). The Fascists adopted long-reaching programmes including nationalization of munition factories, economic councils with legislative power, management of certain industries by workers. In foreign policy they declared annexation of Fiume and Dalmatia as their immediate objective. But the Fascist method was quite different from the method of other constitutional parties. Though the Fascists participated in parliamentary elections, yet they had no respect for parliamentary democracy. They believed in organized violence and Mussolini had created a party of action. The loyal members of this party donned black shirts, gave Roman salutes, fortified themselves with brass knuckles, castor oil and guns which they used freely against progressives From 1920 to 1921 Italy was in a state of civil war and nearly 100 battles were fought between the Fascists and the radicals. The government became a callous onlooker to these riots which broke out in Bologna, Florence and Milan. By 1921 the Fascists had 35 deputies in the parliament and they had constituted themselves as the National Fascist party. The government was now so terrified by the 'Red menace' that though Mussolini did not command any respectable number in the legislature he was given offer to join the government together with other parties in a coalition cabinet. But the Fascists refused to enter the government by the service entrance.

The March on Rome. As governmental crisis deepened and one cabinet after another was constituted to avoid it Mussolini laid down his plan of a coup d'etat. He gave the cry of 'on to Rome' in a patriotic gathering in September, 1922, but lest he should be misunderstood he hastened to affirm his faith in the Monarchist principle. It must be remembered in this connection that Mussolini came to power in a constitutional form. The plans of Mussolini were now complete and he fixed upon October 27 as the date for the march of the Fascists on Rome. As the final hour arrived squadron after squadron of Fascists were moved into garrison in towns near the capital. Mussolini demanded the formation of a Fascist government. King Victor

Emmanuel III gave way before the Fascist threat, dismissed the Prime Minister Luigi Facta and invited Mussolini to come down from Milan to Rome and form a government (30 October). The army stood by and was never asked to meet the danger which could have been averted if handled with determination and tact. The Fascists overdramatize the phrase 'March on Rome' because they were willingly saddled with power by the King terrified by the threat of a communist revolution.

The Fascist doctrine and method and the establishment of the Corporative State. Fascism is the product of open terrorist dictatorship of the chauvinistic elements of society. Negatively speaking, it is the outcome of the fear generated in different European countries due to the popularity of communist doctrines of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. This holds good about Italian fascism and its German counterpart. With Mussolini there existed personal account to settle with the socialists who considered him to be a renegade. The Fascist antagonism towards all progressive ideas was fortified by an alliance with extreme form of nationalism. The Fascists appealed to the most popular national chauvinistic ideas and thereby entrenched themselves among the masses. The emergence of nationalism in Europe was associated with the ideas of political democracy. But the militant form of nationalism which the Fascists now conjured up was a negation of political democracy. The militaristic brand of nationalism that dominated Italian and later on German politics made 'national sovereignty a political fetish'.[5] Under the Fascist regime nationalism became a negation of liberty and "For liberty it substitutes the nation, a process meaning the surrender of the individual to the collective will."[6] In 1936 Mussolini published his doctrine of Fascism in which the individual was relegated to the background. It aims at the creation of an all-pervasive state.

Fascism means war. It believes in the theory of force which in the Fascist analysis of history has proved to be the deciding factor in all stages of human civilization. War, militarism and imperialism became the leading doctrine of Fascism. Mussolini declared before the Italian Chamber of Deputies (11 December, 1925) that "I regard the Italian nation in a permanent state of War."[7] The Fascists divert the attention of the people from the problems of domestic politics to an adventurous foreign policy, a policy of aggression. Such a policy

5. **Sharp and Kirk**—Contemporary International Politics, p. 143.
6. **Ibid.**
7. **Op. cit.**, p. 136.

by feeding the people on glory leads ultimately to wars of aggression. According to the Fascists, "Empire is not only a territorial, military or commercial expression but a spiritual or moral expression". Mussolini inspired the Italian people with the ideas of a revival of the glory that was Rome through wars and conquests because "War is to man what maternity is to woman."[8]

Associated with the above ideas was the idea of race superiority and anti-semitism borrowed largely from Nazism, the German name for Fascism. The Italians, a virile nation, asserted Mussolini and his followers, have a mission to fulfil. The mantle of civilizing the lesser nations of Asia and Africa and of establishing Pax Romana in Europe rested on their shoulders. The attack on 'international Jewry' launched by the Nazis was picked up by Mussolini for gaining easy popularity at home and in the Arab world. It was profitable and at the same time it proclaimed to the world of the solidarity and universalism of Fascist doctrine. Hatred of Bolshevism and parliamentarism became a unifying factor for the Fascist onslaught on democracy and radicalism. The Fascists in all countries faithfully imitated their masters in Italy and Germany. The Spanish Republican government was overthrown by the Falangist, *i.e.*, the Spanish Fascist with the help of Mussolini and Hitler. The Fascists in other countries acted as fifth column. Poland, Austria, Hungary, Greece, nearly all the countries in the European continent experienced the same tactics followed by the Fascist parties. It signifies the universal character of Fascism as a political doctrine. The Fascist powers—Italy, Germany and Japan—cemented their alliance against democracy and socialism by the pact known as the 'Anti Commintern Pact".

Corporate State. The Fascists claimed that the 'Corporative State' established by them was not capitalist state but a new type of state. But, in fact, the true character of the 'Corporative State' established by Fascism "is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."[9] Fascism is patronised in all countries by finance capital. It maintains itself in power by open terrorism and suppression of all democratic privileges and liberties of the masses. Mussolini had bluffed his way in acquiring power and now he tried to legalise it. He had experienced some difficulty in obtaining dictatorial power but it was not until the passing of the Acarbo Election

8. **Ibid.**

9. **Georgi Dimitrov**—Working Class Unity. Bulwak against Fascism, p. 2.

law in 1924 that he could base his acquisition of power on a sound footing. By this law it was declared that the party securing the largest vote in election should be entitled to two-thirds majority in the legislature. This legislation was one way for helping the Fascists to retain power but the other and the more positive method of keeping the reins of the government in hand was pursued by the followers of Mussolini in the most brutal way that recent history has recorded. Terrorism continued throughout Italy. The Fascists celebrated their victory by continuing bludgeoning and more forced dose of castor oil. In the election of April, 1924 the Fascists by their familiar recourse to violence secured the majority they needed to gain majority in a managed election. The Fascists, however, had little regard even for such sham democracy. Their chief opposition was provided by the socialist party one of whose leaders Matteotti was brutally murdered in June, 1924. This raised a strong protest and most of the non-Fascist deputies withdrew from the parliament in protest. For the time being Mussolini temporized but he took advantage of the withdrawal of deputies to deprive them of their seats. As the storm died down the Fascists tightened their hold over the government more firmly. Municipal autonomy, freedom of the press and opinion was ruthlessly suppressed. All opposition was blotted out and membership of the socialist party was made punishable by deportations. The only legal party in Italy by 1926 was the Fascist party and its sole leader was Mussolini called its Duce. The Fascist party in 1939 consisted of nearly 2 million members. It was controlled by the Fascist Grand Council, consisting of Mussolini, his ministers and his lieutenants. The Fascist Grand Council met in secret and acted as the supreme organ coordinating all the activities of the regime. The Grand Council was under complete control of the Duce. The Fascist Grand Council formed the apex of a system of hierarchy whose base was formed by ten thousand local Fasci, controlled by provincial Councils and directions. The Fascist Grand Council was the mainspring behind all legislation and executive actions or appointments and controlled foreign and internal affairs. But its position was not legalised till 1929 when Mussolini carried through an Electoral Reform Bill which swept aside the old system and required the controlled Trade Corporations created by Fascists to submit a list of names to be approved by the Grand Council. The Fascist Grand Council added some names and omitted others and chose 400 candidates for election to the legislature. The people were then asked to vote for the whole list and having no other alternative approved it. The Grand Council itself was packed by Mussolini's nominees and

the new entrances to the Fascist Party were required to take oath of unquestionable obedience to the Duce and thus complete control of a single dictator was established and opposition to him meant treason and death.

Italy under Mussolini's dictatorial regime tried to establish some sort of central control over agriculture, industry, finance and labour and through its Labour Charter of 1927 defined the rights of the workers. Mussolini started by abolishing the old Trade Unions. By encouraging employers to give recognition to only pro-Fascist organizations and by stipulating "that anybody with 10 per cent of the workers on its books might be recognized", Mussolini was able to secure control over the whole trade. The legalized syndicates were grouped into federations on a national scale and were formed in six National Confederations of Workers. Another six Confederations of Unions for employers were created and the workers were deprived of the right to strike. All disputes that could not be settled by arbitration must be referred to Labour Court, the judges of which were nominated. Agriculture, Industry, Commerce, Inland Transport, Sea and Air Transport and Banking and Insurance, each of the vital branches of national production was organized under the National Council of Corporation which was the thinking brain for planning and co-ordination. A confederation was created also for the liberal profession. The whole complicated system was regularized only in 1934 and was grafted on the political constitution. In 1934, 22 corporations were created. They represented the employer, the government and the labour interests. Their function was to advise the government, to step up production and to settle amicably labour disputes. In 1938 the Chamber of Deputies was abolished and its place was taken by 'the Chamber of Fasces and Corporation' representing the state, the corporations and the Fascist Party. All the 700 members, called 'National Councillors', of this new Chamber were nominated by Mussolini. All these measures helped the dictator to regulate national economy. The chief programme for the national salvation taken by the Fascists was public works to solve the unemployment problem. The Italian movement was built on extravagant propaganda. But in fact, the so-called Corporative State by its methods completed the evolution of monopoly capitalism or imperialism. "But the parties and organizations which the Fascists create are not polite organizations of voters, such as the conservative or Liberal parties in Britain used to be, for example. And when they obtain power they utilize the state apparatus quite frankly as their

instrument."[10]

The Domestic and Economic policy of Italy under the Fascist regime. Mussolini was determined to make Italy self-sufficient. The improvement in agriculture was characterized by the term 'battle for Grain'. It led to Italy's self-sufficiency in wheat. Measures were taken for land reclamation, training of farmers, and manufacture of fertilizers. But the most publicized achievement was the draining of pontine marshes. An agricultural Credit Bank was established and farmers were encouraged to join agricultural cooperatives. Heavy custom duties prevented import of wheat and concentrated efforts were made to increase the output in rice, oats and corn. The dependence on foreign import was reduced. Among the measures taken to effect this aim the most spectacular was the building of hydro-electric generating plan which helped to distribute current throughout the country and electrification of many railways. State aid was given to build up industries and in one branch at least, viz., motor industry, Italy occupied the leading position. Italian cars enjoyed reputation all over Europe and caused anxiety to American manufacturers.

Italy entered into trade pacts and commercial treaties with several foreign countries. The tourist traffic was encouraged and mercantile shipping received great stimulus through state aid. New lines to Balkan ports, Middle East, India and Soviet Union were taken. Italy undertook to build war vessels for several countries including the Soviet Union, Turkey, Greece and some South American countries.

But in spite of all these efforts and the drive for discovery of new area of mineral wealth Italy remained dependent on foreign countries. Italy still lacked iron, coal, oil, cotton and other vital resources for industrialization. These deficiencies were quite obvious during the Abyssinian aggression (1935-36). The League of Nations in response to the appeal of Ethiopia had granted a limited sanction against Italy. The limited sanction imposed by the League spurred Italy to renewed vigour to achieve, in the words of Mussolini, "The minimum degree of economic independence."[11] The government tried to save foreign exchange by all possible means. Italians were discouraged to spend much abroad. Lire was devalued. Foreign trade and banking came virtually under state control. Taxes were increased. Italy suffered from the depression of the thirties. In spite of

10. Strachey John—The Coming Struggle for Power, p. 266.
11. Langsome—The World since 1914, p. 350.

the Fascist propaganda the figure of unemployment increased and it varied from 400,000 to 1,300,000.[12] An attempt was made to regulate food prices and the output of large-scale production. But these methods together with the public works undertaken by the government failed to restore normalcy and to give Italy a favourable balance of trade.

In the domestic front the Fascist government established a complete control over the education of the young. Teachers and professors were required to take oath of loyalty to the Fascist regime. The OVRA or secret police directly responsible to the Duce always kept strict watch over all anti-Fascist activities. The young were encouraged to join the Balilla—an organization of boys from 8 to 14. The striplings were organized in Avanguardia and Giovani Fasciti (Young Fascist). A definite schedule for military training was introduced for all males from eight to thirty-three. Women were asked to go back to the kitchen, though in the sphere of social welfare they were encouraged to take a hand. The fasci femminiti was the name adopted by the Fascist organization for women. Italy needed more soldiers as cannon-fodders for the future wars that the Fascist had planned to win an empire. Therefore all forms of birth control methods were prohibited.

The Church and the State. The Italians on whom the Fascist corporative system was imposed were mostly Catholics by religion. Therefore Mussolini who believed in war as the only path to be pursued for Italy's future greatness attempted to reconcile the church with the state. The clash between the state and the church dated from 1870 when Italy was forcibly united under the House of Savoy. The Pope considered himself the prisoner of Vatican and refused to recognise the ruling monarchs. To end this anomaly a concordant with Vatican was made in 1929 after long negotiations. By this agreement, in Vatican which occupied only hundred acres in area, the temporal authority of the Pope was made supreme. The state gave recognition to the Catholic religion and undertook to enforce among its Catholic subjects the direction of Vatican regarding marriage and morals. In return Pope Pius XI accorded recognition to the House of Savoy. This agreement is known as Latern Accord. But yet the Roman question remained a thorn in Italian politics. The Pope raised serious objection to the incorporation of young boys in the Belilla for military training and keeping them away from religious teachings. The pagan worship of the state and the oath administered by the

12. Ibid., p. 398.

Fascists to the children about unquestionable obedience to the Duce was seriously objected to by the Holy See. Mussolini in reply closed the Recreation and Welfare Societies known as AZZIONE Catholica run by the church. At times, it appeared that the relation between the church and the state would reach breaking point. The Pope severely criticised some of the political and economic measures taken by the Fascists. But ultimately the outstanding differences were patched up and the Fascists agreed to arrange their military training programme for the youth in such a way as not to interfere with the Sunday church service. Yet differences remained and continued to disturb Itay's relation with the Holy See.

ITALY'S FOREIGN POLICY

The problems and objectives of Italy's foreign policy. Italy was poor in material resources and after the First World War a frustrated nation. Her expectations in Europe and outside were hardly fulfilled by the peace treaties. She had extended her frontier up to Brenner pass and acquired Tyrol. Italy had promised liberal policy towards the minorities specially the Germans. But the fascist government Italianized the whole of Tyrol. Italy was dissatisfied on the colonial question. Italy felt herself swindled by the Allied powers. Her need of colony for raw material and for her excessive population was urgent. It also involved the question of prestige. Italy's need for Lebensraum, *i.e.*, more space, for her ever-increasing population was real. The secret treaty of London had provisions for a readjustment of Italy's frontiers in Somaliland, Libya and Eritrea. Britain and France had promised such a readjustment at their own expense. In 1924 the British government had ceded Jubland to Italy, but France did not redeem her pledge until at a much later time. Italy cast covetous eyes on Tunisia where a French protectorate was established in spite of the fact that the Italian settlers exceeded the French in this colony. Italy also felt aggrieved and slighted when a conference to settle the international status of Tangier was called without Italy. The Fascist progamme to feed the people with glory naturally aimed at revival of Italian colonial claim at the expense of other powers. Mussolini therefore indulged in fervent speeches for an extension of Italy's colonial claims. "We are hungry for land," he said, "because we are prolific and intend to remain so."[13] But the League system of Collective Security had outlawed war and Mussolini's bombasts ranged hollow.

---

13. Quoted by Hardy in A Short History of International Affairs.

Italy's land hunger had a corresponding reflection in her desire to turn the Mediterranean into a Italian lake. In the peace treaties she had failed to acquire Fiume and the adventure of Annunzio had ended in failure. The Fascist now raised the slogan of 'Marenostrum' (our sea). In fact, no place in Italy was more than 150 miles distant from the sea, and Italy was considered a prisoner of Mediterranean. She found it essential for her greatness to acquire hold over the Mediterranean. Mussolini once claimed the British stronghold of Malta as a part of unredeemed Italy. Rome was confirmed in the possession of the Dodecanse Island in 1923. The only other gains to Italy's claim were Fiume in 1924 and the concession by France and Britain of sphere of influence in Albania. Apparently Italy possesses a wonderful natural frontier, the Alps and the Mediterranean surrounded her and keep her apart from the outside world. But appearances are deceptive. Because Italy depended entirely for her essential commodities on import from outside. In spite of the Fascist drive for national self-sufficiency, any one controlling the gateways of Mediterranean at Suez or Straits of Gibralter can starve Italy to submission in case of outbreak of hostilities. Even in 1940 Italy depended for 86 per cent of her imports from the sea-borne trade. Therefore for Italy and the prospect of her future greatness the development of maritime power and control of the gateways of the Mediterranean was a must in foreign policy. The Alps provided Italy with a deceptive natural frontier and instead of providing her any real security induced foreigners from Hannibal onwards to march in the Italian plains through its various passes and deliver a surprise attack on its unsuspecting inhabitants. Moreover, foreign trade through the Alps was possible only at a high cost and thus making it unprofitable. A survey of the economic condition of Italy before and after the advent of the Fascists would show that in the post-Versailles era Italy in spite of her heroic efforts failed to balance her budget and gain a favourable balance of trade. Her unemployment figures was steadily on the increase and the depression of the thirties dislocated whatsoever stability Italy had gained by her drive for self-sufficiency and 'battle for grain'. Failing to solve the economic and other domestic problem in a satisfactory manner Mussolini and his Fascist followers advocated a policy of aggression abroad and feed the people with glory earned in the field of battle. Mussolini attempted a resurrection of Pax Romana and revived the memory of the ancient greatness of Rome. The defeat at Caporetto (1917) and at Adowa (1896) was a blot on Italy's prestige and the Treaty of Versailles was another instance of Italy's failure in the international

field. These spots on Italy's glory must be covered by a vigorous foreign policy in alliance with Germany and Japan against the Bolsheviks and against the western democracies.

Mussolini's foreign policy—early phase. The aims of the Fascist dictator of Italy were made well known to the rest of the world through his bombast and method through the bloodsheds that he perpetuated in the period of his rise to power. Mussolini openly advocated war as the highest ideal to be pursued to establish Italy's claim for more land and colony. Even in 1927 he declared that "we must be in a position at a given moment to mobilize five million men and we must be in a position to arm them." Such and other statements of Mussolini's imperialistic and aggressive policy no doubt served to alarm the western powers. Mussolini in the early years of Fascist rule demonstrated his lack of respect for the League system of Collective Security. The best instance is provided by the Corfu incident. On 27th August, 1923, an Italian General with his staff was killed by Greek bandits while engaged on the work of dilimitation of frontier. Mussolini, at once, served Greece with an ultimatum and rapped the knuckles of of Greece demanding heavy compensation. Italian warships shelled the island of Corfu and occupied it without reference to the League of Nations. His demand for a compensation of fifty million lire was paid by Greece which country received little sympathy from the Inter-Allied Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate the Corfu incident. On Commission's insistence Greece paid the compensation and Italy evacuated Corfu. "This denouncement", says Hardy, "which looked painfully like paying the aggressor to evacuate Corfu was not calculated to discourage the recurrence of such incidents."[14]

Mussolini refused to accept the creation of the Free city of Fiume and in 1924 by a private arrangement with Yugoslavia acquired the city. Italy signed an agreement with Yugoslavia known as the Nettuno Convention by which citizens of both the countries acquired certain privileges. But Italo-Yugoslav friendship could not last long, and the treaty of friendship signed between the two countries in 1924 was allowed to lapse in 1929 when it expired. The competition between Italy and Yugoslavia for establishing control over the Adriatic accounted for the rupture between the two countries. The policy pursued by Italy towards Albania also accounted for the tension with Yugoslavia which was afraid of encirclement.

---

14. G.M. Gathorne Hardy—A Short History of International Affairs p. 93.

Mussolini was determined to upset the creation of an independent state of Albania. He advanced large sums of money to the wretched state for its internal development and thereby tried to establish financial and military control over Albania. This led to a deterioration of relations between Albania and Yugoslavia, one of whose legation officers was arrested at Tirana in 1927. Yugoslavia turned to France for alliance and Italy signed a 22-year defensive pact with Albania. Zog I, who became the ruler of Albania on September 1, 1928, attempted in vain to make Albania free of Italian influence and had to concede special commercial rights to the Italians. Albanians lost their independence in April, 1939 when Italian troops landed there. But all this did not matter very much to the great powers so much as Italy's bid for leadership in south-east Europe and her rivalry with France. In the post-Versailles era France and Italy entered into rivalry in the Mediterranean. The rise of Fascism intensified the tension between the two countries because many anti-Fascists took political shelter in France. Mussolini's contempt for democracies and his claims for the cession of Tunisia, Corsica, Nice and for extension of territories in Libya and North Africa in general led to a deterioration of Franco-Italian relations. The Franco-Italian rivalry expressed itself in the struggle for predominance in south-eastern Europe.[15] Mussolini desired alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania for expansion of Italian trade and looked upon French policy of alliance with Little Entente as "a military alliance under a French general." But Franco-Italian relations improved from the year 1928 and Italy was invited to participate in the international government of Tangier. The Laval-Mussolini pact (Jan., 1935) settled outstanding colonial questions between the two countries. This improvement was largely due to the rise of Hitler in Germany.

Italy now turned to Austria and Hungary and tried to make these two states her client. Hungary lent a willing ear to Italian proposals and was gratified that in a period when she was ringed by enemies someone was willing to sell her arms. But Austria was suspicious because of the bitter experience of Austrians in Tyrol where a policy of Italianization was carried on. But the rise of Nazi Germany was a warning which Austria did not fail to note. The growth of socialist forces within and the prospect of a forcible union with Germany drove the Catholic rulers of Austria in Mussolini's embrace. The Heimwehr was organized on Fascist lines and Austria became a protege of Italy. The main upholder of the policy of Italian friend-

15. See Chap. II.

ship was Engelbert Dollfuss, the leader of the Christian Social Party and the Austrian Chancellor from May, 1932 to July, 1934. Dollfuss toed the policy of Mussolini and crushed the socialist and radicals in February, 1934, but within five months he himself was killed by Austrian Nazis, acting under the instruction of Hitler. The Austrian Nazis attempted a coup d'etat in July, 1934. It was opposed promptly by Mussolini who massed Italian troops in the Brenner pass. Mussolini's firmness saved Austria for the time being and Hitler denied all connection with the uprising.

The Stressa Front. Events in Austria drew Italy and France nearer. The prospect of a Europe dominated by Germany was not to the liking of Italy and for France it was the worst possible development. The French Foreign Minister, M. Barthou, who believed that French security under the circumstance could be secured by Soviet alliance, was unfortunately assassinated together with Alexandar of Yugoslavia. His place was taken by Pierre Laval, a sincere admirer of Fascism. He now entered into a settlement with Mussolini and the object of his agreement was to present a united front of France, Italy and Britain against the growing German menace. The opportunity of presenting such a united front offered itself when Hitler declared his intention of reintroducing conscription in Germany on March 16, 1935 in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. Britain, France and Italy, at once, decided to register their protest against such a flagrant violation of the peace treaty and met in the Stressa Conference in April, 1935. It was attended by MacDonald, Prime Minister of Britain, Flandin, Prime Minister of France and the Duce. The conference was convened to discuss Hitler's flagrant violation of the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and the possibility of the formation of a common front against Germany. In formal declaration the three powers agreed to oppose "any unilateral repudiation of treaties" and to uphold the system of collective security under the framework of the League. Thus the three powers made impressive display of their solidarity. But none wanted to keep their promise and this became evident within a very short time. "The Italians promised to send troops for the defence of Belfort; the French promised to send troops to Tyrol. But in truth each of the three powers hoped to receive help from the others without providing any in return; and each rejoiced to see others in difficulty."[16] The insincerity of the three powers became apparent when Great Britain entered immediately afterwards into a naval agreement with Germany. This step was taken behind the back and

16. Taylor, A.J.P.—The Origin of the Second World War, p. 117.

without the knowledge of the French and violated the naval clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. During this period Mr. Baldwin had become the Prime Minister and Sir Samuel Hoare was the Foreign Secretary. Such action on the part of the British resulted in a definite encouragement of German re-armament. Hitler who was presented with a formidable united front by three powers had merely to await now the crumbling of the 'Stressa front', due to the divergent aims pursued by its makers. The action of Great Britain caused French disappointment and alarm. As Sir Winston Churchill in his history of Second World War aptly remarks that—

"It was also at this moment a great diplomatic advantage to Hitler to divide the Allies, to have one of them ready to condone breaches of the Treaty of Versailles and to invest the regaining of full freedom to rearm with the sanction of Great Britain. The effect of the announcement was another blow at the League of Nations. The French had every right to complain that their vital interests were affected by the permission accorded by Great Britain for the building of U-boats. Mussolini saw in this episode evidence that Great Britain was not acting in good faith with her Allies, and that, so long as her special naval interests were secured she would apparently go to any length in accommodation with Germany, regardless of the detriment to friendly powers menaced by the growth of German land forces."[17]

But Britain alone did not break up the Stressa front. Mussolini was actively engaged during this period to establish Italy's hold over Abyssinia.

The Ethiopian Question. The origin of the Second Word War should be traced back to October 3, 1935 when Italy sent her troops to Abyssinia—'an act of aggression that surprised no one'. The Italian plan had matured long back and was well known. Mussolini had decided to conquer Ethiopia in 1934. Abyssinia had been for a long time the object of Italian ambition. In the reign of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) the Italians had undertaken the task of conquering Ethiopia. But Italian army was badly defeated at Adowa in 1896. Ever since the Fascist government was saddled with power it was determined to redeem the prestige of Italy by undoing the great military disaster of Caporetto and Adowa. With Mussolini, therefore, the conquest of Ethiopia was not so much a question of economic advantage or colonial gain as of prestige. With the Fascist government the question of glory in foreign affairs was much vital because

17. **Churchill, W.S.**—The Second World War, Vol. I, Gathering Storm (Cassel and Co.), p. 125.

the bombast and bluff in which Mussolini indulged himself from the day in which he held the reins of government required such adventures. Italy had suffered the economic blizzard of the thirties, her internal problems were still unsolved in spite of the exaggerated claims of the Fascist, the figure of unemployment was mounting and the only way to solve them was by waging a successful war. Abyssinia proved to be the safest sphere for this military adventure.

But Mussolini had to await his opportunity which did not present itself to Italy before 1935. Great Britain and France had already admitted that Abyssinia belonged to Italian 'sphere of influence.' The Stressa conference had reaffirmed this view. The crumbling of the Stressa front had convinced Mussolini about the vacillation of British and French governments in face of a determined action of a ruthless dictator. The French government through its Foreign Minister Laval pursued a pro-Italian policy to gain Mussolini's support against Hitler's future aggression. The Loval-Mussolini pact gave Italy a free hand in Ethiopia—at least Mussolini claimed it to be so. It is quite possible that Laval merely encouraged the Duce in a general way to win the goodwill of Mussolini. Whatsoever that might be Mussolini thought that the hour of displaying Italy's military might before the rest of the world had arrived. It was easy for him to find out a pretext for invading Abyssinia. Border incidents had taken place from 1934 involving clash of arms at Walwal and other parts of the undefined frontier between Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland and Eritrea.

Italy was eager to use any and every means in 1935 to carry out her desire of grabbing Ethiopia. France was friendly, Japan and Germany were estranged from the League of Nations, British statesmen were pacific and Italy was better armed, so at least many believed at that time, than other continental powers. Abyssinia must be conqured so that the Italian army might reach the Brenner pass in time to check possible German design on Austria. Following the border clash at Walwal, Ethiopia appealed to the League of Nations. Great Britain and France attempted to conciliate Mussolini by arranging for extensive economic concession for Italy in Abyssinia. But Mussolini scornfully rejected the proposal. Italy had made large-scale preparation for war, and the glory to Italian arms must be won. The League now appointed a Committee of Conciliation consisting of France, Great Britain, Poland, Spain and Turkey. The British government was afraid that the extension of Italian influence in Ethiopia might disturb the predominance of Britain in Red Sea and North Africa and at the same time cause upheavals in her African colonies.

The question of upholding League system of Collective Security clashed with the desire in some Tory politicians to appease Mussolini. The latter, however, bluntly rejected any attempt at conciliation by the League. On October 3, 1935 while the League Council was in session with the question of Ethiopia on its Agenda, the Italian troops marched into Abyssinian territories. On October 7, the Council decided unanimously with Italy abstaining that Italy was the aggressor. The Assembly subsequently concurred with this view. The League decided to apply sanctions against Italy under Article 16. On November 18, it was decided that embargoes should be placed on arms, credit and raw material. League members should replace imports from Italy by purchasing goods from such states as Yugoslavia and Rumania. By the end of the year 1935, fifty-three nations had decided that they would not extend loans to Italy, fifty had declared that they would send her no goods; only four states including Austria, Hungary, Albania and Paraguay refused to take part in any sanction against Italy.

The League of Nations, therefore, decided upon sanctions. But sanctions in order to be effective should have been thoroughly imposed. Instead oil which was essential for the war in Abyssinia flowed freely in Italy. This was largely due to the attitude taken up by Great Britain. The British government overestimated Italy's naval strength and was afraid that stopping of oil supply would mean war in which Britain would find herself fighting against a much stronger Italian navy. All this subsequently proved to be based on a wrong calculation. For the time being it paralysed British diplomacy. Laval, the French Foreign Minister, was pro-Mussolini and he and his friends in French politics were intent upon undermining the League sanction. In Britain too powerful politicians headed by Sir Samuel Hoare felt the same way. Hoare and Laval entered in a pact with Mussolini in December, 1935. The Hoare-Laval pact promised Mussolini all the extensive territory he had conquered up to date and to allow Ethiopia, in exchange of her sacrifice, a narrow strip across Eritrea to establish link with the Red Sea. The plan, however, leaked before it could be confirmed by the British Cabinet and the storm of indignation that swept Britain forced Sir Samuel Hoare to resign. But the harm was already done and it was now too late to rescue Abyssinia. In May, 1936 the Italian troops entered Addis Ababa—the capital of Abyssinia. Thus ended the sad story of the defeat of a heroic country before the aggression of Fascism. Had the western powers taken a firm stand by blockading the Suez Canal and stopping oil supply to Italy then the situation could have

been saved and peace guaranteed for subsequent years. Litvinoff, the Soviet representative to the League of Nations, gave the funeral oration in the following significant speech—"We are gathered here to close a page in the history of the League of Nations, the history of international life, which it will be impossible to read without a feeling of bitterness. We must terminate an action commenced in the performance of our duties as members of the League for the purpose of guaranteeing the independence of one of our co-members, but not carried through in the end."[18]

Mussolini's success prompted Hitler to carry forward his own favourite scheme of aggrandisement—Hitler now was sure of his grounds. Firstly, because he was convinced about British degeneracy; secondly, because the sanctions though not successful had done irreparable damage to the possibility of a Franco-Italian friendship. Hitler determined now to bluff the western democracies into accepting what he desired. On March 7, 1936, Hitler moved his troops in the demilitarized zone of the Rhineland. It could not have been better timed. The League was undergoing the sanction crisis. The British government was unwilling to move and the French accepted the British veto. It was in direct violation of the clauses 42-44 of the Versailles Treaty. The remilitarization of the Rhineland also violated the Locarno Pact. Still this chance of asserting the Collective Security was allowed to be lapsed.

Rome-Berlin Axis. The effect of all this proceedings outlined above drove a wedge between western democracies and Mussolini. Mussolini was convinced about the worthlessness of the democratic government of France and Britain and full of admiration for Hitler. As a result he was drawn towards Germany. Sir Winston Churchill in his History of the Second World War points out the effect that the events of 1935 produced on the international situation in the following words—"The battle for peace which could during 1935 have been won was now almost lost. Mussolini had triumphed in Abyssinia, and had successfully defined the League of Nations and especially Great Britain. He was now bitterly estranged from us and had joined hands with Hitler. The Berlin-Rome Axis was in being." The sanctions had done no harm to Mussolini but it had angered him. Moreover, Germany quickly recognized Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia. So Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany were drawn together by mutual interest and by the antagonism that they felt against Bolshevism. Thus slowly though steadily the Rome-Berlin Axis was

18. Pope, Arthur Upham—Maxim Litvinoff, p. 369.

taking shape. The name was given by Mussolini in a speech at Milan on November 1, 1936. "This Rome-Berlin line", declared the Duce, "is not a diaphragm but rather an Axis." Mussolini now became a partner of Germany. But the aims of Italian foreign policy were in many respects divergent from that of Germany. Mussolini, for instance, wanted to extend Italian protectorate over Austria and Hungary and to control western Mediterranean by ousting France. But such a policy was not in consonance with Hitler's aim and Hitler was determined to see that the Germans gain what they desired even at the expense of Italy. Mussolini thus became, at best, a junior partner in the Rome-Berlin Axis round which world politics was expected to revolve. The first result of such a compact in international politics was the intervention of the Italian and German governments in the Spanish Civil War.

The formation of a popular front government in Spain in 1936 created discontent in reactionary and military circles. The popular front Republican government headed by President Azana had to face a military revolt led, at first, by General Sanjurjo and after his death, two months later, by General Franco. Spain became an ideological battleground for radicals and Fascists. France headed by the popular front government of Leon Blum accepted a British veto in pursuing a policy of strict non-intervention and thereby stopping all possible aid to the republicans. But Germany and Italy, on the other hand, actively sent help to Franco. Mussolini sent considerable 'volunteer' army to Spain and the German air power contributed to Franco's eventual victory. But in spite of Franco's victory the outcome of the Spanish Civil War did not in any way gratify Mussolini's desire. Firstly, he had expected a quick victory and had he been challenged; he perhaps would have withdrawn his aid instead of risking a general war for Spain. The Republican government with the aid of International volunteer Brigade, Soviet arms aid and popular support staged a stiff resistance for a longer period than was convenient for the 'Dictators'. It was a strain on Italy's slender resources. Secondly, Italy hoped not only to discredit democracies and mock at the League system of Collective Security but to achieve some material gains out of the victory of the Spanish Fascists. He desired to challenge French naval power from the Spanish naval bases. But in this he was disappointed. Franco had no intention of linking Spain with any foreign power or of making any concession. "Though he paid Hitler and Mussolini with high sounding declarations of ideological solidarity, he was a hard bargainer when it came to economic concessions, and in strategical matters, made no conces-

sion at all."[19] He maintain Spanish neutrality in the Second World War.

In 1937 Mussolini joined the Anti-Cominterm Pact which Germany had signed with Japan on 25 November, 1936. The pact was directed against international communism. It was suggested by Ribbentrop who, even before he was appointed Foreign Minister in February, 1938, had worked for a specifically Nazi and anti-communist foreign policy. To Mussolini the prospect of earning glory by making common cause with Hitler against the decadent western democracies and international communism with the Soviet Union as its leader appeared more tempting and alluring than playing the part of a mediator between Berlin, London and Paris. But he did not take into consideration the fact that in an alliance between unequals the weaker side always becomes the loser and reaps little from a common victory and loses every thing in a common defeat.

Mussolini had assumed the self-imposed role of the protector of Austria and it was largely due to his initiative that the abortive Nazi putsch in July, 1934, which led to the murder of Dollfuss, had in the end resulted in a fiasco and humiliation for Hitler. But the changed circumstances in Europe two years later and Mussolini's estrangement with western democracies after the Abyssinian affairs turned the table against him. It was no longer possible for him to follow an independent policy in central Europe. On October 25, 1936 Ciano, Mussolini's son-in-law and Italy's Foreign Minister, went to Berlin and signed a pact whereby it was agreed that Austria would be treated as a buffer state. Mussolini knew that he will have to sell out Austria as decently as possible. Schusnigg, the successor of Dollfuss, was called to Berchtesgaden on February 12, 1938 and was bullied by Hitler in accepting some members of the recently legalized Nazi party into the cabinet. Mussolini congratulated Schuschnigg for the correct attitude taken by him at the Berchtesgaden. But at the same time his exasperation with the Nazi policy led him to sound England for a possible Anglo-Italian alliance whose opponent Mr. Eden was promptly sacrificed by Chamberlain for appeasing the Duce. But the Austrian drama marched on much to the dislike of Mussolini who now had no other way but to acquiesce in Hitler's success. Mussolini even discouraged the Austrian Chancellor who had decided upon a plebiscite on March 13, and called it a mistake. On 11 March, Hitler ordered the occupation of Austria and Mussolini did the most of a bad job by informing him "Austria did not interest him at all."

19. Taylor, A.J.P.—Origin of the Second World War, p. 160.

Mussolini thus earned the gratitude of Hitler but lost his cherished dream of following an independent policy and establishing protectorate over Austria.

The occupation of Austria gave Germany the gateway to South-East Europe and the powers of the Little Entente specially Czechoslovakia was now in danger of being encircled because all her communication by rail and river was now in danger of being cut off at any moment. On the eve of the Austrian invasion Goering had assured the Czechs that Germany did not intend any harm towards them. But soon the German minorities in Sudetanland started violent movement led by the Nazi party. But the question no longer remained an internal problem but a question to be settled by Great Powers. Mussolini was not prepared to go to war on the question of Czechoslovakia. Hitler had announced his intention of occupying the Sudetan German land on 1 October. Mussolini foresaw the possibility of an imminent war which Italy was still unprepared to risk. He, therefore, appealed to Hitler for a Four Power conference at Munich. Mussolini was further alarmed subsequently when Hitler revealed to him plans, in case of a war, of a blitzkrieg on France. The plans of the partition of Czechoslovakia were carried out at Munich at the dictates of Hitler who, however, maintained with Mussolini a show of partnership. The vanity of the Duce was further gratified because he posed himself as the mediator. But behind all this show remained the stern fact of German leadership in the whole unholy business of the partition of the helpless state of Czechoslovakia. The Munich betrayal was perpetrated on September 30, 1938 and within five months Hitler grabbed the rest of the truncated state much to the surprise of Mussolini who was kept in the dark till the final act. But, however much Mussolini might dislike it, he had to accept meekly the *fait accompli*.

Mussolini believed that he was destined to revive the old Roman empire. But so far the fruits of the Berlin-Rome Axis did not prove much profitable to Italy. Hitler had reaped the result by the Anschluss with Austria. On the other hand Mussolini's belated attempt to play the mediator in the Munich conference bore no tangible result. Italy had accepted anti-Semitism, left the League of Nations and carried the load of Hitler's aggression without much profit to herself. Italy, therefore, was not very happy and it was believed by the makers of the policy of appeasement in Great Britain that Mussolini could still be won over. The Italian press started forwarding claims on Tunisia, Corscia, Nice and Savoy and Chamberlain and Halifax visited Rome in January, 1939 to sound Italy's opinion. Nothing

tangible came out of this visit and France firmly refused to make any concession. Disappointed in one sphere and failing to gain support from Germany on these issues Italy turned her attention to Albania. Albania had been virtually a protectorate of Italy since the treaties of Tirana concluded in 1926 and 1927. Yet Mussolini wanted to make a demonstration of Italy's power and aggressiveness. Therefore, after concluding a treaty with Yugoslavia in 1937, Mussolini prepared for annexing Albania which was done in April, 1939.

Mussolini's reluc ance to declare War. Mussolini despite his bombast was conscious of Italy's limitations and was not prepared to undertake the risk of a general conflagration. But her dominating partner dragged her on. As the Polish question created tension and strengthened Rome-Berlin relation presumably on the demand of the Nazis, Ciano and Ribbentrop signed in Milan, on May 22, 1939 a ten-year offensive and defensive alliance known as the 'Pact of Steel'. This pact provided that if any of the signatories gets involved in war the other would immediately rally to his aid. But despite this Pact Italy refused to be dragged in the war in September, 1939 for several reasons. Italy's resources were meagre and she was exhausted by the Spanish Civil War. The Rome-Berlin Axis was well and good for Mussolini so long as it he'ped him to bluff his way and to gain concessions from democrac'es. But to join with Hitler in a war against England and France would mean committing Italy to undertake risks wh ch might not prove paying in the long run. A Europe dominated by Germany would not be a very happy place for Italy because the Nazis in that case would dominate also the Balkans and the Mediterranean. Italy, moreover, depended largely on her foreign trade and a war would immediately mean blockade of the Mediterranean and severing of Italy's link with her African possessions. Mussolini tried to persuade Hitler to an armistice and a Great Power conference. But this time he failed. He, therefore, himself pursued the policy of neutrality despite the Pact of Steel and its provisions for automatic application. Mussolini declared war only on June 10, 1940 when the fall of France was imminent and when he calculated that the possibility of a victory was not far off. His policy throughout was marked by the opportunism and he now became a junior and obliging partner of the German military machine.

SUMMARY

Italy's dissatisfaction with the Peace settlement. In 1919 Italy was dissatisfied with the results of the Peace Conference. To Italy the war proved a great strain. Italy had mobilised nearly six million men of

which 700,000 were killed. But the results of the Peace Conference disappointed Italy. She gained little in or outside Europe. The defeat of Caporetto rankled in every Italian heart. The economic crisis consequent upon war was deplorable and the government was feeble and worthless. In the Peace Conference the Italians failed to gain all of Dalmatia, not much of Africa excepting small extension to Libya and Somaliland, above all she had been denied Fiume. The secret treaty of London signed in April, 1915 between Italy and the Allied Powers had promised to Italy, Trientino, Trieste, Istria, Tyrol, Dalmatian Coast (except Fiume), Vallona with a protectorate over Albania and a share in Africa and the Ottoman empire. Italy lost the peace because she did not gain all that she was promised. Italy felt herself swindled. Italy's plight in the internal economy assumed serious proportion. The government was weak and unable to handle either the international or the internal problem with confidence. Italy suffered from an adverse balance of trade, the value of Lire fell from 19.4 cents in 1914 to only 5 cents in 1920. Inflation, unemployment, and contraction of credit resulted in creating a volcanic situation in the internal politics of Italy.

Circumstances favouring the growth of Fascism. Italy lacked democratic tradition and democratic sentiments proved incompatible with effective parliamentary government. In the post-Versailles era Italy lacked a stable government. Between 1919 to 1922 Italy saw six governments which were mostly the results of short-term coalitions of heterogeneous majority of discontented factions secured as a result of concessions and bargains. Italy was more than ever plagued with poverty and violence. A faction calling themselves 'Fascists' that had been created in Milan rapidly gathered strength. It was in ultimate analysis the product of mortal fear of capitalism of the 'Spectre of Communism' which was haunting Europe at this critical juncture of history. Strikes and lock-outs, unemployment and seizure of factories by workers frightened industrialists and landlords who sought to buy protection of Benoto Mussolini (1883-1945), a renegade socialist, who had become the Duce or leader of the Fascists. The rise of Fascism was also contributed by the split among the communists and socialists. Mussolini merged together the different groups (fasci) in the Fascist party (March, 1919) and adopted long-reaching programmes including nationalization of munition factories and annexation of Fiume. The members of this party participated in parliamentary elections but applied violence to break up the meetings of left parties and fortified themselves with brass knuckles, castor oil and guns.

The March on Rome. As governmental crisis deepened and one cabinet after another was constituted to avoid it Mussolini laid down his plan of coup d'etat and fixed October 27, as the 'D' day for the march on Rome. King Victor Emmanuel III scared by the 'Red menace', gave way before the Fascist threat and invited Mussolini to form the government in a constitutional way.

The Fascist doctrines and methods and the establishment of the Corporate State. Fascism is the product of open terrorist dictatorship of the chauvinistic elements of society. Nagatively speaking, it is the outcome of the fear generated in different European countries due to the spread of communist doctrine. Fascism allied itself with the most militant form

of nationalism which implied also the negation of political democracy and the establishment of an all-pervasive state and the sacrifice of the individual to the collective will. Fascism means war. The Fascists divert the attention of the people from the pressing domestic problems to an adventurous foreign policy and a policy of aggressive war to win glory because "War is to man what maternity is to woman". Anti-Semitism and theories of race superiority were also placated in order to inspire the people to an aggressive policy for the expansion of empire and establishment of colonies abroad. Fascists in other countries imitated their Italian and German masters and acted as fifth cloumnists in the event of a war. Italy, Germany, Spain and Japan cemented their alliance by the Anti-Comintern pact.

Corporative State. The Fascists claimed that the Corporative state established by them was not a capitalist state but a new type of state. But, in fact, Fascism is patronised in all countries by the reactionary elements of finance capital. The Acarbo election laws of 1924 gave Mussolini almost dictatorial power and the Fascists by continuing bludgeoning and more forced dose of castor oil made sure about their victory in a managed election. The Fascists murdered among others Matteoti, an outstanding socialist. By 1926 there was only one legal political party, viz., Fascist party in Italy. The Fascist party was controlled by the Fascist Grand Council which was the mainspring of all actions, internal or foreign. An electoral reform bill required the controlled Trade Corporations to submit a list of names to be approved by the Grand Council as candidates for election to the legislature. The workers and employees as also the liberal profession were organized into thirteen syndicates and the workers were deprived of the right to strike. The whole complicated system was grafted on the political constitution. In 1934, 22 Corporations were created and in 1938 the Chamber of Deputies was abolished and its place was taken by the Chamber of Fascis and Corporations representing the state, the Corporations and the Fascist party. All the 700 national councillors (i.e., members of the new Chamber) were nominated by Mussolini. The so-called 'Corporative State' by its methods completed the evolution of monopoly capitalism or imperialism.

The Domestic and Economic policy of Italy under the Fascist regime. Italy under Fascist rule started campaign for self-sufficiency and her efforts in agricultural field were characterised by the high sounding term 'battle for grain'. Italy now started producing enough wheat for her home consumption. Wheat imports were restricted, marshes (e.g., Pontine Marsh) were drained, efforts for increased output in rice, oat and corn were made and an agricultural Credit Bank was opened. Italy developed hydro-electricity rapidly. Industry received state aid. In motor car industry Italy very soon occupied the leading position. Trade pacts with foreign countries were concluded and mercantile shipping received encouragement from the state. But yet the aim of achieving self-sufficiency was not achieved because Italy lacked iron, coal, oil, cotton and other vital resources for industrialization. These deficiencies became quite apparent during Italo-Abyssinian War. The Italian government undertook a number of emergency measures to save foreign exchange and devalued the Lire. But Italy still could not solve her unemployment problem or gain a favourable balance of trade. In the domestic sphere education for the

young was strictly supervised and teachers were required to take an oath of allegiance. A schedule of military training was provided for all males from 8 to 33. Women were asked to go back to the kitchen. Italy needed more soldiers as cannon fodders and therefore all form of birth-control was prohibited.

The Church and the State. The clash between the Church and the State dated from 1870 when Italy was forcibly united under the House of Savoy. Mussolini desired a concordat with Rome and after long negotiations the Latern Accord was concluded in 1929. By this agreement in Vatican (100 acres in area) the temporal authority of the Pope was recognised. In return Pope Pius XI accorded recognition to the House of Savoy. But clash with the Church again cropped up when the Pope registered serious objection to the oath of allegiance to the Duce administered on the children. Mussolini closed down Catholic Societies known as Azzione Catholica. Shortly afterwards the differences between the state and the Church were patched up and the Fascist government agreed not to interfere with the Sunday Church services for the youth. But the Roman question still continued to vex Italian politics.

Foreign Policy—Problems and Objectives. In the Peace Settlement Italy was dissatisfied. Being frustrated and disappointed she occupied a middle position between revisionist and anti-revisionist powers. Italy's need for Lebensraum was real. Italy felt herself swindled on colonial question because she did not receive all that she was promised in the secret treaty of London. Mussolini therefore indulged in fervent speeches for an extension of Italy's colonial claims. But the League of Nations had outlawed war and Mussolini's bombasts ranged hollow. Italian land hunger had corresponding reflection in her desire to turn the Mediterranean into an Italian lake. The Fascists, therefore, raised the slogan of Mare nostrum (our sea). Italy was a prisoner of Mediterranean. Any blockade due to hostile action at Suez or Gibralter can starve Italy to submission. Desire to gain control of the Mediterranean sea was a cardinal principle of Mussolini's foreign policy. Italy was vulnerable from land because the several passes of Alps easily admitted foreign invaders to the plains of Italy. The acute unemployment problem, the growing pressure of population and the recurring unfavourable balance of trade prompted demand for more space. The Fascist government attempted to divert the attention of the people to aggressive wars to earn glory.

Foreign Policy—Early Phase. Mussolini openly advocated war. Taking advantage of the murder of an Italian General with his staff by Greek bandits he demanded and realised heavy compensation from the Greeks after shelling the Greek island of Corfu. Italy entered into a private arrangement with Yugoslavia and gained possession of Fiume. Italy and Yugoslavia also accepted the Nettuno Convention whereby both parties made certain commercial concessions for the citizens of either country. Italy's intimate relations with Albania resulted in the break up of cordial relations with Yugoslavia. Mussolini advanced a large sum of money to the wretched state of Albania and virtually established a protectorate over it. Albania under Zog I could not shake off Italian influence and was ultimately absorbed in the Italian empire in April, 1939. But what mattered most to the European politics in the post-Versailles era was

Italy's rivalry with France in South-Eastern Europe. Mussolini desired alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania and looked upon French alliance with Little Entente as "a military alliance under a French general". It was not before January, 1935 when the outstanding questions between the two countries regarding colonies were settled by the Laval-Mussolini pact that the situation improved. Italy looked upon Austria and Hungary as her special care. But Italian policy towards Austrian minorities at Tyrol had created suspicion among Austrians. The Hungarians, however, readily responded to Mussolini's promptings. The rise of Hitler in Germany brought the Austrians, too, on the Italian side. Dollfuss, the Austrian Chancellor (1932-1934) and leader of the Christian Socialist Party crushed the socialists and modelled the Heinwehr in Fascist model. Mussolini took prompt action to check Nazi attempt at coup d'etat in Austria in July, 1934. Dollfuss was murdered by the Austrian Nazis but Hitler had to deny all connection with the event. Thus Austria was saved for the time being.

Stressa Front. This event brought Italy and France nearer. When Hitler declared on 16 March, 1935 his intention of reintroducing conscription in Germany in defiance of the Treaty of Versailles, Britain, France and Italy at once decided to register their protest against such flagrant violation of the Peace Treaty and met in a conference at Stressa in April, 1935. It was attended by the British Prime Minister, Mr. MacDonald, the French Premier, Mr. Flandin and Il Duce. In a formal declaration the three powers agreed to oppose "any unilateral repudiation of treaties" and to uphold the system of collective security under the framework of the League. The three powers made impressive demonstration of their solidarity but none wanted to keep their promise. Immediately afterwards Great Britain entered into a Naval agreement with Germany and thus creating a breach not only in the Treaty of Versailles but in the Stressa front. "Mussolini saw in this episode evidence that Great Britain was not acting in good faith" (Churchill, The Second World War, Vol. I, p. 125). But Mussolini himself was actively engaged during this period to establish Italy's hold over Abyssinia.

The Ethiopian Question. Italian defeat at Adowa in 1896 had rankled in Italian heart and ever since the Fascists came to power they were determined to retrieve the glory of Italy by waging a successful war against Abyssinia. With Mussolini the question of prestige was more vital than anything else. A successful foreign war would be a timely diversion from pressing domestic and economic difficulties. The Anglo-French vacillation in face of determined action was apparent to Mussolini. The opportunity for Italy arrived in 1935. The Laval-Mussolini pact had made his hand free. Thus France was friendly, Japan and Germany were estranged from the League of Nations, Britain was pacific and Italy was better armed. Following border clashes involving clash of arms at Walwal, Ethiopia appealed to the League. But Mussolini spurned League attempt at conciliation and sent troops to conquer Ethiopia on October 3, 1935. The League, thereupon, decided upon sanctions against Italy. But sanctions, in order to be effective, should have been thoroughly imposed. Instead oil which was essential for the war in Abyssinia flowed freely in Italy. Laval and Hoare even entered into an

agreement with Mussolini to recognise his gains in Ethiopia. But Hoare-Laval pact leaked out in the press and in face of overwhelming criticism could not be accepted. Mussolini conquered Ethiopia within nine months and in the meantime Hitler remilitarized Rhine.

Rome-Berlin Axis. The effect of all these proceedings outlined above estranged Mussolini from the western-democracies and brought him nearer to Hitler who quickly recognized his conquest of Ethiopia. Thus the Rome-Berlin Axis came into being. "The Rome-Berlin line", declared the Duce, "is not a diaphragm but rather an Axis." But Italy really occupied a less important position in the partnership that now started between Hitler and Mussolini. The Axis powers actively intervened in favour of France, the leader of counter-revolutionary troops, against the Spanish Republican government. Franco came out victorious but not as early and as easily as the Duce had expected. The Spanish Civil War proved to be a heavy drain on Italy's slender resources without any corresponding gain. Franco was a hard bargainer and refused to make those strategical concessions in Western Mediterranean which Mussolini had expected and which would have enabled Italy to challenge the French naval power in that region.

In 1937 Mussolini joined the Anti-Comintern pact with Germany and Japan. Italy which had championed the cause of Austria in 1934 was no longer in a position to do so in 1938. When Hitler ordered the occupation of Austria on 11 March, 1938, Mussolini did most of a bad job by declaring that "Austria did not interest him at all". But in spite of his brave words Mussolini knew the limitations of Italy and during the Czechoslovakian crisis appealed to Hitler for a Four Power Conference at Munich. Mussolini's attempt to play the part of a mediator at Munich bore no fruit and he was relegated to the background. Yet Mussolini wanted to make a demonstration of Italy's power and therefore sent Italian troops to annex Albania in April, 1939.

Mussolini's reluctance to declare war. On May 22, 1939, Italy signed a ten-year offensive and defensive alliance with Germany known as the 'Pact of Steel'. This pact provided that in case of war the signatories would automatically help each other. But when war actually broke out on September 1, 1939, Mussolini refused to be dragged in because Italy feared the blockade of Mediterranean by the Anglo-French powers. Moreover, Mussolini felt that in a Europe dominated by Germany, Italy would occupy only the position of a junior partner. Mussolini joined the war on June 10, 1940, on the eve of the fall of France. He calculated that the possibility of victory was not far off. His policy throughout was marked by opportunism.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:—

1. Churchill, W.S. : History of the Second World War.
2. Taylor, A.J.P. : Origin of the Second World War.
3. Jackson, Hampden J. : The Post-War World.
4. Dutt, R.P. : Fascism and Social Revolution.
5. Strachey, John : The Coming Struggle for Power.
6. Pope, Arthur Upham : Maxim Litvinoff.
7. Hardy, G.M. Gathorne : A Short History of International Affairs (4th edition).

Chapter 5

Storm Centres of Europe

Austrian Republic. With the resignation of Emperor Charles of the Habsburg dynasty on November 11, 1918, Austria became a republic under a provisional government headed by Karl Seitz as the president. Karl Seitz belonged to the Christian Socialist Party. The Constituent Assembly convened to provide Austria with a new constitution also gave her another Social Democrat, Karl Renner, as the chancellor. The Constituent Assembly intended to effect union with Germany but the Allied powers prohibited the same. The Constituent Assembly then adopted a Federal form of government modelled on the Swiss constitution. It provided for a bicameral legislature with the Bundesrat (Upper House) containing representatives from the nine provinces (minimum 3, maximum 12). The Nationalrat (Lower House) was elected on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The lower house elected the president but from 1929 the system of election was changed to an election of the president by popular vote.

Austria concluded peace with the Allied powers by the Treaty of Saint Germain which reduced her size to only 32,369 square miles. Out of the womb of the old Austro-Hungarian empire emerged several new and independent states as a result of the application of the principle of self-determination. Hungary formed into a separate state and the strip of territory known as the Burgenland became immediately a bone of contention between the two states. The dispute had to be settled by a plebiscite which gave Bugenland to Hungary. Bohemia and Moravia together with Austrian Silesia went to form the state of Czechoslovakia. Serbs and Croats were united in the state of Yugoslavia of which Slovonia formed a part. Tyrol, Trentino and Trieste went to Italy. Bukovania, Bosania, Herzegovania and the Dalmatian coast were joined with Yugoslavia. Teschen was divided between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Thus more than half

of what was previously called the Austro-Hungarian Empire was lost and truncated Austria was financially left bankrupt. The Peace Treaties had deprived Austria of the industrial areas of Bohemia and the rich agricultural zone of Hungary. The ravages of the war had caused irreparable damage to her economy. The Treaty of Saint Germain had provided for reparation charges to be taken from Austria. But the Allied Reparation Commission soon turned itself into a relief organization.

Economic Crisis of Austria. To relieve the economic crisis further repayment of reparation was postponed in 1921 by four principal Allied powers. An International Relief Credit Committee was authorized to issue bearer bonds to be charged on the revenues of Austria. The matter was referred to in the League of Nations and the League Council adopted a plan whereby seven member countries authorized Austria a loan of £130,000,000 for 20 years.[1] But loans alone were not sufficient for the recovery of Austria because foreign loans can never restore healthy economic life of a country. Therefore drastic steps for the reconstruction of Austria's economy were taken under the aegis of the League. "This aimed firstly at the effective control and reform of Austrian finances and secondly at the facilitation of loans in the private market, through the guarantee of the four signatory powers, Great Britain, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia and of any other countries willing to participate. It instituted a committee of control, composed of representatives of the guaranteeing governments and appointed a Commissioner from a neutral power (Netherlands), to supervise the programme of reform. It further instituted a new bank of issue vested with the sole right of issuing notes, and independent of government control."[2] Austria's recovery was reassuring. Two loans under the guarantee of the four powers and the Scandinavian countries (Sweden and Denmark) and Holland were floated. The Allied powers were showing increasing interest in Austria's economic recovery because they were determined to check the spread of Bolshevism and the Anschluss with Germany. On the latter issue Austria had to give definite assurance that no such proposal will be entertained without the approval of the League and it was certain that there was no possibility of approval of such a proposal by the League. But during the Great Depression of 1929-32 Austria suffered from economic crisis. As a result the famous Aus-

1. See Langsome, W.C.—The World Since 1914, p. 471.

2. Hardy, G.M. Gathorne—A Short History of International Affairs (4th ed.), p. 83.

trian Bank Credit Anstalt had to close its door in May, 1932. A loan from England to the National Bank of Austria proved to be a temporary relief and in June, President Hoover of U.S.A. declared moratorium on all inter-governmental payment for one year. But the economic crisis in Austria could not be averted by such temporary expedients. Unemployment figures and inflation rose to serious proportions and drastic measures to check it proved unavailing. Austria, therefore, literally begged the League of Nations to come to its rescue. There was frequent change of government and there was a complete failure of credit. The League, however, was not prepared to advance loan without attaching political strings and the Austrian legislature had to swallow the bit er pill when it approved the Lausanne protocol under which a loan was advanced to Austria on condition that Austria would not entertain any idea of Anschluss till 1952.

Internal politics of Austria. Internal politics in Austria during the inter-war period was marked by the rivalry of the socialists or Schutzbund and the Heimwehr—a semi-Fascist organization. The Schutzbund had the largest supporters in the Vienna and in the industrial area. Vienna contained nearly a third of Austria's population. The socialists controlled the municipal government and the province of Vienna. They arranged for old age pension and unemployment insurance. They tried to solve the housing problem by constructing workmen's flats. Among these quarters the Karl Marx Hut was the largest building in Europe provided with all modern amenities. The wealthy inhabitants of Vienna felt the pinch because of the high taxes. But yet repeatedly the electorate voted the socialists into the provincial government of Vienna. But the majority of the population in Austria, in the countryside, the conservative peasants supported the Heimwehr. The rural area was not only conservative and catholic but yearned even for a return of the Habsburgs. A clash between the socialists and Heimwehr in 1927 led to a strike in Vienna. Austria in the post-Versailles era was disturbed by this strike. There took place occasionally a sort of civil war between the private militia of both the parties. The situation came to a climax when Engelbert Dollfuss (1892-1934), a devout Catholic and leader of the Austrian Christian social party, because chancellor in May, 1932. He was bitterly anti-socialist and in February, 1934 following a demonstration of workers Dollfuss ordered the Austrian Army to attack the quarters of the Schutzbund. The civil war continued for five days and the socialist party was completely crushed and the

democratic constitution was suspended. Henceforth, Austria enjoyed a constitution that was fundamentally Fascist in character.

Austria's external relations and the question of Anschluss. But Dollfuss from the time that he became the chancellor set his face firmly against Anschluss with Germany. The desirability of the union with Germany was advocated from the days of the Peace Treaties which had definitely forbidden it. Yet several considerations prompted people in both the countries to seek closer union. Germany without Austria had an area lesser than France but with Austria she would become far greater in area and population than her avowed rival. Moreover, possession of Austria would give Germany a commanding strategical position in central Europe and the group of states known as the Little Entente would find it difficult to resist the aggression of a Greater Germany. Czechoslovakia, in particular, would find herself cut off by land or waterways from her allies. Many Austrians found in it an alluring prospect of sharing the prosperity of the German Reich in the era following the introduction of the Dawes Plan.

But the prospect of a union with Germany was not favoured by devout catholics in Austria and the same dislike was felt by German protestants against six million Austrian catholics. In 1931 an attempt to establish customs union with Germany was objected to by France and the Little Entente and the World Court by a majority of eight-to-seven votes declared the union to be incompatible with the legal obligations of both the states. The question of Anschluss however relegated to background as the economic blizzard of the thirties swept over Europe. Austria was granted a loan of $42,000,000 by the League on condition that she would not seek Anschluss with Germany. Several other factors also retarded the prospect of a union with Germany. The rise of Hitler resulted in renewed vigour of the Austrian Nazis to effect the union. But such movement received determined opposition from Dollfuss, the 'vest pocket' Chancellor of Austria. The Austrians disliked Nazi techniques and Dollfuss, the christian socialist leader, built up the Fatherland Front as an alternative to Nazi party. He was equally anti-socialist and authoritarian and directed his attack against the Schutzbund by crushing them altogether with repressive and violent measures. But Dollfuss and his friends were determined to prevent Hitler from uniting Austria forcibly with Germany. In this they were backed by Mussolini who considered himself as the self-imposed protector of Austria. Moreover, Anschluss would mean the dangerous proximity of Germany with Tyrol and thus land him in difficulty about minority problem.

Mussolini disliked the prospect of Nazi domination in central and south-eastern Europe which will result from a union of Germany and Austria.

The tension increased and Dollfuss repressed the Austrian Nazis with vigour. The Austrian Nazis attempted a coup d'etat on 25th July, 1934, on which date nearly one hundred and forty members of the Austrian Nazi party entered the chancellory and killed Herr Dollfuss. But the coup d'etat ended in a fiasco because the government troops forced the Nazi conspirators to submit and Mussolini who was shocked to hear the news at once sent troops to the Brenner pass in order to save Austria from a German occupation. Hitler was forced to retrace his steps and denied all connection with the event, and expressed regret at the murder of Dollfuss. This was largely due to Mussolini's stern attitude and popular reaction against the criminal murder of Dollfuss in Austria.[3]

Officially Hitler denied all connection with the Nazis in Austria and appointed Papen as the German Ambassador to establish cordiality with Austria. But secretly he instructed Papen to effect the Anschluss and undermine the Austrian government. Hitler now proceeded step by step to his desired goal. He improved his relations with Italy and allayed the fear of Austrian government. Mussolini, in the meantime, was embroiled on the Ethiopian question and estranged from the western democracies and the League. France and England had amply demonstrated their vacillation in the face of determined demonstration of a ruthless dictator. The Rome-Berlin Axis was in the offing. Mussolini was estranged from the Anglo-French powers on the Ethiopian question. The time was not, therefore, far away for the unification of Austria with Germany. Mussolini now knew that he will have to sell out Austria as decently as possible. Hitler was encouraged in his action by the attitude taken by England and France. The interview between Hitler and Lord Halifax on November 19, 1937 at Berchtesgaden seemed to have encouraged Hitler to go ahead with his scheme of Anschluss with Austria. The French seemed not unfavourably disposed to the prospect of an extension of German influence in Austria.

To throw Austria off her guard for the time being Germany had signed an agreement with Austria on July 11, 1936 recognising Austria's sovereignty. But in spite of the so-called 'gentleman's agreement' the little republic now shook with violence organized by the Nazi extremists. On February 12, 1938, chancellor Schuschnigg,

---

3. Taylor, A.J.P.—Origin of the Second World War, pp. 174-175.

the successor of Dollfuss, was summoned to Berchtesgaden where Hitler bullied him in accepting some members of the recently legalized Nazi party including Dr. Seyss-Inquart into the Cabinet. Mussolini congratulated Schuschnigg for the correct attitude taken by him at the conference with Hitler. But at the same time his exasperation with the Nazi policy led him to sound England for a possible Anglo-Italian alliance whose opponent Mr. Eden was promptly sacrificed by Chamberlain for appeasing the Duce.

The Austrian drama marched on. The resignation of Eden removed a staunch opponent of appeasement. Schuschnigg now decided to hold plebiscite for battling against overwhelming odds. But Mussolini was not prepared to back him now and called the decision to be a mistake. The decision to hold the plebiscite was announced on March 9. On the next day the French Cabinet resigned. It was a coincidence but a coincidence that went against the Austrian Chancellor and in favour of Hitler who was emboldened by British weakness during the introduction of conscription and remilitarization of Rhine. Schuschnigg now found himself alone. On March 11, Hitler ordered the occupation of Austria and Mussolini did the most of a bad job by informing him that 'Austria did not interest him at all'. Thus the Anschluss was effected and Austria became a state of the German Reich. Sir Winston Churchill in his address in the House of Commons on March 14, described its effects in the following words: "Vienna is the centre of the communication of all the countries lying to the south-east of Europe. A long stretch of the Danube is now in German hands. The mastery of Vienna gives to Nazi Germany military and economic control of the whole of the communications of south-eastern Europe, by road, by river and by rail."[4] The occupation of Austria gave the Nazis a commanding strategical position. Now they were in a position to control the communication of Czechoslovakia with the outside world. It was now possible for the Germans to drive a wedge into the heart of the group of countries called Little Entente. Once again Hitler's bluff had succeeded and he was bound to move for further gains. This time his choice naturally fell on Czechoslovakia.

The Republic of Hungary. The Hungarians had fought against the Allies under the banner of Dual Monarchy. When the war was lost the Hungarians decided to win the peace by disassociating themselves with every one connected with the war. When Charles, Emperor of Austria and king of Hungary, refused to abdicate they drove

4. **Churchill, W.S.**—History of the Second World War, Vol. 1, p. 244.

him into exile in Switzerland. They organized a National Council and made Michael Karolyi the Premier of Hungary. Hungary became a republic on November 16, 1918 and the National Council decided to convene a Constituent Assembly elected by universal manhood suffrage. The Hungarians threw themselves at the mercy of the Allied statesmen at Paris to gain better terms in the peace treaties. But in this they were disappointed. The Treaty of Trianon gave Slovakia to the newly created state of Czechoslovakia, Croatia to Yugoslavia, another newly created state, and Transylvania to Rumania. The Treaty was not grossly unjust to Hungary but the frontiers were drawn to her disadvantage. Moreover, nearly 3 million Hungarians were now thrown on the mercy of those very Rumanians, Serbs and Czech whom the Magyars had ruled so long under the flag of the Dual Monarchy. Karolyi resigned in protest and the fate of Hungary now again became uncertain due to the establishment of a revolutionary working class government under the communist leader Belakun. He moulded the Hungarian constitution on Soviet principles by creating local soviets and taking deputies from them to form the central government. A number of social insurance schemes were put into effect, but before these schemes had any chance of success the 'Red government' was crashed by the Rumanian Army acting under instructions from Paris.

Hungary's problems in the post-Versailles era. The man who came into prominence during this 'white terror' was Admiral Horthy —the last commander-in-chief of the Austro-Hungarian Navy. He organized the counter-revolution to Belakun's government from Szeged and entered Budapest in triumph after the fall of the communist regime. He became the Regent of Hungary in 1920 and held the post for 24 years. But the real power in Hungary rested more and more in the hands of Premier Bethlen who established a virtual dictatorship through a lower house elected on the basis of limited franchise and an upper house representing clerical, municipal, professional, business and aristocratic interest. In the post-Versailles era Hungarians quarrelled with the Austrians on the question of Burgenland which as result of a plebiscite went to Hungary in January, 1922. Another factor that caused flutter in Hungarian politics was the effort of King Charles to effect a stage back which he attempted twice in the year 1921. On the first occasion in March, 1921, he was forced to withdraw due to the stern attitude of the Allied powers and the Czech government. The second attempt in October also ended in ignominous failure. But on this occasion Dr. Benes insisted on and

at last exacted a declaration from the Hungarian government to exclude the Habsburgs.

The Horthy-Bethlen regime in Hungary instituted an extremely reactionary rule. The Hungarian people were not only deprived of most of their democratic rights but an attempt was made to impose upon Hungary the pre-war feudal regime. Nearly 40 per cent of the land was held in estates and 75 per cent of the peasants became landless labourers. Hungary had become a member of the League of Nations and she now appealed to the League in her financial difficulty. The League responded by arranging for an easy repayment of reparation in twenty easy instalments. The League went further by arranging for a loan for Hungary and establishing a bank of issue. These measures improved the financial condition of Hungary. And till the coming of the Great Depression of the thirties Hungarian Budget showed surplus. The attempt to establish greater cooperation for the elevation of the smaller states including Hungary and the Little Entente during the period of depression did not materialise nor the attempt to form a Danubian federation take shape. The failure of these schemes was largely due to the narrow national outlook of most of the states directly concerned in these schemes and the indirect interference of great powers who wanted to sabotage such a scheme for fear of losing the market.

External relations. Hungary's relations with her neighbours specially the group of states known as the Little Entente were embittered in the years following the signing of the Treaty of Trianon. This was largely due to the panic caused in the repeated attempts of the Habsburg dynasty to regain power. Although King Charles was twice baffled in the year 1921 he bequeathed his claim to his son Otto who came of age in 1930. He, however, did not revive the old question and the Habsburgs silently passed away from history. But the commotion created during this period had forced the Hungarian government to come out with a declaration to the effect that the existing form of government would remain unchanged.

More important than the Habsburg question was the desire of Hungary to revise her frontiers. Hungary in the post-Versailles era was a revisionist power. Hungary established cordial relations with Italy and in 1927 entered into a treaty of friendship. In 1932 Bethlen resigned and was succeeded by Julius Gambos as the Premier. The close relationship between Italy and Hungary created disturbance in south-east Europe. The repeated attempts to smuggle arms to Hungary from Italy caused anxiety to the Little Entente. The relation between Little Entente and Hungary could not improve so long

as Hungary cherished revisionist hopes. Gambos made attempts to bring together Italy and Hungary in a closer relationship. The fruit of such attempts was the Rome Protocol signed in 1934 between Italy, Hungary and Austria. Hungary's close friendship with Italy affected her relations with the Entente powers specially Yugoslavia. Matters came to a head when on October 9, 1934, King Alexander of Yugoslavia was assassinated at Marseilles, while on a state visit to France, by a terrorist in the pay of the extreme Crotian nationalist movement, the Ustacha. M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, who was accompanying him, also received fatal wounds and expired. The Yugoslav government suspected Hungarian complicity in the affair and appealed to the League of Nations to give its decision in the matter. The League Council adopted a face saving resolution which stated that the assassination plot was encouraged from certain quarters in Hungary and the Hungarian government was asked to take drastic steps against such authorities which had any connection with the Marseilles crime.

Gambos was replaced in 1936 by Kalman Daranyi as the Premier. Like his predecessor he also belonged to the National Union Party and following the footsteps of Gambos actively worked for friendship with Italy and Germany. He desired rearmament in violation of the Peace Treaties. The internal policy of Hungary was increasingly subjected to the pressure from various Nazi groups and the armament programme was largely a concession to their outcry. In Hungarian politics anti-semitic sentiments became stronger and Count Paul Teiki, who became Premier in 1939, introduced anti-Jewish laws. When Hitler partitioned Czechoslovakia in the Munich agreement on 29th September, 1938, Hungary received an addition to her territory in the Vienna award. In March, 1939 Ruthenia was annexed by Hungary. Hungary signed the Anti-Comintern Pact yet she was constantly in bad terms with Nazi Germany. She severed her connection with the League of Nations and the Soviet Union. In 1941 Hungary declared war against U.S.S.R. and joined World War II.

The Little Entente. The Little Entente was a term originally given by a Hungarian journalist to describe the system of alliances between the group of powers Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania. The treaty between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia was concluded in 1920. In 1921 the Czechs concluded alliance with Rumanians and in the same year the latter entered in treaty with Yugoslavia. The alliances among these groups of powers were cemented in a single treaty concluded in Belgrade in May 1929. The Little

Entente powers which had been granted most of Hungarian territory by the Treaty of Trianon joined together with the sole aim of keeping Hungary in check. The existence of these powers needed the maintenance of status quo and was brought about by the skilful diplomacy of M. Benes. The alliance was determined to defend the arrangements made by the Peace Treaties in central Europe and to prevent the restoration of the Habsburgs. In 1921 it prevented the restoration of Charles of Habsburgs and in 1922 it persuaded the League to grant membership to Hungary. The Little Entente also took a prominent part in convincing the League about the necessity of granting a loan to Hungary. Thus when the *raison d'etre* of an anti-Hungarian orientation of the policy of the Little Entente was lost M. Benes gave a twist to the Entente's policy by helping the League efforts to save Austria and Hungary from bankruptcy.

There was from the very beginning a close tie between France and the group of states forming the Little Entente. In fact, France had agreed to strengthen the powers of the Entente with war materials and military experts and this alliance was looked upon by revisionist powers as a military pact under a French General. The French foreign policy of maintaining *status quo* in Europe fitted in well with the aim of Little Entente. In return for the assistance promised by the powers of Little Entente against any attempt to undermine the *status quo*, the French promised to help the Czechs against Magyars, and the Yugoslavs against the Italian dictator. "It became a recognised French interest to support Poland against Lithuania, Czechoslovakia against Hungary, and Yugoslavia and Rumania against Bulgaria, and even to save her friends from the inconvenience of a too rigorous interpretation of their obligations towards their minorities."[5] With the improvement of relations with Hungary and Austria the *raison d'etre* for the Little Entente, it seemed, no longer existed. M. Benes, however, found in the closer relationship established by Mussolini with Hungary and Austria new dangers for the Little Entente. The possibility for the revival of the question of Anschluss was another warning which demanded a closer union among the little group of states in central Europe. The Economic blizzard of the thirties also demanded closer cooperation and the proposal for a Danubian federation came to the forefront. But as already noted it did not materialise. The strength of the Entente in the political field however remained undiminished and the situation

5. Carr, E.H.—International Relations between the Two World Wars (1919-1939), p. 43.

arising out of the murder of the Yugoslav King Alexnder was brought before the League Council at the insistence of the Entente and the Hungarian government was asked to seek and punish the offenders. But the Entente was let down by its friends France and Britain who did not back the Little Entente in its determined opposition to Hitlerite aggression.

The Little Entente, however, remains a model for international co-operation. The Little Entente converted itself into an international body in February, 1933. It was provided with a permanent council and a secretariat. In the economic sphere the Little Entente achieved a high degree of co-operation and on military and defence problems this little group of powers held frequent discussions. These discussions became all the more necessary due to the growth of Magyar irredentism which increased in intensity. But still more dangerous was the Nazi menace. The Little Entente became sensitive to it. The military strength of Little Entente was not a negligible factor and if backed by Anglo-French powers it could have administered a serious check to Hitler's ambition in Europe. But the western powers decided to abandon Czechoslovakia in the Munich Pact and thus sealed the fate of the Little Entente. Churchill in his funeral oration on Czechoslovakia described the strength of the Little Entente in the following words—

"Taking singly, the three countries of the Little Entente may be called powers of the second rank, but they are very powerful and vigorous states, and united they are a great power....Together they make the complement of a great power. Rumania has the oil, Yugoslavia has the minerals and the raw materials. Both have large armies, both are mainly supplied with ammunitions from Czechoslovakia".[6] Thus the military might of the Little Entente could not have been easily brushed aside by the Wehrmacht. Moreover the powers of the Little Entente had entered into an agreement with the Soviet Union by the London Agreement of 1933. But the opportunity to build up a grand alliance with Soviet Russia was neglected by the Anglo-French powers much to the detriment of the interest of the Little Entente.

Czechoslovakia. The republic of Czechoslovakia was created out of the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1918 and consisted of the Slavonic provinces—Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Slovakia and Ruthenia. The Czechoslovakia National Council established in Paris by Thomas Garriague Masaryk (1850-1937) and Edward Benes (1884-

6. Op. cit.

1948) as the provisional government of Czechoslovakia was recognised by the Allies. The achievement of Czechoslovakia's independence was largely due to the efforts of the two Czech nationalist leaders mentioned above. Masaryk was born in Moravia, the son of a coachman. He was educated at Vienna and Leipzig and appointed professor of Philosophy in the University of Prague. In early years of his life he achieved fame as a champion of Czech nationalism. In the end of 1914 he escaped to London to organize the cause of an independent Czechoslovakia. He travelled widely in different Allied countries including Russia and U.S.A. where he influenced the Allied statesmen in favour of creating a separate state of Czechoslovakia in the post-war period. He organized legions, raised funds and created sentiments in favour of his cherished cause and in this he was helped greatly by Edward Benes. Benes, the Czechoslovakian statesman and patriot, was born in a peasant family near Pilsen and received education at the universities of Prague, Berlin, Dijon and Paris. In 1915 he escaped to Paris. In the Council of Czechoslovakia sitting at Paris he organized the cause of independence. Here Benes and Masaryk tackled the difficult problems connected with the shaping of an independent state of Czechoslovakia with tact and courage. Benes and Masaryk were western in their outlook and they had to conciliate Russo-phils like Dr. Karel Kramar. Dr. Benes joined the Peace Conference at Paris as the representative of Czechoslovakia and in this task he was helped by Dr. Karel Kramar. An independent Czechoslovakia was carved out in the Peace Treaties and Masaryk became its first President. Dr. Karel Kramar became the Premier and Dr. Benes was assigned the post of Foreign Minister. Czechoslovakia adopted a democratic constitution modelled on the French and American constitutions. Masaryk was twice elected President and upon his resignation on grounds of ill-health in 1935, Dr. Benes replaced him as the President of the republic.

The Internal and Foreign Policy Problems of Czechoslovakia. The new republic faced various vexatious problems in internal and foreign politics. Most dangerous among these problems which affected the integration of the new state was the minority question details of which have been discussed in a separate section. Among the other internal problems the projected land reform resulted in a clash between the state and the church. Czechoslovakia being a succession state most of the landowners were either Germans or Hungarians. The Czechs and the Slovaks were mostly landless peasants. "In 1918 about 2 per cent of the landlords in Bohemia owned more than one-fourth of the land. In Moravia nearly one-third of the land was

controlled by less than 1 per cent of the landowners. In Slovakia half of the land was in possession of about one thousand persons. One-fourth of the farms in Bohemia and Moravia were of seven and a half acres or less'" The state tried to fix the ceiling of land estates at 375 acres for arable land and 625 acres for mixed estates of arable and non-arable lands.[8] The land reform also included redistribution of escheated property and confiscated crown land among the landless. But it landed the state into an open breach with the church which also controlled education. The state-owned schools were now opened to impart secular teaching to the young. The Church became estranged also because of the celebration of 6 July as Husday in memory of the famous protestant leader burnt at stake (14th century A.D.). The settlement of outstanding differences with the Pope came about only in 1927.

Czechoslovakia flourished exceedingly in the post-Versailles era. Five-sixths of the industrial resources of Austria-Hungary. and the great Skoda armament factory at Pilson lay in Bohemia and Moravia. Czechoslovakia formed the greatest manufacturing area in the now defunct Austro-Hungarian empire. Because of corollary developments in agriculture and small industries. Czechoslovakia enjoyed economic self-sufficiency and a favourable balance of trade. But the country was surrounded by none too friendly neighbours in the south-east and her relations with the outside world lay through foreign territories. The Peace Treaties guaranteed her outlet through Hambourg. Triese and Settin. Her communications by road, rail or river to the south and south-east was liable to be severed at any moment.

Czechoslovakia in her foreign policy pursued the aim of maintaining the *status quo* created by the Peace Treaties. Her very existence demanded such a policy. If Austria effected Anschluss with Germany by violating the arrangements made at the Paris Peace Conference then Czechoslovakia would face the grim situation of being placed at the mercy of Germany for her link with the outside world. So Hasaryk and Benes were determined not only to maintain the *status quo* but also to establish close link with all such powers small and great who were anti-revisionist. Among Great powers France dreaded most the revival of Germany and her union with Austria and in the post-Versailles era France became a natural patron of Czechoslovakia. Both Masaryk and Benes were western in their outlook and preferred to

7. Langsome, W.C.—World Since 1914, p. 104.
8. Ibid.

look upon Britain and France rather than U.S.S.R. as their natural protector. It was in their search for security against the attempt of the revisionist powers to undermine the *status quo* that Czechoslovakia supported the League system of Collective Security. For regional security Dr. Benes inspired Yugoslavia and Rumania to join the organization which came to be known as the Little Entente.

The Minority Problem. When Czechoslovakia was curbed out of the Austro-Hungarian empire the makers of the Peace Treaties had to give preference to strategic frontier and as a result many ethnic groups including three and a quarter million Germans were placed in the state of Czechoslovakia. Apart from the Sudetan Germans there were two million Slovaks, seven hundred thousand Hungarians and four hundred and fifty thousand Ruthens. The number of Czech population was nearly seven million. In the post-Versailles era though the country enjoyed economic prosperity yet its internal policies was vitiated by latent racial animosity, ill-feeling being generated by the pre-eminence of the Czechs.

The Czech government, however, was fully conscious of the dangers inherent in the situation. Czechoslovakia had signed minorities treaty and promised to uphold their rights in the constitution of 1920. The state had started schools for Ruthenians where instructions was imparted in their native tongue. Autonomy in local administration was granted to the Ruthenians. The Slovaks were also granted the same privilege. Masaryk and Benes worked hard to harmonise the minority groups and to reconcile them. There were of course extremist factions specially among the Sudetan Germans who could not be adjusted to a policy of mutual tolerance. But in general their policy was largely successful and after the treaty of arbitration, signed between Germany and Czechoslovakia in 1925, the Czech government received increasing support even from its German minorities. But the Nazi party in Sudetenland led by Henlein was determined to wreck the state at any cost. The Czech government had signed in 1935 a treaty of mutual assistance with Soviet Russia. This pact became a special object of attack of Henlein and his gang and their German masters.

The Tragic Betrayal of Czechoslovakia. Henlien and his crew were determined to create a situation under which it would appear that the Czech government was keeping down its German minority under thraldom in alliance with international communism and its leader the Soviet Union. But the Czech government replied to all this tactics by a policy of mixed conciliation and force. During this period Czechoslovakia received hearty support from the U.S.S.R. and

the Soviet backing to Czechoslovakia was unequivocal. The French Premier M. Bulm also gave assurance to the Czech government that French people would unreservedly support and honour their engagement with regard to Czechoslovakia. The Czech Army of 35 divisions was well organized. Despite these difficulties the Sudeten Germans encouraged by Hitler carried on their nefarious activities. From March, 1938 the Germans were in possession of Austria. So far Great Britain and France had submitted to Hitler's threats and had quietly accepted the violation of the Treaty of Versailles with regard to the introduction of conscription, Rhineland militarization and Anschluss. Hitler was now encouraged to materialise his aggression on Czechoslovakia.

On April 24, Henlein placed his eight-point demand on the Prague authorities and the British and French governments pressed M. Benes to go to the furthest limit to meet the demand of the Sudeten Germans. This programme included complete autonomy for the Sudeten Germans and was so formulated that the Czech government was bound to refuse it. But at the same time the Czech government quick'y mobilized and was assured on June 12 about French support by M. Daladier. M. Litvinov in his interview with the French charge-d'affairs at Moscow also stated that the U.S.S.R. was resolved to fulfil its obligation to the Czechs. Hitler, therefore, decided to wait and see for the time being and did not take any action. Thus the May crisis passed off.

The British government, however, was definitely convinced that Hitler had fixed up a deadline for his aggression in Czechoslovakia and they tried to conciliate him. On July 26, Prime Minister Chamberlain announced the decision of sending Lord Runciman as mediator to Czechoslovakia. "If he succeeded in the first the crisis would be averted; if in the second, Benes would be discredited, Czechoslovakia could be disvowed and the honour of the Western powers would be saved. Instead Runciman found that he was being manoeuvred to a position where he had to endorse Czech offers as reasonable, and to condemn the obstinacy of the Sudetens, not of Benes."[9]

The crisis now developed rapidly. On September 12, Hitler in a speech in the Nuremberg party congress, delivered a violent attack on the Czech government. Henlein, the traitor, now fled to Germany and Czechoslovakia started fervent military preparations. Chamberlain however decided to intervene and flew on 15 September to meet Hitler at Berchtesgaden. Hitler now demanded immediate transfer of

9. Taylor, A.J.P.—Origin of the Second World War, p. 211.

predominantly German districts to Germany. The Czech government which was not consulted beforehand was presented with the alternative of either accepting German demand or to fight Hitler alone without Anglo-French support. It eliminated also the possibility of Russian help which was conditional upon French support to Czechoslovakia. Under Anglo-French duress the Czech government accepted these proposals. Premier Hodza resigned and was replaced by General Jan Syrovy, the most popular figure in the army. The Soviet offer at this juncture of building a grand alliance was ignored by the Anglo-French powers. "They were not brought into the scale against Hitler, and were treated with an indifference—not to say disdain—which left a mark in Stalin's mind. Events took their course as if Soviet Russia did not exist. For this we (Anglo-French powers) afterwards paid dearly."[10]

But when, on September 22, Chamberlain for the second time flew to Germany and met Hitler at Godesberg to present him with the enforced submission of Czechoslovakia, to his annoyance he found that the Dictator now screwed for more concessions. To this even Chamberlain could not agree. The stage now seemed to be ready for war. But Mussolini was scared by the prospect of war and being prompted by London and Washington appealed for a Big Four conference at Munich. At Munich on September 30, Chamberlain and Daladir met the two Dictators and virtually accepted the Godesberg proposals. The Czech government was forced to accept it. These proposals included evacuation of the Sudetenland, within ten days beginning from October 1 and final delimitation of the frontier by an international commission. The frontier delineation went far beyond the Munich zone and Czechoslovakia fell completely under the grip of Nazi Germany. M. Benes resigned on October 5, 1938 and Dr. Hacha was elected presdient. Like vultures at prey Poland and Hungary took their share from a truncated and weak Czechoslovakia. Slovakia gained a precarious autonomy. Hungary annexed Carpetho-Ukraine and Poland was allowed to occupy Teschen. In March, 1939 the Germans occupied Moravia and Bohemia tearing off the Munich Agreement and Czechoslovakia disappeared from the map till the year 1945 when a 'National Front' government returned to Prague.

Yugoslavia. A movement for the union of Yugo or South Slav peoples representing Serbia and the South Slavic provinces of the

10. Churcill, W.S.—History of the Second World War, Vol. I, pp. 274-275.

Habsburg empire existed from the nineteenth century. But it was not until the summer of 1917 that a south Slav state known as Yugoslavia became possible with the signing of a pact at Corfu. This state had the prospect of detaching Croatia, Slovenia and Bosenia-Hezegovani from Austro-Hungarian empire and uniting them with Serbia and Montenegro. The pact aimed at creating a unitary Kingdom of 'Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' under the Serbian dynasty. King Alexander formally changed the name of the Kingdom to Yugoslavia on 3 October, 1929. The Kingdom had a population of thirteen and a half million people.

Yugoslavia's creation was based on ethnic basis. Therefore the national integration of this state depended upon statesmanship of its rulers in avoiding racial friction. "Intense acrimony was evoked in Yugoslavia by the vital issues whether she should assume the form of a unified and centralized monarchy, or whether she should be content with a looser organization on federal lines which would allow regional autonomy to the Croats."[11] A Croatian peasant party was organized by Stefan Reditch. The peasant party directed the Croats to a policy of non-cooperation with the state and the government replied by putting Reditch behind the bars. Soon, however, the government was forced to release him and tried to pacify the Croats by taking their representatives in the government. But the quarrel went on unabated. The climax was reached when in 1928 Reditch while criticising the government inside the parliament was shot together with a few other members of his party by a pro-government deputy. The Croat leader died of his wounds.

King Alexander then abolished the constitution in 1929, and henceforth Yugoslavia instead of being called 'the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' was officially designated as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. King Alexander now monopolised all the power of the state though a constitution was formally granted in the year 1931. In 1934 King Alexander, as has been already mentioned, was assassinated at Marseilles and was succeeded by an eleven-year-old son, Peter II.

The Council of Regency and Milan Stoyadinovich who became Premier in June 1935 made serious attempts to reach an agreement with the Croats. Unfortunately Stoydinovich had to resign, on the question of concord with Rome, due to the opposition of Serbian orthodox Church But the relation between the Serbs and Croats now improved in the face of foreign danger. The fall of Czecho-

11. Lipson—Europe in the Twentieth Century (8th ed.) p. 458.

slovakia had served as a warning and in August, 1939, Machek, the Croat leader, signed an agreement with Cvetkovich, the Premier and Prince Paul, the Regent.

The foreign policy of Yugoslavia was tied with the Little Entente. Yugoslavia was of necessity an anti-revisionist state. Her acute financial problem also made her dependent on French loans. But France was a hard bargainer and in the treaty made with Yugoslavia it was stipulated that five new divisions equipped exclusively by the Skoda concern be added to the Yugoslav army. Mussolini also desired alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania for expansion of Italian trade. Yugoslavia at first concluded a treaty of friendship with Italy in 1924 and amicably settled the question of Fiume which was acquired by Italy. By the Nettuno Convention Italy and Yugoslavia gave mutual concessions of commercial and other rights to each other. The powers of the Little Entente including Yugoslavia were trying to reap benefit out of the mutual rivalry of France and Italy in south-east Europe. But Italo-Yugoslav relations did not remain cordial for long, because of the inherent contradiction between the two states on the question of the control of Adriatic. Yugoslavia, in fact, was afraid of the close relations established by Italy with Albania. The Treaty of Tirana signed by Italy with Albania virtually established an Italian protectorate over that country. This event together with Italian efforts to establish her hold over south-east Europe resulted in tension between Yugoslavia and Italy. Yugoslavia now strengthened her alliance with France because she was afraid of encirclement. Italy had improved her relations with Greece and Bulgaria whereas Graeco-Yugoslav relations had deteriorated on the question of Yugoslavia's right over the Free Zone in the port of Salonica which she enjoyed as a result of Graeco-Serbian alliance of 1913. The activities of Macedonian Revolutionaries had created tension in the border of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Under the circumstances it was natural that Yugoslavia should seek closer relationship with France. France during this period was pursuing a policy of building up an alliance with the object of counteracting German militarism. The French were seeking alliance with Italy for this purpose. To Yugoslavia the prospect of this alliance and possible establishment of the predominance of Italy and France in the Danubian region was unwelcome. M. Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, under whom the French foreign policy was after many years taking coherent shape, tried to reconcile Yugoslavia. It is for this reason that King Alexander of Yugoslavia visited France and was assassinated at Merseilles together with Barthou by a Croat

extremist. The event produced international repercussions of far-reaching consequence. Yugoslavia pointed to Italy and Hungary as countries which encouraged and sheltered the conspirators. An appeal was made to the League of Nations. The League acquitted Italy as innocent in the matter, but directed Hungary to seek out and punish the offenders. The prompt action taken by the League was largely due to the insistence of the powers of the Little Entente of which Yugoslavia was an important member. The relation between Hungary and Yugoslavia was not happy and this event further enlarged the gulf between the two.

Several alarming factors in the international field led Yugoslavia to seek for security and alliance. The rise of Hitler in Germany caused alarm in several countries including Yugoslavia. The French attempt at Italian friendship and the success with which the League Covenant and the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles was violated by the Dictators resulted in loss of faith in the western democracies which were following a policy of appeasement. Yugoslavia had attempted to carry out the decision of imposing sanctions against Italy. As a result her trade became dependent upon Germany. Politically, the Anschluss and tragedy of Czechoslovakia also made her statesmen cautious and she tried to make friendship with both the Axis and non-Axis powers. Yugoslavia made trade agreements with Germany but renewed her pact of 1927 with France. Germany, however, compelled Yugoslavia to give up her neutrality by forcing her to accept the Tripartite Pact (March, 1941). The attempt of some Yugoslav patriots to subvert the government of Regent Paul failed due to German intervention. During the Second World War Yugoslavia took up arms in favour of the Axis powers.

Rumania. On the eve of World War I Rumania was in alliance with the Germans but proclaimed neutrality. She was induced to join the side of the Allies by the promise of considerable territorial concessions and by the promptings of her 'liberal' Minister John C. Bratianu. Rumania, however, was defeated by Germany and accepted capitulatory treaty of peace. But at the end of 1918, just before the end of the war, Rumania redeclared war. In the Peace Conference, therefore, Rumania received her reward and secured Transylvania, Bukovina and her share of Banat while she retained Besserbia which she had seized from Russia. As the Rumanian state contained a large number of Magyar, German, Bulgarian and Ukranian minorities she had to sign the minority treaties.

Rumania was endowed with large natural resources including petrol and fine agricultural land. But the condition of the peasantry

was in a sorry state. This was largely due to large landed estates some of which included forty thousand acres of land. A number of land reforms were enacted in the post-Versailles era to remedy this state of affairs. A large number of estates were taken over by the state which paid compensation to the proprietors. The land thus gained was sold to the peasants on easy terms. This and other reforms improved the lot of the cultivators. But this land reforms landed Rumania in a long drawn dispute with Hungary. "By the terms of the Treaty of Trianon Magyars who lived in Transylvania and who wished to retain their Hungarian citizenship rather than become Rumanian nationals were allowed to opt, that is, express a choice to that effect within one year. Optants were given permission to keep their holdings in Transylvania."[12] The Hungarians complained that the land reforms were a violation of the Treaty of Trianon and the League tried in vain to settle the matter peacefully. The dispute between Rumania and Hungary continued till 1930. In that year the second Hague conference made settlements in general of all claims with regard to reparation. The dispute between Hungary and Rumania was also settled in this conference.

The Rumanian government was corrupt and was controlled by John Bratianu and his clique. There was no improvement until Julius Maniu, the leader of the National Peasants' Party, became the Prime Minister in 1928. Maniu had to fight for uplifting the standard of the peasant masses. He was also hampered by the court intrigue of King Carol II. "King Carol II—who had been excluded from the throne—became king in place of his own son in 1930, and he assumed a personal part in the shaping of politics."[13] During this period King Carol together with Nicolac Jorga virtually established a dictatorship. But the government was discredited due to the personal scandal of the king and the corruption and misuse of fund. A new liberal ministry under John G. Duca came to power in 1934. Another feature of the Rumanian politics during this period was the growth of the Rumanian fascists party called Iron Guard which followed terrorist methods. The government however took stern measures against the Iron Guard. In the beginning of 1938 the king proclaimed a new constitution and assumed all powers. In Rumania Carol established an authoritarian state but against the pro-Nazi elements, the Iron Guards, the government took a stern attitude. In 1939 in a fake election only an ultra-monarchist element was allowed to participate.

12. Langsome, W.C.—The World Since 1914, p. 600.
13. Lipson—Europe in the Twentieth Century, p. 460.

In foreign policy Rumania persistently followed her adherence to the Little Entente. Her foreign policy aims and objectives were naturally to maintain the *status quo* against the irredentism of Hungary and other revisionist powers and to bar the restoration of the Habsburgs. This naturally induced her to join hands with Czechosolvakia and Yugoslavia in forming the Little Entente. But Rumania's foreign policy aims differed in certain respects from the other two members of the Little Entente. The Rumanian seizure of Besserbia made her eager to form an anti-Russian alliance. During this period Rumania in frantic search for allies had concluded pacts with the Little Entente and Greece and Poland. But the other two members of the Little Entente did not share with Rumania anti-Russian sentiment. The alliance of Rumania with Little Entente was based upon the danger of the revival of Habsburgs which Charles attempted twice in 1921. But Rumania's preoccupation with the Russian danger also induced her together with Poland to enter into a defensive alliance with France which guaranteed her eastern frontier. Rumania had interest in maintaining *status quo* in the Balkans. There she was faced with the possibility of Bulgarian irredentism. As a result she was induced in 1934 to sign a Balkan pact with Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. It guaranteed the existing *status quo* of the Balkans. It was an insurance against the possible interference of the Great Powers in the affairs of the Balkans. But on 31st July, 1938 there was a reorientation of the Balkan Entente because on that date Bulgaria was also included in the Balkan pact. The possibility of German aggression resulted in such reorientation of policy and improved the relations among Balkan powers. German Anschluss with Austria gave Hitler command over south-eastern Europe. The vacillation of the western democracies in the face of Nazi aggression shook the faith of Rumania on Anglo-French powers. The betrayal of the brave republic of Czechoslovakia, the organizer of the Little Entente, convinced Rumania of the need for closer alliance with Germany which was also her best purchaser in oil. A treaty signed by Rumania with Germany resulted virtually in the establishment of German control over Rumania's economic life. The agreement gave Germany right to exploit Rumanian oil. This agreement, however, did not save Rumania's disintegration. Although the Rumanians surrendered some of their territorial gains to the U.S.S.R., Hungary and Bulgaria in 1940 she remained bound with the Axis powers. These concessions however led to the fall of the government of King Carol II, General Antonescu (1882-1946) who now seized power in Rumania readily participated in the invasion of

Russia. When in 1944 as a result of the defeat of the Axis powers Russian troops reached Rumania, she declared war on Germany and declared herself a people's republic.

Bulgaria. Bulgaria is a Slav state in Balkan. During the First World War she sided with the central powers and as a result in the Peace Conference of Paris the victorious powers imposed upon her the Treaty of Neuilly which though less severe than the terms imposed upon other defeated nations forced her to give up all claims upon Dobrudja (which Rumania had occupied in the Balkan War of 1913). Bulgaria also lost her link with the Aegean sea and agreed to pay Reparation charges.

In the post-Versailles era Bulgaria became a prey to factionalism. Just at the end of the war King Ferdinand had to pay the price of joining hands with Germany by abdicating from the throne. His successor was king Boris III. Bulgarian politics during the years following the conclusion of the Peace Treaty was dominated by Alexander Stambolisky (1879-1923), the leader of the Agrarian party. He was a peasant politician educated at Germany. His opposition to Bulgaria's joining hands with the central powers had led to his imprisonment. It was largely due to his influence that King Ferdinand had to resign. From October 1919 till June 1923 he was the Prime Minister of Bulgaria. During his Premiership in internal affairs he followed a policy which was directed to uplift the condition of the peasants at the cost of all other classes, even the urban poor. He introduced a novel system whereby every adult individual man or woman was compelled to render uncompensated labour for public works. In foreign relations he tried to be friendly with the neighbouring states. He strictly upheld the treaty obligations imposed upon Bulgaria by the Paris Peace Conference. By such fulfilment he hoped to free the country from foreign control at an early date. Stambolisky however fell from power in 1923. He was assassinated a few days after his fall which was due to a *coup d'etat* supported by a coalition of all parties against the Agrarian Party. The death of Stambolisky was followed by a period of predominance by the Democratic Entente which attempted to stamp out all opposition. The ministry of Liapchev which came to power in 1926, however, attempted to follow a liberal policy and relaxed the stern measures by releasing the political prisoners. The Liapchev ministry was replaced by the government of National Bloc composed of moderate Agrarians in alliance with other opposition groups in 1931. Prime Minister Nicolac Mushanov remained in power till 1934 and followed a liberal policy. During this period of liberalism the communist party

of Bulgaria made rapid progress and registered remarkable success in the Municipal election of the capital. Alarmed by this situation the reactionaries and militarists in Bulgaria staged a *coup d'etat* in 1934. All power ultimately was placed in the hands of the King and Bulgaria was now ruled by a royal dictatorship. The Nazi Party now became very active in Bulgaria. A law ordering their suppression was passed in 1939.

The one single factor that dominated the Bulgarian foreign relations most was the activities of the International Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation or I.M.R.O. The Macedonians were eager to unite their country into an autonomous region. The I.M.R.O. sought to achieve this object by terrorist methods. Their guerilla tactics along the frontier of Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia prevented the establishment of friendly relations of Bulgaria with her neighbours. The Macedonian guerilla armed bands were called Comitadjis. The border incidents multiplied and the Greek army invaded Bulgaria following the murder of some Greek troops in October, 1925. The League of Nations, however, intervened in favour of Bulgaria which had appealed to the League for protection. The bitterness felt by the Greeks against the League and the Bulgars did not last long when it was felt that terrorism carried on by the I.M.R.O. had no connection with the government of Bulgaria and a treaty of friendship was signed between the two countries. But Bulgar-Yugoslav relations continued to be unfriendly due to the activities of the Macedonian terrorists. Unable to guard her frontiers against the I.M.R.O. Bulgaria appealed to her neighbours to co-operate with her in suppressing the terrorists and received ready response. But the closer ties which Bulgaria established with Italy during this period prevented any improvement of relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The activities of the Macedonian terrorists who were determined to check the 'Serbifying' of that portion of Macedonia which was under the control of Yugoslavia, prevented the resumption of cordial relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The situation, however, improved by the year 1930 when a protocol of friendship was signed between the two countries. In Bulgaria energetic measures were taken by the government against I.M.R.O. leaders. Such measures were appreciated by the neighbours of Bulgaria. Another factor that contributed to the development of friendly ties between Bulgaria and other Balkan powers was the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. The possibility of interference in Balkan induced the Balkan Entente to include Bulgaria in the Balkan Pact of July, 1938. It enabled Bulgaria to evade the military restrictions placed upon her by the Treaty

provided now with Anglo-French guarantee. But when Italy joined the War Greece could not maintain her neutrality. Italian troops landed in Greece on October 28, 1940. The Italian adventure ended in failure, but German troops easily occupied the country.

The Balkan Entente. Most of the states mentioned above were members of the Balkan Entente. Balkan geographically means the peninsula comprising European Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia and the regions westward to the Adriatic. It also refers to the mountain range crossing Bulgaria from West to East. This area before World War I was mostly under the Ottoman Turkish empire. The rise of nationalism in this region, together with the interference of various Great Powers and their policy of extending influence in this area at the cost of Turkey, had given rise to the Eastern Question.

In the post-Versailles era the Balkan nationalities were liberated from the shackles of the Turkish rule. The Wilsonian principle of self-determination was applied in the Balkans. Greece, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey—these four Balkan powers now created the Balkan Entente. Some of them like Rumania and Yugoslavia were also members of the Little Entente. Originally Bulgaria was excluded from the Entente because of her revisionist attitude. In 1938 Bulgaria too was included in the Balkan Pact. Only Albania remained outside because of her intimate relations with Italy. The Balkan Entente aimed at maintaining *status quo* in the Balkans.

In the post-Versailles era Italy and France entered into a rivalry for leadership in south-eastern Europe. Italy, therefore, concluded alliance with Yugoslavia in 1924. Italian relations with Albania and Bulgaria made Yugoslavia suspicious of Italian move. The powers of the Balkan Entente were, moreover, bent upon taking advantage of the rivalry between France and Italy and, therefore, Yugoslavia accepted loans also from France. The Balkan Powers reached agreement among themselves. In January 1930 in the Second Hague Conference outstanding claims and counter-claims in Eastern Europe were finally thrashed out. It included the settlement of dispute between Bulgaria and Rumania. Greek dispute with Yugoslavia on the question of Salonica was finally brought to end by the treaty of 1929. Turkey signed neutrality pact with Yugoslavia in 1925 and with Bulgaria in 1929. In 1928 Rumania signed a non-aggression pact with Greece. Thus mutual understanding between the Balkan powers was reached by 1930. But the Russian claim in Besserbia, the signing of the Treaty of Tirana between Italy and Albania, the rise of Hitler to power in Germany were factors that disturbed Euro-

pean politics during this period. Turkey, too, was eager to cement her diplomatic alliance in south-eastern Europe. The penetration of Italian influence in the Danubian basin and the attempt of Italy to act as the protector of Austria and Hungary created uneasiness among members of the Balkan Entente. France during this period under the guidance of M. Barthou was trying to build up an Eastern Locarno and encouraged the signing of a Balkan Pact. Accordingly in February, 1934, the Four Balkan powers, *viz.*, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Greece, signed an agreement. The Pact provided for mutual consultation and guarantee on matters of common interest. The Balkan Powers agreed to respect each other's frontier. At Ankara a permanent council was established to ensure mutual cooperation on political and economic matters. The test of solidarity came when King Alexander of Yugoslavia was murdered along with his host M. Barthou at Mersailles in 1934 by a Croat terrorist. Yugoslavia blamed Hungary and Italy for complicity in the plot and appealed to the League of Nations. The Balkan Powers supported Yugoslavia in its action. The League exempted Italy from the charge and requested Hungary to take action against the authorities that encouraged the plot. In the economic sphere closer cooperation was established among the members of the Balkan Entente. But in the international field the aggression of Germany and Italy and the policy of appeasement of Anglo-French powers had undermined the League system of Collective Security. The Italian aggression on Ethiopia was a breach in the Collective Security. The powers of the Balkan Entente wholeheartedly supported the League action against Italy but to no avail. The weakness of the Anglo-French power became more apparent in the successive violation of the Treaty of Versailles by Hitler's action. The Anschluss effected by Germany with Austria weakened the strategic position of the states of south-eastern Europe. The Anglo-French betrayal of Czechoslovakia not only resulted in the disintegration of the Little Entente but undermined the solidarity of the Balkan Entente.

But from its very inception some of the members of the Balkan Entente though against Italian penetration in the Danube basin were not against establishing closer relationship with Germany. The Bessarbian question specially made Rumania eager to reach an understanding with Germany against U.S.S.R. Yugoslavia, however, preferred an extension of German influence in Brenner rather than Italian influence in Austria and Hungary. General Metaxas in Greece patronised pro-Italian fascists. Thus the Italian and German aggressions had created breach not only in the Little Entente but also in

the Balkan Entente. The reason for the growth of German influence in the Balkan was due to her economic penetration in this area. Yugoslavia's economic dependence on Germany increased owing to her participation in the League sanction against Italy. Germany's economic penetration in the Balkans increased rapidly and in the period after the Great Depression till the outbreak of the Second World War German trade with Balkan countries had increased fourfold. After the fall of Czechoslovakia some of the members of the Balkan Entente including Yugoslavia, Rumania and Bulgaria submitted to the Axis pressure. The members of the Entente professed solidarity and common front, but they were already drifting apart. At the outbreak of the Second World War all the members of the Balkan Entente excepting Turkey which maintained a precarious neutrality fell a prey to Axis pressure and succumbed to it.

SUMMARY

Austrian Republic. In the post-Versailles era Austria became a republic with a constitution modelled on the Swiss constitution. In the Treaty of Saint Germain her size was reduced to 32,369 square miles. Hungary formed a separate state and the strip of territory known as Burgenland became a bone of contention between the two. Ultimately Burgenland went to Hungary as a result of a plebiscite. The years immediately following the Peace Settlement saw the economic bankruptcy of Austria and the Allied Reparation Commission soon turned itself into a relief organization.

Economic Crisis of Austria. An International Relief Credit Committee was created to relieve the economic crisis of Austria. The League arranged for a loan £130,000,000 for Austria Scheme for reconstruction of the Austrian economy was undertaken under the aegis of the League. Great Britain, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy became guarantors for loans to Austrian private market. A new bank of issue and a committee of control was appointed by the League to supervise and control Austrian economy and banking. The Allied powers were determined to check the spread of Bolshevism and to prevent Anschluss. Thus Austrian recovery was a matter of international interest. The Great Depression (1929-31) took Austria off her feet and the famous Austrian bank Credit Ansalt had to close its doors in 1932. Such expedients as Hoover moratorium and loan advanced by the Bank of England could not avert the economic dislocation and Austria begged the League to come to its rescue. The League advanced a loan on condition that Austria would not entertain any idea about Anschluss till 1952.

Internal Politics. Internal politics in Austria during the inter-war period was marked by the rivalry of the socialists or Schutzbund and Heimwehr—a semi-Fascist organisation. The population of Vienna and the urban people supported the Schutzbund who controlled the municipality and the provincial government of the capital. But the conservative peasants on the countryside supported the Heimwehr. There took

place occasionally a sort of civil war between the private milita of both the parties. The situation came to a climax when Engelbert Dollfuss (1892-1934), a devout Catholic and leader of the Austrian christian social party, became the Chancellor in May, 1932. He was bitterly anti-socialist and crushed the socialist party with the help of the army which accomplished the task after five days of armed clash.

Foreign Policy and Anschluss. Dollfuss was against Anschluss. Strategical considerations and the prospect of sharing in Germany's prosperity induced many to seek union with Germany. But it was opposed by succession states as well as the Austrian catholics. It was also opposed by the Allied powers and the proposal of a custom union in 1931 was vehemently objected by France and the Little Entente. The League advanced loans to Austria for her recovery on condition that she would not seek union with Germany. Dollfuss set his face against the union and was backed by Mussolini. The tension increased when Dollfuss tried repressive measures on Austrian Nazis who were encouraged by Germany. On 25 July, 1934 some members of the Austrian Nazi Party entered the Chancellory and killed Herr Dollfuss. Mussolini at once massed Italian troops in the Brenner pass and the Austrian government took stern measures to suppress the revolt. Hitler was humiliated and denied all connection with the event. Papen was appointed German Ambassador in Austria with the secret instruction to effect the Anschluss in near future. Events now played in the hands of Hitler. Mussolini was estranged from the Anglo-French powers on the Ethiopian question. The Rome-Berlin Axis was in the offing. The weakness of the Anglo-French powers in the face of determined demonstration of a ruthless dictator was evident. To throw Austria off her guard an agreement was signed by Hitler with Austria in 1936. But in spite of this treaty Germany encouraged Nazi activities in Austria and Schuschnigg, the successor of Dollfuss, was forced to accept some members of the recently legalized Nazi Party including Dr. Seyss Inquart in his Cabinet. Chamberlain government in pursuit of its favourite policy of appeasement now sacrificed Eden to satisfy Mussolini who seemed inclined to accept an Anglo-Italian treaty. Mussolini was not now in a position to back Schuschnigg who found himself deserted on all sides and to gain popular backing announced the decision of a plebiscite on March 9. On the next day the French Cabinet resigned. It was a mere coincidence. But Hitler now decided to take advantage of the situation and ordered the occupation of Austria on March 11. The Anschluss was effected. South-east Europe was now open to Hitler and his army.

The Republic of Hungary. Hungary, a defeated nation, declared itself a republic on November 16, 1918. The severity of the Treaty of Trianon caused resentment and a communist government was established in Hungary under Belakun. The 'Reds', however, were suppressed by the Rumanian army acting under instructions from Paris.

Hungary's Problems in the Post-Versailles Era. Admiral Horthy who helped in subduing the 'Reds' now became the Regent which post he held for 24 years. The real power was now in the hands of Premier Bethlen who now established a virtual dictatorship through a lower house based on limited franchise and an upper house representing different groups

of vested interests. In the early phase of the republic's life two successes were registerd. Firstly, Hungary gained Burgenland as a result of a plebiscite. Secondly, the attempts made by King Charles to gain back the throne twice in 1921 were frustrated. But the Horthy-Bethlen regime was extremely reactionary in its character. Moreover, the war had reduced Hungary in size and shattered her economy. She now appealed to the League which had to arrange for a Hungarian loan. The Great Depression adversely affected Hungarian economy and increased the army of unemployed. During this period Hungary eagerly sought to establish friendly relations with her neighbours.

Foreign Relations. The attempted revival of Habsburg rule though frustrated yet embittered the relations of Hungary with the Little Entente. Hungary was a revisionist power and her relations with Italy were cordial. This caused anxiety in the succession states. Gambos who succeeded Bethlen signed the Rome protocol in 1934 with Italy and Austria. The bitterness of Hungary with Entente powers became apparent when after the murder of King Alexander of Yugoslavia the latter states appealed to the League and pointed to Italy and Hungary as the powers that had sheltered the conspirators. Italy was exempted by the League but limited censure was administered on Hungary. The internal politics of Hungary was subjected to pressure from various Nazi groups and Hungary in violation of the Peace Treaty started rearmament. Hungary received her share of few thousand miles as a result of the partition of Czechoslovakia and in March 1939 annexed Ruthenia. Hungary's relations with Nazi Germany were, however, not very happy though in the Second World War she joined with Germany in invading Russian territories.

The Little Entente. The alliance among Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania was called Little Entente. The Czechs concluded treaty with Yugoslavia in 1920 and with Rumania in 1921 in which year the last named state concluded alliance with Yugoslavia also. These alliances were cemented by a single treaty concluded in 1929. The aim of the Entente was directed against Hungarian irredentism and was determined to prevent Habsburg restoration such as was attempted in 1921. But when Hungary became bankrupt economically the Entente changed its attitude and helped the League in granting loan to Hungary. The French foreign policy of maintaining status quo in Europe fitted in well with the aim of the Little Entente. The close relationship established by Italy with Hungary and Austria and the revival of the question of Anschluss constituted new dangers for the succession states. The situation arising out of the murder of King Alexander of Yugoslavia demonstrated the solidarity of the Little Entente whose insistence resulted in the League resolution censuring Hungary. The Entente powers were let down by its friends—France and Great Britain—who did not back this little group of states in their opposition to Hitlerite aggression. The military strength of the Little Entente was not a negligible factor and if backed by Anglo-French powers it could have administered a serious check on Hitler's ambition in Europe. But the western powers decided to abandon Czechoslovakia in the Munich Pact and thus sealed the fate of the Little Entente. The Little Entente had entered into an alliance with Russia by the London Agreement of 1933. But the opportunity to build

up a grand alliance with U.S.S.R. against Nazi aggression was brushed aside much to the detriment of the interest of the Little Entente

Czechoslovakia. The creation of Czechoslovakia out of the Slavonic provinces was largely due to the efforts of Masaryk (1850-1937), son of a coachman and later on Professor of Philosophy, and Edward Benes (1884-1948), Czechoslovakian statesman and patriot. Masaryk became the first President of independent Czechoslovakia and Benes was assigned the post of Foreign Minister. When Masaryk resigned the post, M. Benes was elected the President in 1935.

The Internal and Foreign Policy Problem. Czechoslovakia being a succession state most of the landowners were either Germans or Hungarians and the Czechs and Slovaks were mostly landless peasants. The state tried to fix the ceiling of the landed estates at 375 acres for arable land and 625 acres for mixed estates of arable and non-arable lands. The land reform brought about an open breach between the state and the Church and the outstanding differences were settled only in 1927. Czechoslovakia flourished exceedingly in the post-Versailles era. Five-sixths of the industrial resources of Austria, Hungary, and the great Skoda armament factory lay in Czechoslovakia. Because of corollary developments in agriculture and small industries the country enjoyed economic self-sufficiency but her outlet to the outside world though guaranteed by the Peace Settlement was liable to be severed.

Czechoslovakia was anti-revisionist and her very existence made her so. In her foreign policy she built up alliance with anti-revisionist powers, small and great. Britain and France were looked upon as natural protectors by Masaryk and Benes. The League system of Collective Security received natural support from the Czechs. For Regional security M. Benes inspired Yugoslavia and Rumania to join the Little Entente.

Minority Problem. More than 3 million Germans, 2 million Slovaks and other minorities including Magyrs and Ruthens were placed in Czechoslovakia. Czech government signed the minority treaties and upheld their right in the constitution of 1920. The government gained a large amount of success in solving the minority problem by its policy of mutual tolerance and adjustment. But the Nazi Party in Sudetanland led by Henelin was determined to oppose the government and the Czech-Soviet Pact (1935) became its special object of attack.

The Tragic Betrayal. Henelin and his party were determined to wreak the state. The government followed a mixed policy of force and conciliation and received hearty support both from Russia and France. But the Nazis encouraged by their German counterparts carried on their activities. Austria was now (March, 1938) under German heels and Hitler had placed Czechoslovakia on agenda. On April 24, Henelin's ultimatum to the Czech government was announced. It was rejected and the Czech government immediately mobilized. The crisis in May passed. But the British government now proceeded to carry through its favourite policy of appeasement. Chamberlain met Hitler at Berchesgaden and consented to his demand of the transfer of Sudetenland to Germany. Hitler increased his demand to which even Chamberlain could not agree at Godesburg meeting. Mussolini now stepped forward and arranged

for a Four Power Conference. At Munich Chamberlain and Daladier accepted the Godesburg proposals. The partition of Czechoslovakia in September, 1938 was quickly followed by the absorption of the rest of the state in the German Reich (March, 1939).

Yugoslavia. The Kingdom of 'Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' created in 1917 was designated as Yugoslavia on October 3, 1929 by King Alexander. Intense racial acrimony in Yugoslavia resulted in 1928 in the murder of the Croat leader Raditch in the parliament while criticising the government. King Alexander who abolished the constitution following the above incident, was himself murdered at Marsailles by a Croat extremist. The relations between the Slavs and the Croats continued to be bitter till the possibility of foreign aggression induced Machek, the Croat leader, to sign an agreement with Premier Cvetkovich and Prince Paul, the Regent (March, 1939).

Yugoslavia, an anti-revisionist power, was tied with the Little Entente. But she tried to take advantage of the mutual rivalry between Italy and France in south-east Europe and signed treaties of friendship with both the countries. But Italians attempted to establish protectorate over Albania and cordial relations with Bulgaria as well as Greece. France during the period also sought intimate relations with Italy. Yugoslavia became suspicious of encirclement. It was to discuss these questions that King Alexander went to France and was killed at Marsailles together with his host M. Barthou the French Foreign Minister. The prompt action taken by the League in censuring Hungary was largely due to the insistence of the Little Entente. The weakness of the democracies against the ruthless action of the Dictators served to undermine faith in Anglo-French alliance. Yugoslavia had supported League sanction against Italy and it resulted in her dependency on Germany. Austria's union with Germany also prompted her inclination towards Germany and she now attempted friendship with Axis and non-Axis powers. But Germany forced her to accept the Tripartite agreement (March, 1941) and during World War II she took up arms in favour of the Axis powers.

Rumania. Rumania had chosen her sides well in World War I and was amply rewarded by the acquisition of Transylvania, Bukovania and Besserbia at the Peace Conference. Though endowed with rich natural resources the peasantry in Rumania suffered due to the existence of large landed estates some of which included forty thousand acres of land. The land reforms in the post-Versailles era improved the lot of the peasants but landed Rumania in dispute with Hungary. Hungary complained that the land reforms were in direct violation of the Peace Treaties which had allowed Magyars in Rumania to opt for Hungarian citizenship but had given them right to retain property in Transylvania. The dispute was finally settled in the second Hague Conference in 1930. The Bratianu clique controlled the government till the peasant leader Maniu came to power in 1928. In 1930, however, King Carol II who replaced his own son became the virtual dictator. A liberal ministry in 1934 was short lived and in 1938 the King proclaimed a new constitution under cover of which Carol II assumed all powers of the state. The government took stern measures against the Iron Guards or Rumanian Fascists.

In foreign policy Rumania was attached with the Little Entente for she was an anti-revisionist power and opposed the restoration of Habsburgs. But Rumania's anti-Russian sentiment was not shared by other Entente powers. Her Balkan interest induced her to sign in 1934 a Balkan pact with Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. It guaranteed the status quo in Balkan and was, therefore, directed against Bulgarian irredentism. But the inclusion of Bulgaria in 1938 in Balkan Pact proved that the Pact was mainly against the interference of any Great power in Balkan. The tragedy of Munich convinced Rumania of the weakness of democracies. Moreover, Germany was Rumania's greatest purchaser in oil. She became tied, therefore, with Axis powers in the Second World War at the end of which she became a people's republic in 1944.

Bulgaria. Bulgaria had to part with Dobrudja in the Peace Treaties. Her link with the Aegean was cut off and she had to pay reparation. Bulgarian politics in the years following the Peace Settlement was marked by factionalism. Alexander Stambolisky (1879-1923), the peasant leader who was imprisoned due to opposition to central Powers, now dominated Bulgarian politics. He tried to uplift the standard of the peasantry at the cost of other classes. King Ferdinand had to resign for joining hands with Germany in favour of his son Boris III. In 1923 Stambolisky fell from power and immediately afterwards murdered. In 1934 the establishment of a liberal ministry was opposed by reactionaries who effected a coup d'etat and placed all power in the hands of the King. The Royal dictatorship, however, suppressed the Nazi Party of Bulgaria in 1939. The one single factor that dominated Bulgaria's relations with foreign powers was the activity of the International Macedonian Revolutionary organisation or I.M.R.O. It carried on guerilla warfare along the frontiers of Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia. Border incidents resulted in a Greek invasion of Bulgaria which was saved only by the intervention of the League in 1925. But when it was felt that the activities carried on by the I.M.R.O. had no connection with Bulgaria, the relations of the latter country with Greece and Yugoslavia improved. A treaty of friendship with Greece was signed. But closer tie with Italy prevented improvement of relations with Yugoslavia till 1930 when a protocol of friendship was signed between the two countries. The rise of Hitler created apprehension among the Balkan powers and in 1938 Bulgaria was admitted in the Balkan Entente. But Bulgaria could not grow out of her irredentist sentiment and joined with the Axis powers in World War II at the end of which she became a people's republic under the leadership of Georgi Dimitrov.

Greece. Greece had joined the Allied powers with hopes for territorial gains. But though her desire was fulfilled by the Treaty of Sevres, it was crushed by the rise of New Turkey under Mustapha Kemal. Matters were made more difficult by the death of King Alexander who had ascended the throne after the abdication of his father Constantine. In the Treaty of Lausanne Greece was forced to surrender Smyrna and Eastern Thrace. Greece became a republic in 1924 and remained so in spite of an attempt to establish dictatorship by General Pangles. Venizelos, the veteran statesman who was instrumental in bringing Greece to the Allied camp now became Premier from 1928 to 1933. Greece was

affected by the world economic crisis which started from 1929. In March 1936 a revolt to prevent restoration collapsed and Greece became a monarchy again under George II, another son of Constantine. In the election of 1936 Metaxas, an arch-enemy of radicalism, became the Premier and established a dictatorship. In October, 1940, the Italians invaded Greece and it was followed up by a German invasion and occupation of Greece in 1941. In the post-Second World War period Britain helped the Greek monarchist to regain power by suppressing the communist forces. In foreign affairs Greece was subjected to an Italian raid on Corfu for the death of an Italian General at the hands of Greek bandits. The Italian troops were withdrawn by the intervention of the League which compelled Greece to pay compensation. Greek dispute with Yugoslavia which was given a 'Free zone' in the port of Salonica was settled by Venizelos in 1929. Graeco-Italian relations were improved by the treaty of friendship signed in 1928. In 1934 Greece joined the Balkan Pact. The Italian occupation of Albania endangered the position of Greece (April, 1939) and she was provided with Anglo-French guarantee. But Greece was invaded by the Italian troops in October, 1940 and she became involved in the World War II.

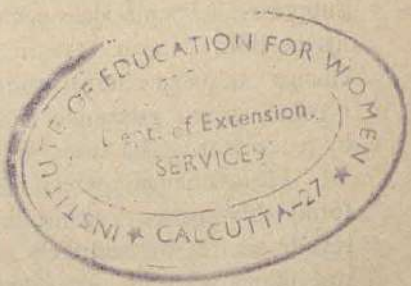
The Balkan Entente. Most of the states mentioned above including Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia were members of the Balkan Entente which also included Turkey. Some of them like Rumania and Yugoslavia were in addition members of the Little Entente. Bulgaria was included in the Balkan Entente only in 1938. The Balkan Entente aimed at maintaining status quo in the Balkans. The members of the Entente tried to exploit the rivalry between Italy and France for leadership in south-east Europe in the post-Versailles era. In the Hague Conference (1930) outstanding claims and counter-claims in south-east Europe including the dispute between Rumania and Bulgaria were thrashed out. Graeco-Yugoslav dispute on Salonica was settled in 1929. Turkey signed neutrality pacts with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in 1925 and 1929 respectively. In 1928 Rumania signed a non-aggression pact with Greece. Italy's close relations with Albania, the Italian penetration in the Danubian basin and her attempt to act as the self-imposed protector of Austria and Hungary together with the rise of Hitler in Germany were disturbing factors in international politics. The Balkan powers were eager to cement their alliance and were encouraged by France. Accordingly, in February, 1934, the Four Balkan powers, viz., Yugoslavia, Rumania, Turkey and Greece, signed an agreement. The Balkan Pact provided for mutual consultation and guarantee and mutual respect for frontier and mutual cooperation in political and economic matters. The test of solidarity came when King Alexander of Yugoslavia was murdered at Marsailles and all the Balkan Powers prompted the League to censure Hungary. The Balkan powers also supported League sanction against Italy. But the weakness of the Anglo-French powers and their ready acceptance of the violation of the Treaty of Versailles changed the attitude of the Balkan Powers. The Anschluss gave Hitler strategic advantage in south-east Europe. The betrayal of Munich resulted in the disintegration of Little Entente and the weakening of the Balkan Entente.

Several factors contributed to the extension of Axis influence in the

Balkans. The Besserbian question made Rumania eager for German alliance. Yugoslavia, however, preferred Germany to Italy in Austria and Hungary. Metaxas patronised pro-Italian Fascists. Germany made economic penetration in the Balkans. In the period after the Great Depression her trade with the Balkans increased four-fold. Some of the members of the Balkan Entente submitted to Axis pressure after the fall of Czechoslovakia; though they professed solidarity they were already drifting apart. At the outbreak of World War II, therefore, most of them joined hands with the Axis powers.

For Further Reading See:—

1. Carr, E. H. : Nationalism and After.
2. Carr, E. H. : International Relations between the Two World Wars.
3. Churchill, W. S. : The Second World War—Vol. I.
4. Hardy, Gathorne G. M. : A Short History of International Affairs.
5. Jackson, J. Hampden : The Post-War World.
6. Langsom, W. C. : The World Since 1919.
7. Lipson, £ : Europe (1914-1939).
8. Schuman, Fredrick L. : International Politics.



Chapter 6

The Rise of Soviet Russia

The establishment of the communist reginte in Russia is the most significant fact of the post-Versailles era. The Revolution followed from several reasons. But the most potent factors that produced the Revolution may be reduced to two salient features of this period. One was the failure of the Czars to establish an efficient administration and to carry out the most urgent political, social and economic reforms and the other was the spread of liberal and revolutionary ideas. The peasants in Russia were liberated from serfdom by Czar Alexander II in 1861. But his reforms were merely half-hearted. Following a Polish uprising he adopted strong measures to suppress all liberal ideas with the help of the secret police known as the third section. As a result the supporters of liberalism and change adopted terrorist methods. The Nihilists and anarchists became active. Alexander II was killed in 1881 by the bomb thrown by a terrorist. The successor of Alexander II was his son Alexander III. He continued repression with renewed vigour. The Czar had a formidable police organization known as Ochrana. The Russian revolutionaries were driven underground. The jails were full. The revolutionaries were sent into exile in Siberia or executed. Political assassinations multiplied but no serious remedy was even attempted. In 1894, Nicholos II, the son of Alexander III, ascended the throne. The Czar was not only ill-equipped and ill-educated but he lacked the vigour and energy of some of his predecessors. He was even jealous of his own advisers. He had in his entourage Count Witte, perhaps the only promising Prime Minister, who assumed power in Czardom on the eve of Revolution. But Nicholos II distrusted him and thought him to be too progressive. So he was replaced by V. K. Plehve, a reactionary. The reactionary elements—the court, the church and the nobles—now sought to keep the people in thraldom. The peasantry

was neglected, education was given a shabby pittance, the Czarist secret police haunted the revolutionaries. Conditions were made worse by the morbid Czarina who was under the spell of a Siberian monk Rasputin. Political repression fomented discontent against the Czar. On January 15, 1905, a peaceful demonstration led by father Gapon at St. Petersburg was fired upon by the Czarist police. As a result of the widespread discontent the Czar granted a parliament or Duma with limited power. The electorate was so arranged as to ensure a conservative majority in the Duma. The people were far from satisfied by this concession. The failure of the government in foreign affairs caused widespread discontent. Prominent among them was the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905. This defeat was considered to be a defeat of the Czar, not of the Russian people. The First World War was mismanaged due to the incompetence of the Czarist bureaucracy and generals. Economic conditions became worse. Russia now was ripe for a revolution. Defeat of despotic governments in foreign war always paves the path for their ultimate downfall.

Economically speaking the vast majority of the rural population in Russia, though formally liberated from serfdom, lived a hand to mouth existence. "Only about 4 per cent of the landed peasants owned as much as a dozen acres each of the remainder, nearly half had only about three to ten acres, while the rest—approximately half of the total—had to try to grub out a livelihood on two and a half acres or less. Not 2 per cent had as many as twenty head of cattle, and nearly two-thirds did not have even a single cow."[1] The workers were in a no better condition. The petition addressed by the demonstrators of 1905 appealed to the Czar for improving the condition of the workers in the following words—"We the working men of St. Petersburg, our wives, our children and our helpless old parents, have come to thee, our sovereign, to seek truth and protection. We are poverty-stricken, we are oppressed, we are burdened with unendurable toil, we suffer humiliation and are not treated like human beings."[2] The penetration of foreign capital in the country facilitated the path of revolution. If Russian economy had remained purely feudal and agricultural she would not have faced a proletarian revolution. At the encouragement of the government foreign capital was invested in Russia to develop mining industry and metal works in the Ukraine, to exploit the oil resources of Baku and to develop light industries in the Donetz area and around Moscow and Petrograd. There were nearly

1. Pope, Arthur Upham—Maxim Litvinoff, p. 43.
2. Ibid.

1,000,000 workers in 1902 including nearly a million landless peasants. Most of the urban workers lived in slums or barracks herded together like cattle. The state had no labour policy and moved not a finger for relieving their condition. The working class turned naturally to the revolutionary propaganda of the socialists. Cheap labour had attracted foreign capital and factories were springing up in the great cities. Organized working class became in no time the vanguard of revolutionary movement. The conflict between labour and capital was intensified.

The material conditions of Russia were fast becoming ripe for a change. The proletariat turned to revolutionary ideas. A few intelligentsia took up their cause. They advocated at first Nihilism but gradually, after the failure of the Nihilist movement, inclined towards socialism. The socialists were first organized in the First International (1864) created under the inspiration of Karl Marx, the father of scientific socialism. The First International broke down after the failure of the Paris Commune. The Second International was less bellicose. In the London Conference of the Russian Social Democratic Congress there took place a split and the majority led by Lenin formed the Bolshevik party and the minority became known as Mensheviks. It was to the determined leadership of the Bolshevik party under the guidance of Lenin that the Russian revolution owes its origin.

The Russian Revolution and Lenin. Vladimir Ilich Ulianov better known as Lenin was born in 1870. At the early years of his life he was converted to Marxist ideas and was the first to apply the doctrine of Marx and Engels in the twentieth century in a period of monopoly capitalism. He organized in the early parts of his life 'The Union for the Liberation of the Working Class' for which he was arrested by the Czarist police and sent to Siberia. After the expiry of the term he went into exile and started a paper named Iskra. After the split between the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in the London Conference of Social Democratism in 1903 differences continued till the outbreak of the First World War. The Social Democrats in most countries overnight became staunch nationalists and supported their respective governments. But Lenin and under his leadership the Bolsheviks followed the policy of condemning the imperialist war. War revealed the inefficiency of czardom and defeat in the front paved the path for its overthrow. In March, 1917, following a massive demonstration of workers in Petrograd, the government called forth troops to suppress the working class movement. But the army fraternised with the workers. The government was completely para-

lysed. It had lost support of all sections and presently the Czar with his family fell a prisoner in the hands of the revolutionaries.

A provisional government headed by Prince Lvov came to power. The revolution was the outcome of the working class movement and all over Russia the workers and peasants' deputies formed into soviets. But as in the abortive revolution of 1905 the real power was not in the hands of the working class and its party. Levov was put into power and no programme for future was formulated and not even a minimum condition was imposed upon the provisional government. No one virtually knew what directions to take till Lenin arrived from his exile in Zurich in April and gave a rude shock to the self-complacency of most of the leaders of the working class. The provisional government included Liberals and Social Democrats. Prince Lvov was soon replaced by Kerensky, a moderate Social Democrat who became the head of the government by July 25, 1917. Lenin now presented his April thesis in which he advocated a second revolution to overthrow the provisional government and to nationalise the banks and large estates as also means of production and distribution. The tottering provisional government under Kerensky now tried to save the situation by a vigorous prosecution of the war and suppression of the left revolutionaries. Lenin and the Bolsheviks now had to go underground. But the Kerensky government failed miserably to inspire the soldiers and sailors. They joined hands with the workers and the slogan of 'All power to the Soviets', 'land', 'bread' and 'peace' became their outcry. Red guards were organized and Petrograd throbbed with revolutionary zeal.

The Second Revolution. The prospect of the fall of Kerensky government now prompted the counter-revolutionaries to strike for power. The leader of this was general Kornilov who tried to effect a *coup d'etat* in September. But his soldiers refused to follow him and Kornilov failed miserably. But at the same time the Kornilov affair revealed the weakness of the government. Lenin now called a party meeting in October, 1917 and announced that the time for seizure of power by the Bolsheviks had arrived. The Second Revolution was effected easily on November 7, at Petrograd and Kerensky now fled abroad. The Bolsheviks under Lenin had at last become the rulers of Russia.

The significance of the Second Revolution. The seizure of power in Russia was an event of international significance. The Russian revolution of 1917, like the French Revolution of 1789, struck terror in the minds of the ruling class of other capitalist states. Their slogan which is favourite with the communist parties of all

countries is 'Workers of all countries, unite'. The establishment of the working class state in the Soviet Union now positively encouraged the working class all over the world and heartened the communist parties. The establishment of the Third International confirmed the suspicion of the capitalists of other countries that the revolution is not going to confine itself within its national boundaries. The opinion of some of the leaders of the Russian revolution like Trotsky on the possibility of world revolution was well known. Naturally the Russian revolution though it heartened the workers and communists at the same time evoked intense dislike and suspicion in the minds of the ruling class all over the world. In 1848 the Communist Manifesto had declared that 'a spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of communism', in 1917 the spectre no longer remained a phantom but took concrete shape in Soviet government established by Lenin. The international character of the revolution had another aspect. It aroused hopes of liberation from imperialist rule in the minds of millions of colonial peoples. The emergence of the Soviet Union gave fillip to national liberation movement in colonial countries. Thus the flames of the Russian revolution touched the hearts of millions in Asia and Africa. The establishment of the Soviet power in one country weakened imperialism in all other countries. This together with the fact that in capitalist countries themselves class struggle became intensified terrorized the neighbouring countries and they tried to intervene in order to nip the Bolshevik revolution in the bud. Thus at its very birth the Soviet Union had to face not only chaos and disorder from the counter-revolutionary forces from within but also the intervention of the foreign powers from without.

The Foreign and Interventionist War. More than any other country the Soviet union desired immediate peace and was determined to bring the war with Germany to an end. The famous 'decree on peace'—in reality, an appeal to the governments and peoples of the belligerent countries for the conclusion of a democratic peace—was the first statement of foreign policy of the 'provisional workers' and peasants' government. It was adopted by the Second All Russian Congress of Soviets on October 26/November 8, 1917, the day after the victory of the revolution. Russia immediately signed an armistice with Germany. Trotsky, the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, was sent to negotiate a peace treaty with Germany. The German government taking advantage of the weak state of Russia imposed terrible terms. Germany demanded surrender of the Ukraine and of the Baltic states and Armenia. It involved the sacrifice of 66 million people and a heavy indemnity. Rich farmlands and

factories and nearly a quarter of her population were ceded by Russia. The 'Left' was strongly against the acceptance of such a humiliating peace. But Lenin knew that Russia needed peace at any cost to save the revolution. Subsequently the defeat of Germany in the First World War made the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litvosk a dead letter. Yet by that time Finland and the Baltic states as also a large part of Poland were lost.

Scarcely had the ink dried on the paper in which the Treaty of Brest-Litvosk was signed when Russia found herself involved in a war with the Allied interventionist armies. It started with the landing of Japanese troops at Vladivostok on April 4, 1918. From this date for nearly two and a half years the young Soviet state was involved in a life and death struggle with the counter-revolutionary 'White army' actively helped by the interventionist army of different Allied powers. It was a sort of undeclared war between Soviet Russia and the Allied powers. Several causes contributed in precipitating the Allied intervention in Russia. Firstly, the 'Revolution' never left any doubt as to its class character. The mortal fear of a communist state and the possibility of the spread of the dangerous idea made it imperative within the minds of Allied statesmen to crush, if possible, the young Soviet state before it gets the chance of doing any harm to the capitalist states. Secondly, the signing of the Treaty of Brest-Litvosk involved a war with the Allied powers. During the war arms and ammunitions were dumped at different parts of the Russian empire. Now the terrible possibility of these arms and ammunitions being utilized either by the Germans or by the Soviet government was a matter of serious consideration to the Allied powers. Thirdly, and this was far more serious than any other consideration, the Soviet government had denounced all debts contracted by czarist Russia. This involved the loss of British, French, American and other countries of the shares that were invested by them in Russia. The Red Army was organized during this period under the able guidance of Trotsky. In the north the First British landing took place at Murmansk. They were now ready to cooperate with the 'White troops' at Murmansk and Archangel. The French landed at Odessa in the south and cooperated with General Denkin in the Don. In the Urals a White Russian army was operating and they received the aid of the Czech Legion. The army of Admiral Kolehak was operating in Siberia. But the Allied army of intervention and the White Generals who acted as their agents could not gain the desired collapse of the Red regime within a short period. With the collapse of the German army in the west

the prospect of projected puppet government in Ukraine vanished. The French government ordered the withdrawal of its troops in April, 1919. Nineteen thousand British troops which were sent to Russia were withdrawn in the middle of 1919. The Japanese army in Vladivostok was the only serious threat now. But the Japanese were more interested in seizing the port and the Chinese Eastern Railway.

The 'Red Army' was still weak, scattered and composed of inexperienced workers and peasants. Transport was difficult. The enemy was approaching from all sides. Out of chaos Trotsky who was now People's Commissar of war, brought in order and in this crucible of fire the formidable 'Red Army' was hammered out. Inspired by the slogan 'Socialist Fatherland in danger' the Red Army achieved unheard of success. In 1919 the White offensive was started with gusto. Kalchuk from the north, Denkin from the south-west and Yudenitch from the direction of White Sea marched towards Petrograd. One by one, all these armies were beaten back. Yudenitch, after defeat, fled for life. Kolchuk was made prisoner and shot dead. The remnants of his grand army under Wrangle in Crimea created some nuisance for some time more. In the spring of 1920 the bandit forces had virtually disappeared but the Polish army under Pilsudski started their offensive and captured Kieve. In the counter-offensive Poles were beaten back and it was only before the gates of the Polish capital that Pilsudski could administer a check on their advance. By the end of 1920 the Soviet Union had successfully terminated all foreign and civil wars.

War Time Communism and the New Economic Policy. The needs of the war had induced the revolutionary government to take stern measures. The period following peace settlement with Germany was marked by civil war with white generals and the foreign interventionist army. There was a complete dislocation of the country's economy. To overcome the difficulties the communists had to adopt measures which established complete control of the government over the life and property of the citizens. These measures in the economic field were guided by the supreme economic council. In the political field the activities of the enemies of the communist state were watched by the secret police (Cheka) which had agents everywhere. The Soviet government was forced to take these measures to save the working class state from the assaults of world capitalism. Under pure communism, the defenders of the Soviet system, claimed there will be no distinction of class or privilege. But the dictatorship of the proletariat, specially at the time of emergency, was inevitable.

All supplies were controlled by the state. Nationalization proceeded apace. Large trusts were nationalized. Foreign trade was completely state-owned. The czarist debts were repudiated. The church was shorn of its property and wealth. The peasants were asked to supply their surplus grain to the state on payment of a fixed sum. These measures served the purpose for which they were promulgated. In a short period the Bolsheviks were able to make the counrty free of the foreign and 'White soldiers'. The peasants were, however, restless of the stringency of the new regime and there took place a widespread famine. The famine was largely due to drought. Yet when millions died of starvation the government was blamed for its economic policy. Foreign aid specially from America was sent for the relief of the famine stricken. There arose, therefore, the necessity to inaugurate a new approach to the economic problems and to meet the situation the government proclaimed the New Econimic policy or NEP.

Under the new policy many relaxations of control were made. The essential purpose of NEP was to increase the productive capacity of the state and to organize this capacity in such a way as to make the transition to socialist path easier. The compulsory collection of grain was no longer enforced. The peasants were allowed to sell their surplus in the open market. They were asked to pay some amount of tax in kind. Some of the features of capitalist economy were allowed to survive side by side with the socialist or planned economy. Small industries were allowed to produce for profit and sell their goods in the market in the old way. Foreigners were allowed to invest their capital in the industry. State trusts were created to control production and distribution in industries. In the process of relaxation of controls the occasion had been taken to legalize transactions in gold, precious metals and foreign currencies. Measures were taken to stabilize the currency. A new currency based on chervonetz, in place of the roubles of the old regime, was put into circulation. A graduated scale of pay was introduced. The system of rationing was modified. Essential goods could be purchased now in the open market. Co-operative were established and encouraged. The peasant proprietor and Kulak or rich peasant gained by the relaxation of control, although the government imposed heavy burden of taxation on them. In the countryside there was a sharp division between the Kulaks and the Bedhiaks or poor peasantry. The government tried to help the latter and by 1928 they were altogether exempted from the taxes. Another method of upliftment in the agricultural front adopted by the Soviet government was the creation of state and collective farms. The state also virtually enjoyed monopoly of manufacture. By 1926

Russia reached pre-war level in her industrial output. The concessions offered to technical hands and engineering firms were alluring enough to attract foreign firms to enter into contact with the Soviet government. The NEP, therefore, did much to heal the ravages of the war and civil strife.

"The country recovered from the famine of the civil war years, the peasants lived well and in towns there was food for all who had money to buy. The export trade of Russia rose in volume, rising from 1.4 million roubles in 1920 to 20.2 million in 1921, 81.6 million in 1922, 205.8 million in 1923. Economic recovery had been achieved."[3]

Building the Soviet State. The constitution of the 'Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic' (R.S.F.S.R.) which in 1923, came to be known as 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics' (U.S.S.R.) may be called a Dictatorship of the Proletariat. It is a dictatorship of the wage earning class. As in capitalist democracies the rich few virtually establish their hold on the government by various methods and through their hold in the means of production and distribution so in a socialist economy the wage earners establish a government which though granting democratic rights to its own class denies the same to the dispossessed capitalists. The political institution through which it is done is known as the soviet, or councils of workmen, soldiers and peasants. The instrument of proletarian dictatorship is the communist party.

The highest authority in R.S.F.S.R. was vested in the All Russian Congress of Soviets which elected All Russian Central Executive Committee as its agent to carry on work and to act as controlling organ and supreme legislative and administrative body. The basis of the whole structure was the rural, urban and factory soviets. The executive committee together with council of nationalities elected a presidium of nearly forty. The presidium is the real authority and it supervises the work of the people's commissars or heads of administration. Franchise was accorded to all adults irrespective of sex or nationality with few exceptions including former members of the czarist police (in 1934 only 2.5 per cent). The constitution gave weight of representation to the working class in preference to the peasants who were provided with indirect method of election. Later on the constitution was amended and the system of granting more weight to the towns was abolished. The Supreme Soviet at present consists of two Houses. The Union Soviet where the members are

3. Jackson, J. Hampden: The Post-War World, p. 161.

elected on the basis of one deputy per 300,000 people. But the Soviet of Nationalities represents the several constituent parts of the Soviet Union.

There is no mention in the constitution of the real controlling authority in the state, *i.e.*, the communist party. The communist party is regarded in the Soviet Union as the vanguard of the working class. The membership of the party was therefore open to only tried soldiers of the communist ideology. The smallest unit of the party is the party cell which elects representatives to the party congress. The party congress elects its central committee. The function of the central committee is carried by the secretary and the secretariat, the politburo and the orgburo of the party. The first is entrusted with political work and the second organization. In theory there is no reason for the pre-eminence of the communist party in the Soviet Union. But in fact it is the party that controls the state. The party membership is composed of the best elements in society. They are the keenest and the most zealous workers. It is unthinkable not to elect them to the Soviets. "And so it comes about that the real ruling body in Russia is not the Council of Soviets but the Congress of the Communist Party, and the real executive is not the Central Executive Committee but the Communist Politburo."[4]

Death of Lenin. In January, 1924 the Russian revolution lost its guiding spirit by the death of Lenin. It was he who had made a correct analysis of the situation in Russia and formulated the strategy and tactics of the Russian revolution. He applied Marxian theory in the period of imperialism and overthrew the czarist regime. But more than a successful revolutionary in a particular country his contribution as the founder of the working class revolution is regarded as valuable because of the hopes and aspirations that it created in the minds of millions of oppressed all over the world. His policy proved correct not only in deciding the right moment for the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks but also in chalking out the path to be followed in the economic and political regeneration of Russia. In the face of overwhelming odds he guided the party and the state clear out of the war and the foreign intervention. The NEP and the re-building in the early phase of the revolution show the correctness of his judgment. No one could be found to fill up the vacuum created by his death and the period immediately following was marked by factional quarrel for power between his two outstanding lieutenants, Joseph Stalin and Leo Trotsky. The latter was in favour of carrying

4. Idem.

forward the slogan of world revolution. But Stalin and the party desired to follow the path chalked out by Lenin, *i.e.*, the policy of building up socialism in one country. In 1927 Trotsky was expelled from the party and later on from the country. The helm of the state now fell in the hands of Stalin.

Planning for Socialism in one country and the First Five Year Plan. The idea of a planned economy which aims at a comprehensive economic policy and direct production and distribution for providing the needs of the people and not profit, existed in Lenin's mind, from the very outset. In order to develop Russia's economy Lenin desired industrialization which would result not only in more factories in urban areas but industrialization of agriculture. Political advancement should go side by side with industrial and economic growth. 'Electrification plus Soviets' to his mind would pave the path for socialism. But it was not before 1928 that the Russians launched their First Five Year Plan. The system of comparing the expected output with actual production, *i.e.*, in other words 'control figures' had started from 1925 and the First Five Year Plan was not launched before the Russians felt confident about its success.

The First Five Year Plan is the work of a body of experts of the State Planning Commission known as the Gosplan. This body worked under the direct supervision of Council of Labour and Defence which is the coordinating body for the economic activity as a whole while the supreme economic council was concerned only for the various branches of industrial production. The resources at the disposal being limited, the aim of the planners in the First Five Year Plan was to develop heavy industries manufacturing producer's goods and naturally less stress was placed upon the production of consumer's goods. Therefore, at the end of the plan period in 1933 though the standard of living was raised to the pre-war level yet it was not raised as much as it could have been done. In the words of G.D.H. Cole, "To strike the right balance between immediate consumers' demand and the expansion of productive capacity for the future has been among the most difficult tasks of those responsible for the first and second five year plans."[5] In the First Five Year Plan the Soviet Union could not reach the estimated target on all the different items. But on the whole the achievement was such as to change the face of a predominantly agricultural country and to carry forward a thorough industrial revolution. In the drive for electrification the

5. **Cole, G.D.H.**: Intelligent Man's Guide through the World Chaos, p. 546.

target set was 17,120 kilowatt and the actual output at the end of the plan was 13,100 kilowatt. But it compared favourably with the pre-plan output of 5,050 kilowatt. State shops and consumers' cooperatives increased rapidly. In the field of agriculture rapid transformation of small holdings of peasant proprietorship into large-scale organization based on collective work astounded the outside world. The kulak was destroyed and peasant holdings disappeared.

The Second Five Year Plan. In spite of the success achieved in the First Plan period there were serious shortcomings to be overcome by renewed efforts. Lack of transport and skilled personnel hampered the industries. Housing problem was presenting serious difficulties. Discontent of the peasant proprietors against collectivization presented a serious problem. Lack of consumers' goods evoked criticism of the plan. In the Second Five Year Plan the aim set forward was to overcome the shortcomings of the first by increasing wages and producing more consumers' goods. It was felt that the number of skilled technicians should be increased and the target set was an increase of nearly fifty per cent. During the Second Plan period the progress was satisfactory. There were still shortcomings and the cities were even now overcrowded. Yet the Second Plan period saw the raising of the standard of living as well as rapid industrialization unhampered by the effects of the Great Depression that affected all capitalist countries.

The Third Plan. The Third Plan was therefore launched in January 1938 with the hopes of bringing Russia to the forefront of technical development. The Planners hoped to bring the U.S.S.R. in the front rank of technically developed states and even to outstrip U.S.A. But the outbreak of World War II resulted in converting the economies for peaceful development into a wartime planning. But by that time Russia had made rapid strides in the field of industrialization and had transformed completely the face of U.S.S.R. The Nazis who underestimated the resources of industrially advanced Russia dug their own graveyard by invading the country.

Considerations behind Soviet Foreign Policy. The planned economy of the Soviet Union marked her off from the rest of the world. The Soviet system because of its radical differences with the capitalist state evoked hostility and fear. The gradual progress of the socialist system of planning not only strengthened Soviet economy but also improved her position in the international field. During the struggle to ward off the 'White' legions and foreign interventionist army suspicion and distrust about western democracies took a firm root in the minds of the Russian people. Mutual suspicion prevent-

ed mutual understanding and cooperation. The re-establishment of the Third International and its close cooperation with the Soviet Union confirmed western susceptibility. The decision to build up socialism in one country by the Moscow Government, however, became well known by 1921. It contributed to better relations with the west.

But the most common belief in the west that world revolution is on the agenda of the Communist International still persisted. Western press constantly carried on anti-Soviet propaganda and it was supported by statements from responsible public figures. Winston Churchill in a public meeting vented his wrath in the following words: "No one knows what is coming out of the Russian cauldron, but it will almost certainly be something full of evil, full of menace for Britain, France and United States." The suspicion of the west was not removed even when Trotsky and his followers were discredited. Stray references from the writings of Lenin such as 'a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois state will be inevitable', appeared to be convincing proof of the ultimate aim of Soviet foreign policy of subverting the capitalist states. Though Soviet Union made it clear that peace was the only thing that she desired and eagerly sought to come to terms with the neighbouring states, yet her motives were suspected. The statements such as quoted above were quoted during a period of civil war and foreign intervention. These statements were in no way a war cry. The Soviet leaders knew it too well that peaceful coexistence alone could save the Soviet Union. Revolutions they stated could not be exported to other countries and Stalin, in an interview with a press representative, categorically denied its possibility when he said—"The export of revolution—that is nonsense". But the misconception of the west about the Soviet Union and their desire to follow a 'barbed wire ring' policy even after the end of intervention made Soviet policy suspicious about western moves. Such suspicion prevented better relations with Russia. The activities of the communist parties were always attributed to Soviet encouragement and created bad blood in international politics. The spread of colonial revolt, it was firmly held, was encouraged by the Bolsheviks. Naturally Soviet motives in the Far and Middle East was viewed with suspicion.

Another source of confusion which prevented cordial relations with Russia and influenced the foreign policy of western countries towards Russia was the belief held by many people that the regime of the Bolsheviks would collapse within a short period. The weakness of Russia was exaggerated and the possibility of restoration of

the old regime was fervently hoped for. The success of the five year plans and the consolidation of the Soviet rule gradually dawned on the west. It was realized that even though enthusiasm for communism in Russia was not universal yet the Soviet rule rests upon adequate popular support. The possibility of the 'White' restoration was a day-dreaming on which some western statesmen banked for a while. It only served to embitter relations with the Soviet Union. This was a source for irritation which prevented normal relations between the communist state and the capitalist world. The Soviet Union rightly felt that it was surrounded by hostile enemy countries and the foreign relation of Soviet Union with other countries was marked by mutual suspicion.

The First Phase of Soviet Foreign Policy—Conflict and Isolation (1918-21). The years following the establishment of Revolutionary Government by the communists were years of conflict and isolation. The germs of this inevitable conflict may be traced even in the April thesis of Lenin which advocated the nationalization of all banks, the control of the means of production and distribution and the re-establishment of the International. The Soviet government cancelled all czarist debts (Dec. 1917) and stopped payment of state loans (Jan. 1918). It also declared state monopoly of foreign trade. On March 2, 1919 a conference of communists was called in Moscow and the Third International was re-established. To the proletarians of the world the Third or Communist International appealed to press upon their governments the cessation of all intervention in the affairs of the Soviet Union. From the point of view of the Allied powers Russia was following a dual policy. Because the attempt of the Soviet Union of establishing peace with all was in their view contradictory to the propaganda of the Third International. Again, the establishment of peace with Germany in the Treaty of Brest-Litvosk was, in the eyes of the Allied powers, a desertion. The Allied powers became eager to save their ammunition dumps from falling into the hands either of the Bolsheviks or of the Germans. The war with Germany came to an end in November, 1918, but the civil war started by the 'White Russian' forces backed by the Allied powers continued. The Soviet government appealed to the five principal Allied powers to establish peace. Litvinov addressed an appeal to President Wilson for peace and agreed in subsequent interview with American agent Buckler that the Soviets would withdraw all revolutionary propaganda if the interventionist war was stopped. Lloyd George agreed to a 'truce of God' between all powers, and the Soviet government was invited to attend a conference at Prinkipo in

spite of the opposition of the French. But the conference did not materialise and the relation with the west was strained due to the failure of the Bullit mission sent with unofficial encouragement from Lloyd George and Wilson. Following the arrest of Bruce Lockhart, the British representative, all agents of foreign powers were withdrawn. But the Soviet Union emerged victorious from civil and foreign wars by 1921. Russia had lost by this time the Baltic states and western Byelorussia and western Ukraine (to Poland), Bessarabia (to Rumania) and Kars and Ardhan (to Turkey). Besides it had left bitter memories. On September 1, 1918, Lenin was shot by Fanny Kaplin, a social revolutionary whose connection with the British was suspected. Lenin recovered from the fatal wound which permanently impaired his health yet this event resulted in terror and arrest of British nationals. The bitterness created by such events estranged the feelings between Russia and the Allied powers.

The Fight for Recognition (1921-1933). The period beginning with 1921 saw not only the end of any possibility of the restoration of czarist regime but also the collapse of any hope of European revolution. The attitude of the Allied powers as also of the Soviet Union towards each other was modified and an atmosphere conducive to a compromise was created. The pressure of civil war and devastation consequent upon it resulted not only in the introduction of the NEP in domestic policy but induced the Soviet Union to offer concessions to foreign capital which the country desperately needed. It resulted in improved relations between Soviet Russia and Great Britain. There never was really any conflict of interest between Great Britain and Soviet Russia. Still there was prejudice against the proletarian revolution. Those who opposed recognition pleaded Russian design on India which allegation, however, was completely baseless. In 1921 the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed but class prejudice in Britain prevented *de jure* recognition till 1924. This agreement was followed by a series of agreements with eastern countries. Thus Soviet Union signed treaty of friendship with Persia on February 26, 1921, with Afghanistan on February 28 and with Turkey on March 16. It was a step towards recognition of the new regime established in Russia by the outside world. Soviet-Afghan relations established the status of Afghanistan as an independent state and created baseless suspicion in Britain about Soviet design on India. The generous terms offered by Russia to Persia also created misgivings in British official circles. In 1922, Russia attended her first international conference, after the revolution, at Genoa. Russia's attendance caused nervousness all around and the delegates decided to

ask a high price for Russia's recognition. The Genoa conference resulted in rapprochement between two defeated powers—Germany and Russia. Russia offered Germany an immediate and profitable field for the economic expansion of Germany. In between Genoa conference the Russian representatives Litvinov and Chicherin made contact with the German representatives Maltzen and Rathenau. They agreed upon terms and signed the Treaty of Rapallo. Genoa was a fiasco. But Rapallo was a great achievement. "The Germans had broken the tacit accord against communism."[6] By the end of 1924 Russia secured recognition from minor states and Germany. In 1926 France recognized Russia but at once resumed talks on debts which involved a long drawn negotiation. But Great Britain's relations with Russia, which were on the breaking point in 1923, due to Curzon ultimatum for rapture of diplomatic relation on minor issues, deteriorated. Britain's relations with the Soviet Union were strained due to the offer made by the Russians to aid the mine workers of Britain during a period of strike in 1926. Again the publication of the forged "Zinoviev letters' affected Anglo-Soviet relations. Finally, the raid in the office of Soviet trade delegation in 1927 for an important document presumably lost by the foreign office led to a termination of diplomatic relation between the two countries. It was resumed only in 1929 under the second Labour government. But by 1924 the Soviet Union had received *de jure* recognition from most of the European states including Italy.

But the United States still withheld recognition. The Kellogg-Briand Pact signed in 1928, contained a declaration to settle all international disputes by pacific means. Although Russia was sceptical about its usefulness as the pact contained no provision for enforcing peace yet she accepted it and was the first country to ratify the Pact.

In the year following Russia, in an attempt to allay the fears of minor states, offered Esthonia, Latvia, Poland and Rumania a similar pact which is known as the Litvinov Protocol. It was a regional reaffirmation of the Kellogg Pact. Nevertheless it marks the end of a period of suspicion of the Soviet foreign policy. The rise of Hitler in Germany made France eager for a closer relation with Russia. In November, 1932 the two governments signed a treaty of non-aggression. In U.S.A.. too, the election of President Roosevelt contributed to the recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933. The long fight for recognition was now crowned with success.

6. Pope, Arthur Upham: Maxim Litvinoff, p. 187.

Attempt at Collective Security (1933-1939). But now in the horizon loomed the ominous figure of Hitler. In his Mein Kampf he had stated that he intended a crusade against Bolshevik Russia. France also was mortally afraid of a German revival. In the Far East Japan had made the first breach in the League system of Collective Security by an attack on Manchuria in 1931. To strengthen Collective Security Russia joined the League of Nations upon invitation. France now signed a Pact with Russia which provided for mutual support in case of an attack upon either signatory by a 'Third party.' A similar treaty was signed with Czechoslovakia. But Russia's help to Czechoslovakia was made dependent upon French help. Russia during this period also signed non-aggression pacts with the Baltic states. Soviet Union had in the early stage made no attempt to conceal her distrust for the League of Nations. It may appear, therefore, strange that she should decide to join the League in 1934. The fear of Nazi aggression induced U.S.S.R. to join the League disarmament conference from 1927 onwards including the Geneva disarmament conference organised by the League. The Russian proposal in the disarmament conference—"the complete abolition of all land, naval and air forces"—was naturally rejected but the genuine desire fo Russia for peace impressed western democracies. The reasons for the change of attitude of the Soviet Union were summed up by Stalin when he stated, "Notwithstanding the withdrawal of Germany and Japan from the League of Nations —or perhaps just because of this—the League may become something of a check to retard the outbreak of military actions or to hinder them." Russia's invitation to the League was largely due to the initiative of Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, who wanted to build up a grand alliance with Soviet Union and the smaller states of Europe. The Soviet Union was given a permanent seat in the League Council.

Russia's attempt to strengthen the League system of Collective Security was not however a mere gesture. The desire of the Soviet Union for peace was genuine. It helped her to concentrate on national development schemes and to go ahead with her Third Five Year Plan. Thus the national interest of Russia coincided also with the interest of the western democracies. In his first address to the League Assembly Litvinov frankly stated his view and said,—"It needed, however, one great common aim to prove any incontestably to all nations, including those of the Soviet Union, the desirability—nay, the necessity—for closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and the League of Nations, and even for the entry of the Soviet

Union in the League. The discovery of such a common aim has been greatly facilitated by the events of the last two or three years." The efforts for Collective Security came under severe test when on March 16, 1935 Germany declared its intention to introduce conscription. It was a 'menace to peace', and a violation of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Yet the Anglo-French powers refused to take action. On May 2, 1935 the French, however, signed a pact of mutual assistance. Events crowded one after another and the unwillingness of the Anglo-French powers to take any action against the ruthless Dictators of Italy and Germany convinced the Soviet Union that the Anglo-French policy of appeasement meant, in fact, peace at any cost. "The final test of this new alliance system did not come until 1938. The shocks it survived between 1935 and 1938 were not conclusive. During the civil war in Spain, the invasion of Ethiopia and Hitler's remilitarization of the Rhineland, Russia supported the League system and urged collective action."[7] But the Anglo-French powers were unwilling to take steps to check aggression. The Hoare-Laval Pact sabotaged the League sanction against Italy and tried to impose upon a crippled Abyssinia a plan of partition. This event facilitated the alliance between Mussolini and Hitler. The former was driven in the embrace of the latter and the Rome-Berlin Axis was in the being. The fate of Austria was sealed because Mussolini no longer objected to Anschluss. Events moved fast. The Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan was signed and Mussolini adhered to it in 1937. While these disquieting developments were disturbing international peace the Soviet Union failed to make its alliance with France and its participation in the League an effective check on aggression. In 1936 the crucial test of Franco-Soviet Pact came with the starting of the Spanish Civil War in which the Fascist General Franco was actively helped to crush the Republican government. On the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in July, 27 nations including France, Britain, U.S.S.R., Germany, Italy and Portugal set up a Non-Interventionist Committee to prohibit export of arms to both the sides. But two things became clear from the activities of the Non-Interventionist Committee. Firstly, the Axis powers used it as a blind for helping Franco the Fascist rebel and secondly, the British and the French governments steadily refused to align themselves with the U.S.S.R. against the Fascist powers. Thus "the policy pursued by the British government in the Non-Intervention Committee left a strong suspicion in the minds of

7. Hartmann Fredrick, H.: The Relations of Nations, p. 498.

the Soviet government that the Chamberlain government was pro-Fascist at least, a suspicion which made itself felt during Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations of 1939."[8] The basis of Collective Security was cracking. In 1938 things came to a head when Mr. Chamberlain, eager to win Italy's friendship, sacrificed Eden, an advocate of Collective Security. In March, 1938, Hitler annexed Austria and placed Czechoslovakia on the Agenda. M. Litvinov issued a warning to London, Paris, Prague and Washington for taking immediate measures to check aggression in the following words—"Tomorrow it may be too late, but today the time has not yet passed if all the states, and especially the Great Powers, will adopt a firm and unequivocal stand in regard to the problems of collective saving of peace."[9] But the warning was overlooked. German design on Czechoslovakia was a direct threat on Russia's border. Soviet Russia's undoubted willingness to join the Western powers and go all lengths to save Czechoslovakia was ignored. By the end of 1938 the French were playing the game of Hitler and Chamberlain made his trips to Berschtesgaden and Godesberg. On September 29 the fatal accord of Munich was concluded behind the back of Czechoslovakia and Russia who were not invited to attend. Then came more alarming developments on March 15, 1939 when Germany established protectorate over Bohemia and Moravia. Memel was annexed by Hitler. Italy, on April 7, landed troops in Albania in violation of the Anglo-Italian accord a year before. In this contest it is not surprising that Russia should be sceptical about Anglo-French guarantee to Poland, Greece and Rumania. The System of Collective Security for which Litvinov had worked hard was crumbling and he gave way now to Molotov as Foreign Commissar of Russia. Things were going to be differently managed henceforth.

Dangerous Collaboration (1939-1941). The possibility of Anglo-French-Soviet alliance and of saving the world from Hitler was still there. But an atmosphere of distrust had been created. "The Soviet Government were convinced by Munich and much else", says Churchill, "that neither Britain nor France would fight till they were attacked and would not be much good then. The gathering storm was about to break. Russia must look after herself."[10] Litvinov's resignation was extremely serious for the possibility of building up a grand Anglo-French-Soviet alliance. The blackmail and pressure exerted

8. Coats, W.P. and Zelda, K.—A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations, p. 570.

9. Ibid.

10. History of the Second World War, Vol. I, p. 329.

on M. Benes by the Anglo-French powers to come to terms with Germany had convinced Soviet Union that a war against Germany was the last thing desired by Chamberlain and Daladier who were mortally afraid of Soviet communism. By sacrificing Czechoslovakia the Anglo-French powers removed the last barrier against Hitler's attack on Soviet Union.

But the rapid growth of Nazi influence made the Soviet Union eager for alliance with the west once more. The British guarantee to Poland was given without inviting the Soviet government to participate. The Soviet Ambassador to Britain, Maizky, requested the British government to send to Russia an envoy of major status. But none could be found for that purpose. So William Strang, a secondary foreign official, was sent to Moscow without any power to settle anything. The Russian negotiations proceeded languidly. The refusal of Poland to allow the Russians to enter Poland for defending her against German aggression created difficulties. The French and the British did not want to give any guarantee to the Beltic states against internal (*i.e.*, Nazi) revolution as the Soviet Union desired. The Military Mission appointed by the Chamberlain government had no plenipotentiary power. Moreover, Britain and France insisted on the guarantee for Holland and Switzerland irrespective of the conclusion of a Mutual Assistance Pact between the U.S.S.R. and Poland and Turkey. The Soviet Union refused to accept. The Anglo-French-Soviet talks ended in a fiasco and on August 23, the Russians signed a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany. On September 1, Hitler attacked Poland and the Second World War started.

The dangerous collaboration which now started between Communist Russia and Nazi Germany lasted less than two years. But the Soviet Union took this decision in order to save her interest and to gain time to prepare herself for the almost inevitable involvement in future in a war with Germany. The non-aggression pact meant a definite involvement of the west, if it intended to back its guarantee to Poland. In the meantime the advancement of the Soviet frontier in Poland gave her a better frontier with Germany. If in the end the Nazis invaded Russia the western powers would fight for her with equal vigour for their own survival. That the Russian suspicion of the west was not unfounded was confirmed by the affairs of Finland. Russia suspected that in future Finland might prove to be the jumping ground against Russia. There was close link between some important elements including Field Marshal Mannerheim with Nazi Generals. Russia proposed to Finland cession of some territories that would remove the Finnish frontier—then within 20 miles of Lenin-

grad—farther back. The Finnish government was promised compensation and in exchange territory double the area in the Karelian lands. But they refused and Russia started a war with Finland on a flimsy pretext. The war drew sympathy for Finland and the Finnish resistance which successfully checked Russian assault for the time being earned universal praise. The League which had hitherto taken no effective action against the Axis powers promptly expelled Russia from its membership. The Anglo-French powers even contemplated an attack on Russia. It was a dangerous moment for history. Churchill has stated the Anglo-French attitude in his 'History of the Second World War' in the following words.—"All the resentment felt against the Soviet Government for the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was fanned into flame by this latest exhibition of brutal bullying and aggression. With this was also mingled scorn for the inefficiency displayed by the Soviet troops and enthusiasm for the gallant Finns. In spite of the Great War which had been declared, there was a keen desire to help the Fins by aircraft and other precious war materials and by volunteers from Britain, from the United States and still more from France". On March 12, 1940 the war with Finland came to an end. The Finnish war, little understood by the outside world, misled Hitler into believing that it would be easy for the German army to put an end to Red Army's resistance.

In the summer of 1940 the Russians thoroughly alarmed at the early collapse of France and taking advantage of Hitler's pre-occupation in the west marched into the Baltic states of Estonia, Latavia and Lithunia. On June 26, Russia demanded from Rumania Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovania. Rumania was compelled to comply with the request. Thus the attempt of the Soviet Union to gain territoreis along the whole western frontier in the middle of 1940 was crowned with success. Hitler now decided to make preparations for an attack on the Soviet Union. On June 22, 1941 Hitler ordered the Wehrmacht to attack the U.S.S.R. Thus the Soviet Union was involved in World War II. Churchill at once proclaimed, "The Russian danger is, therefore, our danger." President Roosevelt informed through Summer Welles U.S.A.'s solidarity with U.S.S.R. Sir Stafford Cripps and Molotov signed an agreement on July 12, 1942, which led later to the Anglo-Soviet alliance of May 26.

Soviet Relations with Middle East. The hostility felt by the East towards the West and the aspiration for liberation from colonial and semi-colonial condition made Soviet approaches to the Middle Eastern countries easy. The signature of the Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement, however, restrained Soviet policy in this region. "The substance of

Soviet policy throughout the period after 1921 was to seek collaboration with national governments in Asia and to extend Soviet influence over these governments, but to pursue this policy as far as possible by gradual and unobtrusive methods which would not destroy or prejudice opportunities of profitable economic relations with the Western capitalist world.'"[11] With Afghanistan the Soviet Union signed a treaty on February 28, 1921 and the former country followed it up, later in the same year, by a treaty with England. Thus a balance between the two Great Powers was struck. In Persia, Anglo-Soviet rivalry was strongly pursued and Soviet Union backed Riza Khan, the rising star, who finally established a monarchy. With Turkey Soviet Union signed a Soviet-Turkish treaty in March 1921 and gave moral and material support to Mustapha Kemal to drive out the Greeks. At the Lausanne Conference Soviet Union gave support to Turkey's claim to close the Straits to warships. Ultimately, it was agreed "that no single power might send in at any one time a naval force larger than the largest force of any one Black Sea country." In 1925 during the Mosul dispute Soviet Union lent its support to Turkey against Anglo-French powers and concluded a treaty of friendship and neutrality. But the Lausanne Conference had decided the demilitarization of Dardanelles much to the dislike of Turkey and the Turks demanded revision specially after 1934 when Mussolini declared that Italy's future lay in Asia and Africa. Russia favoured a conference at Montreaux. The Montreaux Convention signed in 1936 conceded Turkish right to fortify the Straits and close them to all foreign warships, at times of war, unless acting under League Covenant. The Montreaux Convention was concluded definitely to the satisfaction of the Soviet Union. In the period between 1939-1941, *i.e.*, in the period of dangerous collaboration Germany was allowed transit of duty free goods from Persia. This period also saw a Nazi pressure on Turkey, Yugoslavia and Greece. It was a war of nerves in which Turkey received full-fledged support from the Soviet Union. Turkey stood strictly neutral. But she was now more inclined towards Britain and France. In 1941 Turkey signed non-aggression pact with Germany and was glad about German successes in Russia. In the autumn of the year 1941 Russia along with Britain occupied the northern zone of Persia to forestall German designs on Persia. Russian forces now took control of all the regions in the Turco-Persian border. Turkey joined the Allied powers a few weeks before the end of the Second

11. Carr. E.H.: A History of Soviet Russia, Vol. III, p. 468.

World War and thus became, however belatedly, Russia's war-time ally.

SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE FAR-EAST

The countries in the Far East had points of contact with Soviet Russia. The assault of the west on China was painful. Subjected to inequality and maltreatment at the hands of Japan and western imperialism and anarchic feudalism China was specially susceptible to Soviet influence. Lenin had long ago stated that the road to Paris passed through Peking and Calcutta. The Chinese had already experienced the 1911 revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. But there existed two governments one at Peking and another at Canton whose moving spirit was Sun Yat Sen. The Soviet Revolution was hailed by Sun Yat Sen though he was no Marxist. The contact between Soviet Union and China was direct. The Soviet government declared its intention to "bring to the peoples liberation from the yoke of the foreign bayonet, from the yoke of foreign gold." China was exploited by the Japanese and Western imperialists alike. The Soviet government living up to its declaration renounced all territorial and other acquisitions of czarist government on Chinese soil including Manchuria and other regions, all extra territorial and other privileges and claims regarding Boxer indemnity and cancelled unequal treaties and claims on the Chinese Eastern Railway.

Soviet relations with China improved due to the understanding reached between Joffe, the Russian envoy, and Sun Yat Sen, who in a joint statement in January 1923 affirmed Sino-Soviet friendship. Both the sides agreed to settle the question of Chinese Eastern Railway through a conference and Joffe declared that the Soviet government had no design to secede Outer-Mongolia from China. The Sino-Soviet Pact signed on May 31, 1924, included all these clauses. The Chinese Eastern Railway became a commercial enterprise for Russia because China was given full sovereign right over it. It was to be managed by a joint board of Chinese and Russians. Henceforth, kuomintang-Russian relation became cordial. The Chinese communist party which came into existence in 1921 was allowed to form a joint front with the kuomintang in 1924. Russian experts were welcomed in China and the Whampa military academy was established under the aegis of the Soviet Union. But the death of Sun Yat Sen in 1925 led to a deterioration of Sino-Soviet relations. Chiang Kai-shek who grabbed power after a period of struggle with the left forces drove out Russian experts including Borodin. By 1929 Sino-Soviet relations had reached their lowest ebb. They were revived again when in

September, 1931 Japan wantonly invaded China. In December, 1932 the Sino-Soviet diplomatic relations were resumed. The war with Japan which came to an end in 1934 did not end China's woe. She was plunged in a kuomintang-communist civil war. Though by 1936 a kuomintang-communist understanding was reached yet it did not result in peace for Japan now resumed her incursion in 1937. It evoked from the Soviet Union denouncement of Japanese policy. The Soviet Union entered into a treaty of neutrality and non-aggression with China and sent material help to resist the aggressor. Neutrality treaty, signed by Russia with Japan in 1941, aroused China's apprehension. But Sino-Soviet relations became cordial again with the involvement of the Soviet Union in World War II.

Soviet relations with Japan in the early phase were strained due to Japan's unwillingness to recognize the Soviet Union. Japan, a fully imperialist power, organized like the western nations an interventionist war and landed her troops in Vladivostok (April, 1918). Siberia became the main theatre of war against Soviet Union and a Far Eastern Republic was organized under the aegis of Japan. By 1925 Japan agreed to give U.S.S.R. *de jure* recognition and signed a treaty whereby the U.S.S.R. recognized the terms of the treaty of Portsmouth. Russia agreed to grant Japan concessions in trade and Japan agreed to evacuate Sakhalin. The relations between the two nations became cordial and trade relations between the two countries improved. But with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria the relations between Japan and the Soviet Union became tense. The Soviet Union, eager to forestall complications in the Far East, offered in December, 1931 and in November, 1932 proposals for a non-aggression pact but received a curt refusal from Japan upon which the U.S.S.R. re-established diplomatic relations with China in December, 1932. The threatening growth of Japan's power in the Far East and the rise of Hitler in Germany induced the Soviet Union now to take measures to defend her frontier in the Manchurian border. Russia reached an understanding with U.S.A. in 1933 and joined the League in 1934. Tokyo's militarists, however, found that anti-communism was a bogey that was sufficient to paralyse action by western democracies. They proceeded to exploit it fully and signed with Hitler the Anti-Comintern Pact. The formation of the Axis sufficiently alarmed the Soviet Union which however unequivocally condemned Japanese aggression on China. The Soviet Union now entered into definite treaty of friendship with China and sent her moral and material support in spite of Japanese protest.

The Russo-German Non-aggression Pact in 1939 caused tempo-

rary alarm in Japan. Soon, however, Japan, Italy and Germany entered (September 27, 1940) into a Tripartite Treaty of Friendship and agreed to assist each other "when one of the three contracting Powers is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European war or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict." But Article 5 of the Pact stated that the contracting parties "affirm that the aforesaid terms do not in any way affect the political status which exists at present as between each of the three contracting parties and Soviet Russia". When Hitler put into effect his 'operation Barbarossa', *i.e.*, invasion of Russia, he did not inform the Japanese and Matsuoka, the Japanese envoy sent to Berlin in the spring of 1941 by Prime Minister Konoye, was kept completely in dark. On April 13, 1941 Japan concluded a five-year Pact of Non-Aggression with Soviet Union and in spite of German efforts to involve her in a war with the Soviet Union, Japan refused to be drawn in a war against Russia. On December 7, 1941, Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and was involved in the World War II against U.S.A. and the Allied powers. Throughout the major part of World War II while Russia, as an ally of U.K., U.S.A. and France, was fighting the Axis powers, she maintained neutrality with Japan which was involved in a life and death struggle with the Allied powers. But this period is marked by suspicion and hostility and interference of Japan with U.S.A. supplies to Russia. On both the sides of the Siberian-Manchurian front Russian and Japanese troops faced each other with mutual suspicion. In the Yalta Conference the Soviet Union agreed at last to declare war against Japan. On April 5, 1945 Russia denounced the non-aggression pact of 1941 and declared war on Japan on August 8. Immediately afterwards Japan surrendered unconditionally.

SUMMARY

The establishment of the communist regime in Russia is the most significant fact of the post-Versailles era. Of the two most important causes of the Revolution the first was the failure of the despotic regime to rule efficiently and the second, spread of revolutionary spirit. Successive czars from Alexander II to Nicholas II established a reign of terror to suppress revolutionary movement and, except for a tinkering here and there with reforms such as the liberation of the serfs and establishment of the Duma, did nothing to free Russia from the shackles of feudalism. Economic conditions of the peasants and workers became desperate but a still more significant factor was the penetration of foreign capital in Russian economy. Russia became the weakest link in the capitalist chain. The failure of the czarist regime in World War I discredited the already unpopular rule of the czars. Vladimir Ilich Ulianov, better known as Lenin (1870-1924), successfully applied Marxism in the

age of imperialism to overthrow the czarist regime with the help of the Bolshevik Party, for that was the name in which the Social Democrats who followed him after the split in the London Conference of 1903 were known. The czarist rule was overthrown in March, 1917 by the revolutionaries who organized a provisional government headed by Kerensky (25th July, 1917). Under the guidance of Lenin the working class carried forward a second revolution on November 7, on the slogan of "All power to the Soviets". The Bolsheviks established a working class state. The hope of a world revolution inspired by many like Trotsky aroused suspicion in the minds of the capitalist statesmen. The Third International was suspected as the vehicles for revolutionary propaganda. It heartened the workers and communists but dismayed the ruling class all over the world. The Russian Revolution also gave filip to national liberation movement and intensified class struggle in the capitalist countries.

The Foreign and Interventionist War. Russia immediately came to terms with Germany and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litvosk which meant sacrifice of 66 million people and payment of heavy indemnity. The subsequent collapse of Germany made the terms a dead letter but the Baltic states and Finland were lost by that time. But the conclusion of this treaty led to war with Allied powers who were eager to save their ammunitions dumped at different ports of the czarist empire. The international character of the Russian Revolution and the cancellation of the czarist debts were further incentive to the waging of the interventionist war. Moral and material support to the counter-revolutionary 'White Generals' was provided by the Allied powers. In the North the British forces landed at Murmassk. In the South the French sent troops at Odessa and aided the 'White Army' under Denkin. In the East the Czechs helped the 'White Army' at Urals. The Japanese pushed from the Pacific and aided the White Army under Kolchuk. The Americans undertook to equip the latter's forces. In this crucible of fire the formidable Red Army was hammered out inspired by the slogan 'Socialist Fatherland in danger'. One by one the 'Red Army' beat back all those forces including the Poles under Pilsudski whose forces faced by the Soviet counter-offensive retreated. It was only before the gates of Warsaw that Soviet advance could be checked with difficulty. By 1920 Russia became virtually free of the White and foreign armies.

War time Communism and New Economic Policy. The needs of war had induced the Revolutionary government to establish complete control over the life and property of its citizens. The supreme economic council guided the economic affairs, the secret police (Cheka) watched the enemies of the Revolution. A Dictatorship of the Proletariat was established and means of production and distribution were controlled. The czarist debts were repudiated. The peasants were forced to sell their surplus to the state at a fixed price. The discontent of the peasants increased and government's policy was blamed for the famine of 1920-21 which was caused by drought. A change in the economic policy was, therefore, necessary. The government proclaimed the New Economic Policy or NEP. The compulsory collection of grain was stopped and relaxations in other fields were made in such a way as to facilitate the transition to socialist path easy. Measures were taken to stabilize cur-

rency and to introduce a graduated scale of pay. Co-operatives were encouraged. In the rural areas the kulaks gained by this relaxation but a heavy burden of taxation was imposed upon them. The state enjoyed virtual monopoly of manufactures. Foreign firms were encouraged to enter into contract with the Soviet Union. By 1926 Russia reached pre-war level in her industrial output and her export trade increased from 1.4 million roubles in 1920 to 205.8 million roubles in 1923.

Building the Soviet State. The constitution of the 'Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic' (R.S.F.S.R.) which in 1923 came to be known as the 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republic' (U.S.S.R.) may be called as the dictatorship of the proletariat or the wage-earners. The political institution through which it is done is known as the Soviet or Council of workmen, soldiers and peasants. The instrument of proletarian dictatorship is the communist party. The All Russian Central Executive Committee elected by the All Russian Congress of Soviets is the supreme authority in the state. The Executive Committee together with the Council of Nationalities elected the Presidium of forty which controlled the People's Commissars or heads of administration. Franchise was given to all but the pronounced enemies of the Revolution, but the working class secured weightage in representation. A bicameral legislature—the Union Soviet and the Council of Nationalities—was elected. The real controlling factor, however, was the communist party about which no mention is made in the constitution. In January, 1924 Lenin, the guiding spirit, breathed his last. He it was, who more than any one else helped in creating the working class state by applying successfully the Marxist principles in the period of imperialism. None could fill up the vacuum and in the factional quarrel that followed Trotsky, the advocate of 'World Revolution', had to give way to Stalin who persuaded the party to build up socialism in one country.

Planning for Socialism in one country. Building socialism in one country and directing production and distribution not for profit but for providing the need of the people was envisaged by Lenin. But it was not before 1928 that planning could be put into effect. The First Five Year Plan of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) was put into effect by the Council of Labour and Defence with the help of the supreme economic council. The stress was on heavy industries and not on consumer's goods. As a result of the First Five Year Plan a thorough industrial revolution was carried out. It increased the number of state shops and consumer's co-operatives. In agriculture the system of collective farming revolutionised the agrarian economy. In spite of the satisfactory progress in the first plan there were serious shortcomings. The lack of transport and expert personnel, housing problems and discontent of peasant proprietors presented serious obstacles which the Second Five Year Plan aimed at overcoming. The second plan raised the standard of living and increased the pace of industrialization. The Third Plan was therefore launched in January, 1938 with the hope of bringing Russia to the forefront of technical development. But before it could run its course World War II intervened and Russian economy switched over to war time planning. The advance made in the meanwhile helped the Soviet Union to meet the Nazi challenge.

Consideration behind Soviet Foreign Policy. The Soviet regime and its planned economy marked her off from the capitalist world and mutual suspicion prevented mutual understanding between the two. The civil and interventionist war created mutual distrust. The establishment of the Third International confirmed western suspectibility even though Russia declared her intention to build up socialism in one country. Western press constantly carried on anti-Soviet propaganda. Stray quotations from Lenin's writings such as "a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeoise state will be inevitable" appeared in the foreign press. These statements were evoked during a period of civil war and were not meant to be a war cry. The Soviet leaders knew too well that peaceful co-existence alone could save the Soviet Union. Revolutions, they believed, could not be exported. But still the west followed a policy of 'barbed wire ring'. The activities of the communist parties in other countries were attributed to Soviet encouragement. The spread of colonial revolt, it was firmly held, was encouraged by the Bolsheviks. Another source of mutual suspicion was the belief that the Soviet regime was sure to collapse. The above considerations embittered the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world.

Conflict and Isolation (1918-1921). The years following the Revolution were marked by conflict and isolation. The Treaty of Brest-Litvosk was followed by Allied intervention. The cancellation of the czarist debts evoked hostilities. The nationalization decrees affected foreigners also. The establishment of the Third International and the 'peace decree' was considered to be an attempt to follow a dual policy. Litvinov appealed to President Wilson for establishing peace. British Prime Minister Lloyd George also expressed the desirability of a 'truce of God' and a conference with Soviet participation was arranged at Prinkipo but nothing came out of these peace moves. At last the civil war came to an end but left bitter memories.

The Fight for Recognition (1921-1933). The attitude of the Soviet Union as well as of the west was modified during the period beginning from 1921. An Anglo-Soviet Trade Agreement was signed in the year 1921 but class prejudice in Britain prevented de jure recognition till 1924. This agreement was followed by a series of treaties. The Soviet-Iranian treaty was signed in February, 1921, and in the same year treaties of friendship were signed with Afghanistan and Turkey. In 1922 Russia attended Genoa Conference and signed with Germany the Treaty of Rapollo. "The Germans had broken the tacit accord against Communism". Anglo-Soviet relations, however, was strained due to several causes. In 1929 the raid of the British police in the office of the Soviet Trade Delegation resulted in the rupture of diplomatic relations which were resumed again under second Labour Government in 1929. By 1924 the Soviet Union received recognition from most of the European states. Following the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the Soviet Union signed the Litvinov Protocol with Baltic State, Poland and Rumania. The U.S.A. accorded recognition to the Soviet Union in the year 1933.

Fight for Collective Security (1933-1939). The rise of Hitler in Germany and the Japanese aggression on Manchuria created atmosphere for

a Soviet-French rapprochement and pact of mutual support in case of aggression by a Third Power. Russia participated in the disarmament conferences and joined the League in 1934 to strengthen Collective Security. The introduction of conscription in Germany, the remilitarization of the Rhine, the Anschluss with Austria, the Italian aggression on Ethiopia and the civil war in Spain were flagrant violations of the Collective Security. Yet the Anglo-French powers remained quite unconcerned and adopted a policy of appeasement. It facilitated the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis and the signing of the anti-Comintern pact in 1936 between Germany and Japan. Italy later adhered to this pact. Throughout these years the Soviet representative in Geneva, Mr. Litvinov, fought hard to induce the Anglo-French powers to strengthen the system of Collective Security. But all in vain. This failure created strong suspicion in the Soviet Union that the British and French governments were favouring the rise of Fascism as a counterpoise to the Bolshevik danger. When Hitler effected Anschluss Litvinov issued a warning stating—"Tomorrow it may be too late, but today the time has not yet passed if all the states, and especially the Great Powers, will adopt firm and unequivocal stand in regard to the problems of collective saving of peace." With the signing of the fatal accord of Munich behind the back of the Soviet Union and the subsequent dismemberment of Czechoslovakia the efforts to establish Collective Security came to an end.

Dangerous Collaboration (1939-1941). Russia decided now to look after herself. A last attempt to reach an accord with the Anglo-French powers was virtually sabotaged by the refusal of Poland to allow Soviet troops to enter its territories to defend Poland from the Nazis. The attitude was, even now, better Hitler than Stalin. On August 23, the Soviet Union signed a pact of non-aggression with Germany. In September, Hitler attacked Poland and started the Second World War. The turn in Soviet policy was due to the Russian desire to gain time for adequate preparations against Hitler's legions in future. The same motive induced her to advance her frontier in Poland and attack Finland in 1939. The Anglo-French powers which had tolerated Fascist aggression, in the inter-war period, now promptly expelled the Soviet Union from the League and even contemplated of sending armed help to the Finns. After the Finnish War the Red Army marched into the Baltic States and forced Rumania to concede Besserbia. These events were disturbing for Hitler who decided to invade the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. U.K. and U.S.A. at once declared their solidarity with the Soviet Union and thus the Soviet Union was involved in World War II.

Soviet Relations with the Middle East. Soviet approaches to colonial and semi-colonial countries were made easy due to the hostility felt by the under-developed countries towards the west and their aspiration for liberation from the shackles of imperialism. But Soviet Trade relations with the West acted as a restraint and prompted Russia to extend her influence gradually and by unobtrusive methods. In Afghanistan a balance was maintained between Soviet and British influence because a treaty with the Soviet Union (1921) was followed by another with Britain. In Persia the Soviet Union backed Reza Khan who finally established a monarchy. In Turkey Russia lent support to Mustapha Kemal and sign-

ed a treaty of friendship (1921). Turkish claim to the Straits was supported by the Lausanne Conference as also in the Mosul dispute. In the Montreaux Conference in 1936 Turkey demanded and obtained revision of the decision of demilitarization taken in the Lausanne Conference. Her claims received support from the Soviet Union. In the period of dangerous collaboration (1939-1941) Nazi pressure on Turkey and Balkans started a war of nerves in which Turkey received full-fledged support from the Soviet Union. Turkey signed a non-aggresssion pact with Germany in 1941. With the outbreak of the World War II Russia along with Britain occupied the northern zone of Persia and took control of the Turko-Persian border. Turkey joined the Allied side a few weeks before the end of World War II.

Far East. The countries in the Far East had points of contact with the Soviet Union. Subjected to inequality and maltreatment at the hands of Japanese and western imperialism and anarchic feudalism China was specially susceptible to Soviet influence. The 1911 revolution had put an end to the rule of the Manchus. But there existed now two governments one at Peking and another at Canton under the moving spirit of the Chinese Revolution, Dr. Sun Yat Sen who hailed the Soviet Revolution. The Soviet government cancelled all territorial and other rights acquired by the czars and renounced its claims on the Chinese Eastern Railway. The Sino-Soviet Pact on May 31, 1924 formalised the Soviet renunciations in China. But with the death of Dr. Sun in the year 1925 the Sino-Soviet relations cooled down. They reached their lowest ebb in 1929. Russian experts including Borodin were expelled from China by Chiang Kai-shek. With the Japanese attack on Manchuria the Sino-Soviet relations improved. With the end of hostility temporarily in 1934 there started a civil war between kuomintang and communists. In 1936 when the two reached an accord Japan invaded China again. The Soviet Union supported China with moral and material help. But the Soviet-German non-aggression pact caused anxiety to China. Sino-Soviet relations became cordial again with the involvement of the U.S.S.R. in the World War II.

Soviet Relation with Japan. In the early phase Russo-Japan relations were strained due to Japan's unwillingness to accord recognition to the Soviet Union and the war of intervention in which Japan participated. By 1925 Japan accorded recognition and signed a treaty in which Russia recognized the treaty of Portsmouth and gave trade concessions to Japan. In exchange Japan evacuated Sakhalin. But with the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and the Japanese refusal to enter into non-aggreseion pact with the U.S.S.R., the relations between the two countries deteriorated. The growth of Japanese militarism in the Far-East and the rise of Hitler in Europe induced the Soviet Union to join the League. In 1936 Japan signed the anti-Comintern pact with Germany and in 1937 renewed her incursion in China. The Soviet Union condemned Japanese aggression in China which received, henceforth, unequivocal support from Russia. Russo-German non-aggression pact alarmed Japan. Soon, however, Japan signed with Italy and Germany a Tripartite Pact (Sept. 27, 1940) which provided for mutual assistance in case if one of the three powers faced invasion from a power not involved in war. Clause 5 expressly stated

that the treaty would not affect the relations of the signatories with U.S.S.R. Hitler did not inform Japan previously his intention to attack Russia. Japan signed in April, 1941, prior to German invasion, a treaty of non-aggression with Russia. Japan refused to be involved in a war with Russia. Japan, though at war with U.S.A. and U.K., maintained neutrality with Russia. The Russian decision to declare war against Japan was made at the Yalta Conference. On August 8, 1945 Russia declared war on Japan on the eve of Japan's surrender.

For Further Readings See :—

1. **Coates, W.P. and Zelda, K.**: A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations.
2. **Carr, E. H.** : A History of Soviet Russia.
3. **Davis, Joseph E.** : Mission to Moscow.
4. **Fisher, Louis** : The Soviets in World Affairs.
5. **Ludwig, Emil** : Stalin.
6. **Pope, Arthur Upham** : Maxim Litvinoff.
7. **Schuman, Fredrick, L.** : International Politics.
8. **Webb, Beatrice and Sidney**: Soviet Communism.

Chapter 7

The League of Nations

The peace settlement of 1919 resulted in an immediate settlement of terms with the vanquished powers. But the peace conference of Paris also outlined an ultimate settlement to be achieved by international co-operation on the lines laid down in the Covenant of the League. Thus the Covenant of the League became a part of the Peace Treaties and outlined a scheme of 'Collective Security' and world peace. The maintenance of 'Collective Security' against wars of aggression was henceforth entrusted to the League of Nations.

Origin of the League Idea. The idea of an international organisation for the peace and security of the world was not a new one. It was old as the idea of the universal Church and the universal Empire. The dissolution of the Roman Empire had provided a vacuum which the Holy Roman Empire tried to fill in by creating an universal Empire. The Church also claimed in the Middle Ages allegiance of all christians and was a natural rival of the Empire. Both were universal in their character. The idea of submitting the dispute of the European nations before a 'Council of Nations' was proposed for the first time by Pierre Dubois in the 14th century through the book "Restoration of the Holy Land" published in 1306. He was a disciple of Thomas Aquinas. Dante in his works entitled "de Monarchia" (c. 1310) preached the restoration of the Roman Empire for peace and unity.

In the seventeenth century the legal aspect of international relations was oulined in Hugo Grotrus' treaties on the subject. Other works written in this period included Emerie Cruce's 'New Society' (1623 A.D.). Cruce advocated a worldwide organization. Sully, the minister of the French King Henry IV, envisaged an international organization in which the European states should be divided into 15 units of equal powers and these should constitute a commonwealth.

It was perhaps the first scheme that chalked out the need for international organisation for the elimination of war as an instrument of settling disputes. It provided the League with a model. Another advocate of pacific settlement of disputes, arising out of quarrels between states, was William Penn. Penn proposed a parliament of Europe, and in spite of his Quaker faith, advocated that the Parliament should be able to enforce its will. Another proposal of such a unity was the scheme advocated by Abbe St. Pierre in an essay on the prospect of perpetual peace (1712). It outlined a confederation of 24 states with headquarters at Utrecht. It would function through a senate composed of the representatives from European member states. These proposals and similar ones presented by Rousseau (1761), Kent (1795), St. Simon (1864) and others met a common fate.

In the nineteenth century the 'Industrial Revolution' and the advancement made in the field of scientific discovery had brought the problem of international co-operation to the forefront. The invention of telegraph (1844), telephone (1876), wireless (1896), and easier means of communication due to the invention of steam power removed the barrier of distance. The different states of the world became interdependent. The result was the growth of a number of organizations to facilitate functional co-operation. Most of these organizations grew up in the latter half of the nineteenth century. To deal with the various problems of a complex industrial society it became urgent to seek and establish international bodies for co-operation. Humanitarian motives such as the removal of slavery, drive against disease as also the need for eradicating crime resulted in bilateral and multilateral conventions which ultimately led to the creation of international bodies. The need for international organizations to tackle the problem of transport and communication resulted in the establishment of the Universal Postal Union (1878), and International Telegraphic Union (1865), the Danube, Commission (1856) and the Rhine River Commission (1804). The International office of Public Health (1909) and some allied organizations were the outcome of international co-operation for health and sanitation. In the field of science the International Council for the Exploration of the Sea (1902), International Institute for Agriculture and similar bodies provided scope for mutual undrestanding. In commercial and financial matters understanding was reached as regards publication of tariffs and protection of industrial property. The League of Nations is the logical "outgrowth of nineteenth century proliferation of such agencies."[1]

1. Hartmann, Fredrick L.: The Relations of Nations, p. 189.

The nineteenth century also saw the growth of the peace movement. A peace society was established in London in 1816 and another was formed in America in 1828 by amalgamating several peace societies. In the middle of the nineteenth century altogether six congresses for the promotion of international peace, disarmament, and condification of international law were held. A plan to establish two international bodies—a congress and a court—was advocated by William Ladd and promoted by the London Peace Society and the International Peace Congress strongly influenced the agitation for the abolition of war and for securing permanent peace. These pacifist movements were the forerunners of the League of Nations established after the First World War. In the political field the nineteenth century saw the co-operation of the Great Powers to maintain status quo, through mutual co-operation in periodic congresses, held by victorious powers after the fall of Napoleon. The Holy Alliance made a loose arrangement for such co-operation. But the Quadruple Alliance was the real basis of co-operation of Prussia, Russia, Britain and Austria in the Concert of Europe. France, too, joined this Concert of Europe in 1818. The Concert of Europe worked well so long as the Great Powers agreed on major and important issues. But Britain was opposed to the re-establishment of Spanish rule over her colonies and in this she was supported by President Monroe of the United States of America. The Monroe declaration barred any attempts of the Great Powers to interfere in the affairs of the American continent. With the defection of Great Britain the prospect of any success of the Concert of Europe faded. It persisted, however, till 1825. After World War I, the statesmen and politicians of Europe desired to create an international body to supervise and safeguard international obligations and peace. Thus the League of Nations was created. In the words of Hartmann, "This is the Concert of Europe with democratic additions and with permanently organized basis." There are several points of similarity between the Concert and the League. The Concert powers were afraid of Jacobinism and the revival of French militarism, the League too was a safeguard against revisionist powers, and most of the League members feared Bolshevism. For the Concert of Europe the Holy Alliance provided the ideological basis. The Fourteen points of President Wilson acted as the basic principles of the League. The League, like the Concert, was tied with the peace settlement. But yet the basis of the League was broader than any international body created before it. It was based upon 'Collective Security'. It embraced most of the specialized agencies created up till then and co-ordinated their activities. The membership of the League was open to all

nations of the world. No distinction whatsoever remained between Europeans and non-Europeans. The League systematized all previous approaches to peace and co-ordinated the activities of the specialized agencies so that one may not overlap another. The Wilsonian ideal was new in so much as it made the membership of the League universal and it made provision for 'Collective Security'. It included victors, vanquished and the neutrals.

Preparations for the Formation of the League. Preparations for the formation of the League should be traced in the associations for the promotion of international peace organized while the First World War was still raging in full swing. During the first two years of the war a number of peace societies including 'The League to Enforce Peace' was working hard to find out a formula for a world organization to ensure peace in future. It was headed by Senator Taft and supported by important public figures like Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge. It advocated arbitration, disarmament and sanction against aggression. President Woodrow Wilson publicly endorsed the view of 'The League to Enforce Peace' when in May, 1916 he pleaded for an association of independent states for the maintenance of peace and security. The idea of an international organization for peace also received support from Prime Minister David Lloyd George. In Great Britain a committee was formed under the presidency of Lord Philimore for the promotion of peace. This committee drew up a draft charter as the basis for a permanent peace. Many salient points from this draft were incorporated in the League Covenant. A parallel committee headed by Leon Burgeois also drafted some proposals as suggestions to the Peace Conference. In 1917 the Pope appealed to the Great Powers to settle their disputes in future through arbitration. Suggestions also came from General Smuts in the form of a pamphlet. The pamphlet publicized the view of political leaders on the question of the formation of an international organization and many of these suggestions including the creation of the mandate system were incorporated in the Covenant of the League. Thus even before the end of the war the various peace movements and suggestions for the formation of an international association of nations created a proper atmosphere and basis for the drafting of the League Covenant. The Fourteen points of President Woodrow Wilson provided for the formation of a general association of nations under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike. The Treaty of Versailles incorporated the provision for the formation of the League of Nations.

The Covenant of the League of Nations. The drafting of the League Covenant (i.e., constitution) was entrusted to a committee of 19 with President Woodrow Wilson as the chairman. In general, it may be said that the Americans contributed to the principle and the British the legal framework of the Covenant. The U.S.A. and British viewpoints were fused together by Cecil Hurst and Hunter Miller. The Committee invited suggestions from all and accepted some but rejected many others. Among the most important suggestions rejected by the Committee were the Japanese suggestion of incorporating racial equality and the French proposal to create an international army to be placed at the disposal of the League for maintaining peace and security. The Covenant included provisions for withdrawal of membership, unanimous voting in Assembly and Council, and exclusion of domestic questions. These povisions crept in the Covenant as an attempt of Wilson to accommodate opposition viewpoint in U.S.A. The Covenant became a part of the Peace Treaties at the insistence of Wilson who was eager to gain acceptance of it at home and considered that rejection of the Covenant would be easy if the Covenant were made into a separate treaty. The ratification of the Peace Treaties took nearly a year after the Conference had first assembled. By that time the enthusiasm for the Covenant had cooled down.

The League Covenant set out the purpose of the members of the League of Nations as promotion of international peace and cooperation, acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, establishment of just and honourable relations among nations, acceptance of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments and maintenance of justice and scrupulous respect for treaty obligations. Apart from the above statement of purpose the League Covenant had 26 Articles of which the first seven provided for the structure, composition, power and functions of the Council and the Assembly, and called for a permanent Secretariat. Article fourteen set forth rules for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice. Article 8 stated that 'the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety' and Article 9 provided for a permanent commission to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 on the military, naval and air questions generally. Article 11 to 13 and 15 and 17 laid down procedure for pacific settlement. Articles 10, 16 and 17 laid down principles for the establishment of Collective Security and provided for sanctions against refractory states. Articles 18 to 21 dealt with registration, publication, revision and vali-

dity of treaties. Article 21 affirmed that "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing maintenance of peace." Article 22 provided for the establishment of the Mandatory system over underdeveloped territories, taken from the defeated nations, under the supervision of the Council with the assistance of a Permanent Commission. Apart from political objectives the League undertook social and humanitarian activities. Therefore, Article 23 enjoined upon member states to maintain fair and human conditions of labour and "to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control." This was intended to help the execution of the League's supervision for control over traffic in women and children and narcotic drugs and steps necessary for the control of disease. Article 24 provided for better economic relations and establishment of international bureaus for that purpose under the League. Article 25 arranged for the establishment of the International Red Cross while Article 26 provided for the amendment of Covenant by unanimous ratification by the Council and a majority of the total members of the League.

The League Organisation and Structure. The organs of the League may be classified under four groups. The first group of organs consisted of the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. The second group was composed by two allied but 'autonomous' organs—the International Labour Organization and the Permanent Court of Justice. The third group consisted of 'Auxiliary Agencies' such as Economic and Financial Agencies, the Permanent Mandates Commission, etc. The fourth group consisted of certain specialised agencies such as the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation.

Membership and Withdrawal. Article 1 provided that "The original members of the League shall be those of the signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other states named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant." Any fully self-governing state, Dominion or colony was given right to become a member of the League provided such claims received support of two-thirds members of the Assembly. There were 3 methods for the cessation of membership. Firstly, Article 1 provided that any member can cease membership after 2 years' notice if at the time of its withdrawal the state concerned had fulfilled all its international obligations. Secondly, Article 26 stated that if any member signified its dissent from an amendment of the Covenant, "in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League." Thirdly,

Article 16 provided for expulsion of any member by unanimous vote (excepting the state concerned) of the Council. But for the United States, virtually all other states were members of the League at one time or another. Excepting Soviet Russia, the termination of membership in all other cases was voluntary. Soviet Union was expelled in 1939 due to her aggression on Finland. The League decision looked rather ridiculous in view of the fact that the League had so far never taken such a decision when the Fascist powers repeatedly committed acts of aggression. The First Assembly of the League contained representatives from 42 countries. The League membership reached sixty in 1934, when Ecuador became a member of the League. Germany which was admitted to membership in 1926 gave notice of withdrawal in 1933. In that year Japan also served the League with the withdrawal notice. The U.S.S.R. became a member of the League next year. In 1937 Italy withdrew from the League. In 1940 Britain and France were the only Great powers who retained the League membership. In April, 1946 in the last meeting of the League out of 43 states that still retained membership 34 only were represented.

Assembly. Article 2 of the Covenant states that "the action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat." The Assembly consisted of representatives of the members of the League. Each member had right to send three representatives but could cast only one vote. "Thus the Assembly, unlike most of the pre-war international conferences called to deal with political matters, included representatives of the lesser powers."[2] The Assembly elected its own president usually from lesser powers. The Assembly also elected 8 vice-presidents. There were six standing committees for each of the following affairs :—(*a*) Constitutional and legal, (*b*) Technical organizations, (*c*) Armaments, (*d*) Budget, (*e*) Social and General, (*f*) Political. Apart from the above six committees there were two additional committees. Each of the committees elected a chairman. These elected officials of the League constituted the General Committee of the Assembly.

Article 5 of the Covenant stated that "Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting." This unanimity was not demanded on procedural matters, (*e.g.*, appointment of investigating committee and

2. Schleicher, Charles P.: Introduction to International Relations. p. 573.

Secretary General or determination of the size of the Council). On certain questions such as the admission of members a majority of two-thirds vote was necessary.

The jurisdiction of the Assembly and the Council were stated in identical terms. Article 3 stated that the Assembly may deal "with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world." But the sphere of action of the League had been nowhere defined. In practice the Assembly formulated its opinions and made recommendations to its members even in matters assigned to the Council such as mandates and minorities. In political disputes the Covenant gave primary responsibility to the Council. But in at least three cases—the Sino-Japanese dispute, the Gram-Checo controversy and the Russo-Finish war—the Assembly took an active part. In the Italo-Abyssian war, however, though the Council and the Assembly both took up the matter, the Assembly played a comparatively minor role. The expenditure of the League including that of the World Court and the I.L.O. was charged on members in the form of units out of which Britain paid 105 units, and minor states, such as Albania, paid only one unit. The expenses never exceeded $10,000,000 a year.

The authority of the Assembly was so devised under the Covenant as to keep it a deliberative body. Virtually, all its decisions or legal powers were confined to internal matters. In certain matters the authority of the Assembly was concurrent with that of the Council. Such matters included the selection of the Secretary-General, election of the members of the International Court of Justice and determination of the size and type of Council membership. In political matters the authority of the Assembly was only recommendatory. But the League Assembly had authority over its members. The election of the majority of the members of the Council was given to Assembly. The Assembly elected the semi-permanent and non-permanent members of the Council. Thus by its authority over the members of the League the Assembly exerted its influence over the Council. It was meant to be a body for deliberation, negotiation and compromise. But as years rolled by the Assembly's prestige and power as compared with those of the Council gradually increased. The reason for this is not far to seek. The smaller nations who were in majority in the Assembly backed its growth of power. The Council, a smaller body, could not check the increase of power of the larger body. The original founders of the League never intended the Assembly to play other than a minor role. They desired the Council to bear the main burden of the task of maintaining world peace. The Assembly, it was believed, would

meet only once in three or four years. The Assembly, however, decided to meet annually in its very first session. The Secretary-General at each meeting presented an annual report reviewing the League's activities in the preceding year. The Assembly opened its session with a debate on the state of the world. Thus the Assembly kept itself in close touch with the activities of the Council and the Secretariat. The debate reflected the world's public opinion and in it was heard the voice of the smaller nations. The functions of the Assembly were many and varied. As a forum of world opinion it influenced indirectly the pacific settlement of disputes. The Assembly also formulated the basic administrative and political policy of the League and supervised the League organs such as the Mandates Commission. The Assembly's role as a Legislative body was unique, because it recommended legislation for the adoption of individual member states. The Assembly also could amend the Covenant by a majority vote but such amendments must be ratified by the Council by a unanimous vote.

The Council. The Council was intended to be a powerful body representing only the Great powers. An attempt was made to confine the membership to five Great powers, *viz.*, Great Britain, France, U.S.A., Italy and Japan. But due to the vehement objections raised by small powers the scheme was dropped and it was decided that the five powers would secure five permanent seats in the Council and 4 more non-permanent members will be elected by the Assembly. Till 1922 the Council, in practice, contained only eight members because of the failure of the United States to ratify the Peace Treaties and her refusal to join the League. In 1922 the number of non-permanent seats was increased to six. The smaller powers naturally obtained a majority in the Council. The number of permanent members increased in 1926 to 5 when Germany joined the League and was given a permanent seat in the Council. In 1934 the U.S.S.R. joined the League and was accorded a permanent seat in the Council, though by that time the withdrawal of Germany and Japan had further reduced, for all practical purposes, the permanent members of the Council into minority. Moreover, the number of non-permanent members was further increased (9 in 1926, 10 in 1933 and 11 in 1936). The terms of the non-permanent members were fixed at three years. It was arranged that three members should be elected each year and they were not generally re-elected immediately (re-election required two-thirds majority in the Assembly). In 1939 only three permanent members U.K., U.S.S.R. and France retained their seats. In 1940, after the expulsion of the U.S.S.R., the League Council consisted of

only two Great powers—Britain and France—and these two states remained members of the League Council till the last. Even members not represented in the Council were invited to attend and cast their votes, if necessary, in matters which concerned their special interest. The Council had met at least four times in each year from 1926 onwards. Besides, it held special sessions. The presidency rotated each session in alphabetical order.

Apart from the joint jurisdiction of the Council with the Assembly to deal with matters within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world, the Council acted alone on certain matters. The Council acted virtually as an executive organ of the League. Among its executive functions, mention should be made of the administration of Danzig and Saar. The Council, with the help of the Mandate Commission, supervised the administration of the mandates. The Council had the competence of expelling a League member for violating the Covenant. The Council had special responsibility with regard to reduction of armaments and had the authority to recommend military sanctions. The main function of the Council was, however, the pacific settlement of disputes. For this purpose it had the right to call international conferences. It supervised the work of the Secretariat and received reports from the different organs and specialized agencies. In short, it not only performed the executive function but undertook several responsibilities including administrative duties. Besides, the Council acted as conciliator and mediator and recommended the use of sanctions.

The Secretariat. Article 6 of the Covenant stated that "The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required." The First Secretary-General was Sir Eric Drummond who was expressely named in the Annex of the Covenant. The latter was in favour of creating a genuine international civil service and not merely to create separate national wings in the Secretariat. He was supported in this by the League members.

The Secretariat was the most useful of all the organs of the League. The organization of the Secretariat was a matter of slow evolution, it developed gradually. The highest official was the Secretary-General (originally one, in 1932 two and later one again). The post of Secretary-General was virtually monopolised by the Great Powers. The first Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, was named in the Annex of the Covenant. Subsequent elections were made with the approval of the majority of the Assembly on the recommendation of the Council. It was hoped that the Secretary Generals would maintain their international character. But in certain

respects they were more national representatives than international civil servants. The staff of the Secretariat was appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council. The staff of the League Secretariat working at Geneva consisted of nearly 750 persons recruited from different nations including citizens of non-member states, such as the United States. They showed fine spirit of internationalism "on the whole, the group of men and women at Geneva developed a spirit, unique in the history of that time, of loyalty to the League and to supernational interests, although they did not cut their national ties." The internal organization of the Secretariat was divided into eleven sections such as mandates, disarmament, health, minorities, economic and financial questions. In addition, there were the Library and administrative services. The Secretariat and its staff by its efficient functioning earned the reputation and faith of the League members. The Secretariat was looked upon as a distinctive feature of the League. Its members carried on administrative work and conducted investigation. The Secretariat had the responsibility of executing the resolutions passed in the Council and Assembly and to supply various informations. The information centres and bureaus of the League at Geneva and its branches in the capitals of the five Great Powers and in South America served a very useful purpose. The work of the Secretariat was on the whole highly satisfactory. Article 15 authorized the Secretary-General to make arrangements for investigation and consideration of a dispute submitted to the Council at the request of one of the parties. The First Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, earned reputation as an impartial official though it was alleged that he lacked vigour and leadership. His resignation led to election of Joseph Avenol in 1932 who failed to keep up the tradition created by Drummond. Stean Lester, the last Secretary-General (elected in 1940 and again in 1946), restored the impartial character and prestige of the office. The Secretary-General together with his staff co-ordinated the activities of the different organs of the League, provided the source of continuity, furnished information, kept record and in a limited manner directly or indirectly influenced the League policy and pacific settlement of disputes.

The Permanent Court of International Justice. Among other organs the Court and the International Labour Organization, though technically a part of the League, possessed considerable independence. Article 14 of the Covenant stated that "the Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International

Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute of question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly." Accordingly, the Council, in 1920, appointed a Committee of Jurists who submitted to the Council, after six weeks, a comprehensive plan which with few amendments was passed to the Assembly. The Assembly adopted a few more amendments and converted it into the Statute of the Court in December, 1920. By the middle of 1921 the Statute received the minimum of ratification from its members and the Court came into existence.

The Court was to consist of eleven judges (raised to 15 in 1931) and four deputy judges. These judges were elected by the Assembly and the Council voting independently. Election of judges in both the cases required an absolute majority. The judges elected their own president and vice-president. They served for a nine-year term. The judges were chosen from among eminent juris counsults in International Law. They were chosen regardless of their nationality from among persons who possessed the qualifications required in their own country for appointment to the highest judicial office. They should also represent the principal legal system of the world. None of the judges should represent their own state. They were international officials. To acquaint the Court with the law and custom of a particular country provision was made for the appointment of a judge of a contending party, if it had no judge of its own nationality on the benches of the World Court. The cases were decided by majority verdict. Minority opinion was also given in many cases. The Court's decisions were based on law and not politics. A judge could be removed only by the unanimous decision of all the judges. The Court was a judicial tribunal.

The World Court dealt with disputes among members of the League of Nations and states mentioned in the Annex of the Covenant. Other states also were allowed to take advantage of its service on conditions laid down by the Council. "The jurisdiction of the Court was of two kinds, voluntary and compulsory. When two or more states having a dispute referred it to the court for settlement, the tribunal's voluntary jurisdiction was being invoked."[3] A certain number of states, however, accepted the 'optional clause'. These states accepted the legal jurisdiction of the Court (without any

3. Langsome, W.C.: The World Since 1914, p. 129.

For a discussion on the role of the Court under U.N. see chapter 12

special convention) regarding any question of international law or breach of an international obligation or the nature and extent of reparation to be made for any such breach. In the case of states accepting the optional clause the jurisdiction of the Court was compulsory and obligatory. About fifty states signed the optional clause, some of them with certain reservations. Any state agreeing to accept jurisdiction of the Court could bring cases for settlement before the judges of the International Court. In deciding cases the International Court followed the procedure of regular tribunals. The only difference was that states alone could bring cases before the World Court. The Court applied international conventions accepted by contesting states in judging disputes. Secondly, it followed international customs as evidence of general practice accepted by law. Another guide accepted by the Court was the General principles of law recognized by civilized nations. And lastly, there were the judicial decisions made earlier.

Article 14 provided that "The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly." Such a request from either the Council or the Assembly must contain an exact statement of the point on which advice was called for and all documents that throw light upon it. The opinion of the Court was usually delivered in the open court.

The Permanent Court of International Justice did much useful work. As a tribunal of Justice it earned high reputation for its impartiality. It passed nearly 200 orders, tried nearly 65 cases, pronounced 32 judgements and gave 27 advisory opinions. Most of the orders and advices of the Court were taken in good faith. This was due to the efficiency and impartiality of the judges.

The International Labour Organisation. The International Labour Organisation was more closely connected with the organs of the League than the Permanent Court. The members of the League were automatically members of the I.L.O. Technically, however, the I.L.O. was not a part of the League. It was also a creation of the Treaty of Versailles. The I.L.O. was then an autonomous organization. It was brought into being by Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles. League members automatically became members of the I.L.O. but non-members could also belong to it. Thus Germany was represented in I.L.O. for some time before she became a member of the League and the U.S.A., though she never acquired membership of the League, became a member of the I.L.O. in 1934. Again, Brazil even after her withdrawal of membership from the League Organization, continued to be a member of I.L.O.

In the Covenant (Article 23) it has been clearly stated that the members of the League "will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organization." The demand for the creation of an international organization was urgent due to the necessity of improving the condition of labour and saving them from the influence of Bolshevism. The purpose of the I.L.O. was, therefore, to ameliorate the condition of labour, to regulate hours of work, to arrange for prevention of disease and treatment in sickness, to provide for adequate living wage, to protect women and children, to establish the right of freedom of association and so forth.

"Its constitution was modelled on that of the League, its Annual Conference, Governing Body and Office corresponding respectively to the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat."[4] The I.L.O. was composed of not only all the League members but also non-members like the U.S.A. and Brazil. From each state the I.L.O. allowed four representatives, one from labour, one from the employees and the rest from the government to the General Conference. For amendments to the constitution it was necessary to secure two-thirds majority and subsequent ratification by the League Council and three-fourths of the League members. For the adoption of a convention or recommendation a two-thirds majority of members who voted by head was necessary. The draft conventions were usually legal proposals and it was expected that the member states would adopt it. The recommendations were enunciation of broad principles intended to guide the member states in their labour legislations. These conventions and recommendations were forwarded through the Secretary-General to each state to be submitted to their respective legislatures for consideration.

The Governing body of 32 members were chosen by the General Conference. Out of the 32 members 16 were government representatives. Fifty per cent of the members chosen from government representatives, *i.e.*, 8 members, were taken from states "which are of the chief industrial importance." The eight thus designated in 1922 were Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, India, Italy and Japan. In 1935 the first two lost their seats to the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. when the last two joined as permanent representatives in

4. Carr, E. H.: International Relations Between Two World Wars, p. 111.

the Governing Body of the I.L.O. The rest of the government representatives, i.e., 8 more, were chosen by the government delegates to the General Conference. The representatives of the employees and workers elected their respective representatives to the Governing Body. The General Conference met at least once a year, its agenda being fixed by the Governing Body which also appointed the Director of the International Labour Office and exercised a general control over him. The Governing Body met at least once every 3 months.

The International Labour Office had its headquarters at Geneva and acted as the Secretariat of the I.L.O. It was served by more than three hundred employees, men and women. It worked under the Director and gathered and published informations regarding labour and helped to prepare agenda for the General Conference. The Secretariat conducted investigations, published journals including an official Bulletin and helped the promotion of healthy labour legislation. The I.L.O. became a sort of world forum for discussing and formulating labour policy all over the world and helped to crystallize the policy of the workers, employees and governments.

The I.L.O. was a part and parcel of the League. Its expenditure was borne by the League. Many members, for instance, Japan, remained a member of I.L.O. even though it had left League membership in 1933. The labour problem, which constituted the most pressing one in an industrially advanced civilization, was tackled by the I.L.O. I.L.O. took social justice as its guiding principle. But its achievements were not very impressive. Because of the forty-nine conventions adopted by the General Conference only one relating to equality of treatment to native and foreign workmen received enough ratification from member states. Moreover, the ratification did not always mean that the recommendation or convention would be actually implemented. Most of its conventions related to sickness insurance, labour of women and children, medical treatment, freedom of association and so forth. "By January, 1941 more than 50 states had registered with the League 879 ratifications of these conventions, 46 of which had come into force."[5]

League Activities—The League and the Prevention of War. Under the League Covenant the members entered into thirty-four engagements out of which nineteen were directed towards maintaining international peace. In fact, all the activities of the League including its economic, social and humanitarian activities were aimed at the promotion of peace and security. Under the Covenant the mem-

5. **Langsome, W. C.:** The World Since 1914, p. 132.

bers also entered into obligations not to resort to war, to reduce armaments and to avail themselves of the methods and procedure of peaceful settlement established by the League.

The members undertook obligation to preserve and maintain peace and territorial integrity and to preserve the political independence of members against wanton aggression. Moreover, under Article 8 of the Covenant it was agreed that "The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations". The same Article stated that "the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections." The attempt at disarmament, it was believed, would be promoted by the disarmament of defeated nations like Germany. The question of preserving peace through an organization, designed to embrace all sovereign states, presented a difficult problem. The unwillingness of states to allow any infringement of their sovereign right induced the founders of the League to exempt affairs concerning domestic jurisdiction from the sphere of League activity and to provide for the unanimity rule (Article 5) of the Council. The League depended for its success upon the willing co-operation of its members. It had no international police force at its disposal.

The makers of the League of Nations, therefore, created an elaborate system of pacific settlement. The system of pacific settlement is ment to provide, firstly, a 'cooling off' period; secondly, organizations through which such settlement may be made possible; and thirdly, procedure for pacific settlement. But, above all, the League became the embodiment of the principle that threat or the possibility of the threat to peace constitutes a danger not only to the parties involved in it but also to the rest of the world. As such the threat to war must be prevented not in an isolated way but collectively. Aggression must be stopped by collective effort and by imposing military or economic sanction.

Procedure for Pacific Settlement. The Covenant of the League provided its elaborate scheme of pacific settlement in Article 11 through 15 and partly in 17 and 19. Article 11 stated that any war or threat to war was a danger to all the members of the League and the Secretary-General, on the request of a member of the League, would forthwith summon a meeting of the Council. It was also incumbent upon the League members to bring such matter to the notice of the League. Article 11 laid down no procedure and naturally it was interpreted broadly and gave the League, theoretically, the right

'to take any action'. But, in practice, the League took virtually no action. During the Manchurian crisis in 1931 it became evident that some principal members of the League destroyed the effectiveness of this Article by their demand of unanimity in Council regarding voting under this Article.

The next few Articles of the Covenant worked out in detail the procedure for pacific settlement. In Article 12 members agreed to submit either to arbitration or judicial decision or to inquiry by the Council any serious dispute and not to resort to war until 3 months after the announcement of the decision of any one of the above authorities. But, in the history of the League, there is not a single instance where a state took advantage of this 'cooling off' period and waited for 3 months before resorting to war. Article 13 elaborated the method of adjudication and provided for submission of dispute to the World Court or for arbitration. Members also agreed not to resort to war against a member which accepted such a process for the settlement of dispute. Any party to the dispute (in cases where it is not settled under Article 13) might appeal to the Secretary-General for investigation and consideration of a dispute. In such cases the League, under Article 15, endeavoured to make a peaceful settlement. In case of failure to do so in the Council, in spite of unanimity, members who would be posted with its recommendations, were not obliged to fight against any party that complied with its recommendations. The Council had the option of referring the dispute to the Assembly. The Assembly by a majority of votes (excluding the parties as in the case of Council) and with the approval of the members in Council could adopt recommendations for peaceful settlement. But in disputes that fell under the domestic jurisdiction of a state the Council could submit no 'binding' report. It could act only as a conciliator.

Articles 17 and 19 provided for settlement of dispute between members and non-members. Article 17 authorised the Council to invite non-members to accept the obligations of the League for settlement of a particular dispute. If, however, the request was turned down the League might invoke its powers to take measures under Article 16. The Council was also authorized to interfere in disputes among non-members. Under Article 19 "the Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsiderations by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable" or dangerous to peace. It was a dead letter from the very beginning due to the opposition of anti-revisionist powers. The League had other methods of imposing peace For instance, in the Greco-Bulgarian dispute, the telegram

sent by Briand, president of the Council, on his own initiative, stopped hostilities. Military or armistice commissions also helped to bring an end to hostilities. The League's peace efforts were strengthened by the World Court. The efforts at conciliation made by the League were helped by the formal reports published by the council usually when a war had started.

Collective Security. Article 10 of the Covenant stated the principle of Collective Security and the steps contemplated to uphold it. The members of the League undertook "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all Members of the League." Article 10 also gave direction as to the steps to be taken by the Council to preserve peace. The Council would "advise upon the means by which such obligation shall be fulfilled." But the decisions of the Council must be unanimous. Thus under no circumstance there was any likelihood of any hitch over the question of taking action against an aggressor among the members of the Council. The direction given by Article 10 for the maintenance of Collective Security was regarded by the makers of the League as sufficient guarantee to ensure peace. The French supported the provision of this Article and considered its clauses as the most important part of the Covenant. But the British government disliked the idea of sharing the bu en of collective responsibility imposed by Article 10. In this res ct Great Britain was supported by her dominions. The Canadian representative to the League, therefore, brought forward an amendment to Article 10, which was opposed vehemently by the French and their Allies. Finally, in 1923, a compromise formula was arrived at. It stated that states should freely decide when and under what circumstances they should fulfil their obligations under Article 10. It failed to find acceptance ye undermined the faith in the guarantee provided by the League

Sanctions. The League devised sanctions to enforce its decisions against states violating the decisions of the League. The system of sanctions was devised to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war due to the selfish action of individual states. In this the collective will of the peace-loving people of the world was expressed against the aggression and designs of the violators of peace. The sanctions required that the League needed support from the members which should include the principal states of the world. Sanctions also implied application of force, if necessary, against those who refused to comply.

Article 16 of the Covenant provided for sanction. But this Article applied in the case of violation of Articles 12, 13, 15, or, in

other words, if a state resorted to war without submitting the dispute to pacific settlement or before the expiration of the 3 months' time limit or against a state which accepted an award, judicial decision or recommendations of the League. Thus there was no provision for invoking Article 16 against those who violated Article 10. Thus there was no arrangement to apply sanction against those that undertook war for territorial expansion, though such a war was prohibited.

Thus under the League system of Collective Security war was possible if the recommendations of the Council or Assembly did not receive the required number of votes. Any matter that fell under the domestic jurisdiction of a state was beyond the competence of the League and the Council had no right to interfere in a dispute in such a matter. The League, moreover, could not enforce its awards or judicial decisions or report of either the Council or Assembly. Therefore, a state might refuse to accept an award or decision or report and could declare war. The nation that violated the rules provided under the Covenant and resorted to armed hostilities was deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League. Under these circumstances the recalcitrant state was immediately subjected to an economic sanction. Economic sanction meant complete boycott and severance of all financial, economic and personal intercourse between the culprit and the rest of the world—members and non-members. It was a severe punishment. It was hoped that no nation would be able to stand the economic isolation, thus created. If necessary, members of the League would support one another for carrying out this boycott successfully.

Economic sanctions brought in the question of military sanction. In Article 16 the Council was authorised to recommend to the several governments concerned "what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League". But this provision did not necessarily bound the members to help the League with armed forces. The action of the Council was only recommendatory and it was up to the members of the League to obey or disobey it at their discretion. The members of the League insisted, from the very early years of its existence, that the obligation to help the League in applying sanction should be voluntary and optional. Every member should be free to decide for itself whether sanction should be applied or not. Sanction was applied against Italy in 1935 but France desired that individual states should be allowed freedom of choice to decide about sanctions which should be applied slowly and

gradually and not all at once. Thus the sanctions became voluntary and not automatic.

Early in 1921 an amendment in the Assembly stated that infraction of Articles 12, 13 and 15 should be considered as an act of war against others but members should be allowed to decide whether an actual state of war existed or not. Another amendment in 1923 asked the League Council to take into consideration the geographical condition and special circumstances of a state before asking it to implement the military sanction in consequence of an aggression. This amendment left it to individual members to decide "in what degree the Member is bound to assure the execution of this obligation by the employment of its military force." Thus the members were left with wide discretion to accept or reject their obligations under Article 16. There was no organ of the League to co-ordinate the forces which in case of necessity the members were expected to contribute to preserve world peace.

Gaps in the League Covenant. As has been noticed above there were in the League Covenant several gaps through which war might raise its head. There were certain kinds of wars which the members were free to wage legally. For instance a war was not illegal, if a report under Article 15 did not receive the required votes in the Assembly or in the Council. In matters of domestic jurisdiction or in case where the required unanimity could not be achieved on matters of peaceful settlement the League was not authorized to intervene. If a party refused to accept an award, decision or binding report of the Council or Assembly the League could not enforce members to do so. Even when sanctions were imposed the League had no machinery to co-ordinate the actions of its members to execute the sanctions. The subsequent amendments to the Covenant's Articles 10 and 16 reduced the possibility of taking action against an aggressor. The failure of the League, however, was not so much due to the constitutional weakness in its system. The League system of sanctions and Collective Security in spite of the gaps in the Covenant could have achieved at least a limited success had it been sincerely supported by its members. The World War II came about not owing to the gaps in the system, but due to other causes including the failure of the members to support the League.

Settlement of International Disputes. The role of the League of Nations as a peace-maker can be judged by examining its efforts in the inter-war period to maintain international harmony. The League tackled nearly forty-three cases of disputes between nations during twenty years. But at no period of its existence the League received

universal recognition. In the early period (1920-1924) the League had to tackle a serious threat to international peace in 1923 resulting from a dispute, between Greece and Italy, following the death of an Italian General at the hands of Greek bandits. Italy bombarded Corfu and demanded compensation and Greece was compelled to pay it. Another dispute between Poland and Lithunia over Vilna was settled in favour of Poland who forcibly occupied the port and the League merely looked on as a spectator. The efforts of the Nicarguan government to bring before the League Council its dispute with Mexico were checked by the U.S.A. which disliked League intervention in the American continent. Some events of international importance such as Anglo-Egyptian relations and the infringement of the Chinese sovereignty by imperialist Powers were never raised for discussion either in the Assembly or in the Council. The highest watermark of League's success was achieved in the years between 1924 to 1930. This second period is a period of glory. The League meeting of the year 1924 was attended by MacDonald and Harriot. Thereafter Foreign Ministers of Great Powers attended some part of every session of the Assembly and in 1929 the Assembly was graced by the presence of every European Foreign Minister. But from 1931 onwards the prestige of the League waned. It was increasingly evident during the Manchurian crisis, the Ethiopian crisis, the Spanish Civil War and in a number of other instances that the Great Powers were not prepared to strengthen the League system of Collective Security. The violation of the Covenant was tolerated by the League members. "Thus the powers failed the League, not the League peace".[6] This period of disintegration lasts from 1931 to 1939. All the three divisions—viz., the early phase of experiment, the middle phase of success and glory and the last one of disintegration—are arbitrary but these help us to study the activities of the League as peace-maker in a proper perspective.

The Early Phase (1920-1924). In 1920 following Russian bombardment and occupation of the port of Enzeli in Persia, the latter appealed to the League Council through its Foreign Minister. But as a direct negotiation between the two countries resulted in an amicable settlement, the League had no occasion to intervene.

The Aland Island dispute arose out of general adjustment in the Baltic area after the Bolshevik Revolution. Finland and Sweden both claimed sovereignty over the Aland Island which commanded the entrance to the Gulf of Bothnia. Though Finland claimed sover-

6. **Langsome, W. C.:** The World Since 1914, p. 134.

eignty over the Island the people of this place had linguistic and cultural affinity with Sweden and agitated for unification with the latter country. Finland was not a member of the League. The matter, however, was brought before the League by Great Britain. The Finns claimed that as the matter belonged to the domestic jurisdiction of Finland the League had no right to intervene. But a Committee of Jurists appointed by the League declared that the League was perfectly within its rights in taking up the case of Aland. In 1921 another Committee of the League gave a compromise formula under which Finland's sovereign right over Aland was admitted but the Alanders' right was protected by a series of guarantees. The Islanders were allowed autonomy and the use of Swedish language. The archipelago was demilitarized and neutralized.

Another interesting case arose in 1920 due to the situation created by the establishment of the Republic of Armenia carved out of the frontier districts of Russia and Turkey. The Allied Supreme Council requested the League to make it a mandatory territory. The League offered this territory as a mandate to the United States. The latter declined the offer but undertook, in alliance with Spain and Brazil, to put an end to the fight that was going on between Turkey and Armenia. But before the task of establishing peace between the two could be accomplished, Armenia went out of existence.

In 1921 Britain and France fell out among themselves over the question of the status of persons of Maltese origin in Tunisia. Britain and France both claimed them to be their respective subjects. The matter was referred by the British government to the League Council. The French, however, claimed it to be a matter of domestic jurisdiction. The Permanent Court of International Justice when asked by the League Council to give advisory opinion about the French claim rejected the domestic jurisdiction plea as untenable. The French now requested the World Court for judicial adjudication. But before the same could be obtained an amicable settlement was arrived at by the contending parties.

In 1921, the League had to solve another dispute concerning Upper Silesia. In the Treaty of Versailles provisions were made for holding plebiscite in Upper Silesia. The plebiscite (held on March 20, 1920) was to decide whether the people desired union with Poland or Germany. The verdict made matters difficult by creating obstacles for boundary demarcation. Matters became worse when France lent support to Poland and England to Germany. Ultimately the League Council settled a boundary which was accepted by both the parties through a convention.

In 1923 a dispute arose between Italy and Greece. This dispute known as Corfu incident has been already referred to. Following the murder of an Italian General, engaged in boundary demarcation under an International Commission, at the hands of some Greek bandits, Italy bombarded and landed troops at Corfu. Italy also demanded as compensation fifty million lira within five days. The Conference of Ambassadors which was in session at once sent a note to the Greek Government. The Greeks had applied to the League Council for settlement. But they had also sent appeal to the Conference of Ambassadors. This dual authority helped Italy to reject the solution of the League that Greece should deposit the amount of compensation to the World Court pending an award by the same. Mussolini rejected these terms and ultimately the Greeks were forced to pay compensation under pressure from the Conference of Ambassadors.

Thus in the early phase the authority of the League was not accepted sometime even by members. The Conference of Ambassadors, appointed by the Allied Supreme Council to complete delimitation of boundaries and representing 4 countries, France, Britain, Italy and Japan, sometimes acted as a rival organization. The Corfu incident illustrates how the League was disregarded by this Conference.

The Period of Success (1924-1930). In the years between 1924 to 1930 the prestige of the League was enhanced. The signing of the Locarno Pact resulted in the establishment of the League's authority and the end of the Conference of Ambassadors. In 1926 Germany was admitted to the League. Thus the League ceased to be an association of victorious powers. It went a long way to establish the impartial character of the League.

The first success achieved by the League during this period was the peaceful solution of the Greco-Bulgarian dispute in 1925. The war between Greece and Bulgaria broke out following minor border incidents and the death of a Greek commander on October 19, 1925 in Salonika. Greek army marched into Bulgaria disregarding the request of the Bulgarian government to appoint a Commission of Investigation. The Bulgarian government now appealed to the League and invoked Article 11. The president of the Council promptly wired to both the Governments to cease hostilities. The League Council then appointed a Commission of Inquiry to go into the matter. The Commission condemned Greece for invading Bulgarian territory and suggested that Greece should be asked to pay £42,000 as compensation. Greece had no other way but to accept the ver-

dict. The solution of Greco-Bulgarian dispute does credit to the League. But people remembered that, on an earlier occasion, the League under similar circumstances in the Corfu incident could do nothing to punish Italy.

The Mosul vilyat or district became a bone of contention in the year 1924 between Turkey, Britain and Iraq—which was under British mandate at that time. Mosul, originally under Turkey, was ceded in the Treaty of Sevres to Iraq, but the Treaty of Lausanne provided that the border should be settled by direct negotiation between the two countries failing which an appeal should be made to the League Council. Accordingly, when negotiations actually failed Britain referred the matter to the League Council. Britain pleaded that Iraq needed the disputed region as a natural frontier and Turkey claimed that the population favoured union with Turkey. But in fact both the sides were eager to possess the oil resources of this region. The League appointed a neutral Commission of Inquiry and drew up an imaginary boundary known as the Brussels Line (in a special meeting at Brussels) pending final judgement. The Commission in its report established Turkey's sovereignty over Mosul. But it recommended that in the interest of the inhabitants the region should go to Iraq, provided British mandate over the area was extended for about twenty-five years. The Council accepted the report. Prior to taking any decision it consulted the World Court which directed that the decision of the Council was binding on both the parties. The decision went against Turkey which became distrustful of the League and drew closer to the Soviet Union. The League achieved a great success and on June 5, 1926, Britain, Turkey and Iraq signed a treaty which was declared as definitive.

In 1928 Bolivia and Paraguay both members of the League started quarrel over the possession of the Chaco territory. The Pan-American Conference tried to make an end to the armed hostilities that had started in the border of these two states from December, 1925. When peace was not restored, in 1933 the League Council, in its attempt to end the dispute, appointed a Commission of Investigation. Again, the League imposed arms embargo on both the parties in 1934. But because Bolivia accepted the report of the Assembly to which the case was transferred, the arms embargo was lifted in her case. Peace, between the two states, however, was not established till 1938 through the conciliation and mediation of U.S.A. and several South American Countries.

The case studies outlined above show that the League achieved remarkable success in the period between 1924-1930. But most of

its successes were achieved at the cost of the smaller powers. The Locarno honeymoon lasted for some time. The close co-operation established during this period between the French, German and British foreign offices through Briand, Stresemann and Austin Chamberlin helped to restore confidence in the international organization. But in 1929 the British Foreign Secretary retired and Stresemann breathed his last. The economic depression which started from the above mentioned year created breach in the field of international co-operation. The rise of Fascism in Italy, Nazism in Germany and militarism in Japan constituted serious threat to world peace. The first serious breach in the League system of Collective Security begins with Japanese aggression in Manchuria. It was followed by the Italian aggression on Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War. The influence of the League naturally declined till there was a complete collapse of the system of Collective Security on the eve of World War II.

The Period of Decline (1931-1939). The first breach in the League system of Collective Security was made on September 18, 1931 when Japan to satisfy her lust for empire, and incited by her militarists, invaded Manchuria on the flimsy pretext that the Chinese troops had tried to wreck the South Manchurian Railway. China immediately appealed to the League Council which requested the Japanese to withdraw their troops in a resolution passed on September 30. But as the Japanese aggression continued, China invoked the aid of the League to halt the assualt on Chinese territory. The League, however, failed to render any substantial services to the helpless Chinese due to the opposition of Japan. The League appointed a Commission under Lord Lytton to investigate and report on the developments in the Far East. Thus while China received sympathy from the League members Japan achieved substantial military success and brought the whole of Manchuria under control. The United States during this period sympathised with China. U.S. delegates were invited to attend League Council, during discussion about Japanese aggression, as observers. The U.S. Foreign Secretary Stimson formulated the doctrine of Non-Recognition of the territories annexed by Japan. But all to no avail. The League Assembly in an extraordinary meeting (January 29, 1932) endorsed the Stimson doctrine and asked for immediate ceasefire and appointed a Committee of Nineteen to stop hostilities. The Lytton Commission report submitted in November, 1932 recommended the setting up of an autonomous Chinese region in Manchuria. The Assembly voted its acceptance in Feburary, 1936 and condemned Japanese aggression though

admitting at the same time some of the Japanese grievances. Following this Japan left the League. But the League action did not either affect Japan or the puppet regime of Manchuko, under the ex-Manchu emperor Puyi, set up by Japan. This incident proved the ineffectiveness of the League as a machinery for maintaining world peace and security.

But Manchuria was the beginning of the end. Already Hitler had grabbed power in Germany and Mussolini was busy with his design on Ethiopia. In 1934 Soviet Union joined the League. This was a gain for the League but Soviet warnings against Fascist aggressive designs were not heeded by the Anglo-French powers. Therefore, League efforts to maintain peace were not effective. Italy desired to connect Italian Somaliland with Eritrea by annexing Ethiopia. The desire to avenge the defeat of Adowa (1896) and Mussolini's ambition to make a display of Italian arms led to the Italian aggression in Abyssinia on October 3, 1935. But long before the actual invasion took place, Ethiopia appealed to the League on December 14, 1934 and invoked Article 11 of the Covenant, following a border clash at Walwal. The Anglo-French Powers, however, needed Mussolini's co-operation to help restrain Hitler, and therefore they stood in the way of immediate action of the League against Italy. But the Italian action resulted in a chain of events which prompted the League to take measures for security. Again and again, attempts at peaceful settlement were thwarted by Anglo-French sympathy for Italian claim. Ethiopia now invoked Article 15 (March, 1935) and the Council appointed a Commission of Conciliation and Arbitration and on September 3, 1935 the Commission reported that in the Walwal incident neither Italy nor Ethiopia was really at fault.

The clash bettween Italy and Ethiopia could have come to an end after this report. But Italy was determined on aggression. Mussolini was encouraged by two things: "the first was Britain's blind persistence in her unilateral policy toward Germany—a policy that drove an ever deeper wedge between her and France. The second was Mussolini's incurable lust for flamboyance". The League in the meantime appointed 2 Committees under Article 15, one after another, in September, for conciliation but both of them failed due to Mussolini's intransigence. Mussolini, on October 3, ordered his troops to march on Ethiopia.

The Committee of six appointed by the League Council on October 3 reported after two days that Italy had resorted to war by violating Article 12 of the Covenant. The Council then referred the matter to the Assembly. On October 19, representatives of fifty-

three nations with Austria, Hungary, Albania and Paraguay dissenting and Switzerland holding aloof, passed a resolution condemning Italy as an aggressor and voting economic sanctions against her. A Committee of Co-ordination was appointed to give effect to this sanction. But Piere Laval of France and Sir Samuel Hoare of Great Britain were against applying sanctions and opposed the inclusion of oil in the list of goods on which embargo was placed. They ruled out the possibility of military sanctions and of closing the Suez Canal to Italy. On December 7-8 Laval and Hoare entered into a Pact with Mussolini in which they proposed to hand over to Italy most of Abyssinia. But unfortunately the plan leaked out and Hoare and Laval had to resign. Nevertheless the League sanction was not effective. Litvinov set forth clearly in his funeral oration on Ethiopia the reasons for this failure in the following words:—

"Four members of the League refused from the outset to apply any sanctions whatever. One member of the League, contiguous with Italy, refused to apply the most serious sanction, I mean the embargo on imports from Italy. And of those countries which made no objection to sanctions on principle, some actually did not apply all the sanctions, but pleaded constitutional obstacles, the need to study the problem etc." U.S.A. oil supply to Italy increased during this period. On May 9, the King of Italy was declared emperor of Ethiopia and two months later the League lifted its sanctions. The continuation of the sanctions was creating dislocation in Italian economy. The lifting of this measure was a relief for Italy. Thus, in the words of Hartmann. "Sanctions were abandoned just when their greatest effects were being felt."

The failure of League system of Collective Security was largely owing to British and French unwillingness to fight Italy. France wanted Italy's co-operation against Nazi Germany and she had reasons to believe that Franco-Italian conflict would give enormous advantage to Hitler, so long as Italy could be utilised as a check on Germany. When Britain and France voted to grant sanctions they did it, so at least they believed, against their own interest. The half-hearted measure taken by the League drove Mussolini in the arms of Hitler. The Rome-Berlin Axis gradually came into being. The failure of the League became evident.

In 1931 a democratic and popular government was established in Spain. But all the forces of reaction started conspiring to bring about its fall and from 1934 onwards the Nazis encouraged the militarist, clerical and feudalist junta in Spain to overthrow the Popular Front government. In the year 1936 the Fascist forces in Spain with

active encouragement from Germany and Italy organized an uprising against the legally constituted government. Soon general Franco became the leader of the counter-revolution and received the blessings of Hitler and Mussolini. The League did practically nothing to stop the civil war. Britain and France established a Non-Intervention Committee in which Germany and Italy participated. The Non-Intervention Committee placed an arms embargo for both the parties in the Spanish Civil War. But it virtually stopped the avenue of the Republican government to purchase arms from abroad. The rebels secured ample aid in war material from the Axis powers. Italian volunteers and German planes fought for the victory of Franco. The request of the Spanish Government to end the Non-Intervention was turned down by the League. Thus by 1939 Franco gained a complete success.

The League was virtually dead and during the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 the League in reply to Chinese appeal performed its duty of saving the peace by merely passing a resolution sympathising in the Chinese cause. The League now became an onlooker of the aggression of the Fascist Powers. The Anschluss, (*i.e.*, Germany's union with Austria), the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and the outbreak of World War II following Hitler's attack on Poland were events in the face of which the League acted as a helpless spectator. But when in 1939 Russia attacked Finland, the League of Nations suddenly became conscious about its duty as a champion of peace and expelled Russia from its membership with unusual and unnatural haste. The League maintained its existence till April, 1946 when it voted its abolition in a meeting called at Geneva.

Other Activities of the League—Economic, Social and Humanitarian. The League attempted to establish international co-operation in different fields. A few expert committees were set up to direct the economic and financial affairs of the League. The League sought to establish healthy economic relations among nations. The League Financial Committee was responsible for the issue and supervision of various loans. The League's efforts were directed towards the simplification and reduction of inter-state custom barrier and in 1923 an International Customs Conference was held for the simplification of Custom formalities. The League also tried to rescue from financial ruin those states which faced economic bankruptcy. Thus Austria and Hungary secured loans through the good offices of the League to tide over their economic problems in the post-Versailles era. In 1920 the Brussels Conference was called to tackle the problem of financial reconstruction of the post-war world. The World Economic Confer-

ence was convened in Geneva in 1927 under the aegis of the League to reduce tariffs and to build up a body of doctrines regarding standardization of commercial practices, arbitration of trade disputes, etc. Though the League could not control the rivalry among nations in the economic sphere yet its attempts to establish accepted norms in commercial relations and to relieve the economic burden of weaker states was praiseworthy.

The war had resulted in the creation of the refugee problem. The League appointed Dr. Nansen as High Commissioner in 1921 to deal with the problem of Refugee Rehabilitation. The activities of the League High Commissioner in resettling millions of homeless refugees earned universal appreciation. The work of Refugee Relief and Rehabilitation has been taken up by the U.N.R.R.A. from the League. The League established several conventions regarding inter-state Railways and other means of communications through its general conferences on Communication and Transit Organization. The social and humanitarian activities of the League were based upon the experience gathered in those spheres in the pre-war period. The League Health Organization fought against the spread of epidemic diseases and tried to co-ordinate the public health services of different countries. This organization was ultimately merged in the W.H.O. under the U.N.O. The most important contribution of the League in the sphere of social and humanitarian activities was its attempt to eliminate traffic in women and children. The League Advisory Committee investigated the problem of traffic in women in 1927 and 1929. The League arranged for the protection of the rights of the children. The League made vigorous efforts to abolish slavery. The Assembly adopted in 1926 a slavery convention and in 1932 a Permanent Slavery Commission was set up. The League also set up an organization to deal with narcotic drugs. The Advisory Committee on dangerous drugs was known as Opium Committee. Several conventions were adopted to limit and control all narcotic drugs. Promotion of intellectual co-operation for the extension of the horizon of human knowledge was a very important aspect of the activities of the League. The League International Committee on intellectual co-operation helped to co-ordinate contribution of the various Academies of repute. An International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was set up in Paris in the year 1926. Dissemination of knowledge through the co-operation of intellectuals and scientists and the exchange of students and teachers through inter-university co-ordination helped to dispel political misunderstanding and thus promoted the cause of peace. Militant nationalism was tempered by the inter-

national co-operation established through those agencies. Another important contribution of the League in the humanitarian field was the arrangement made under its auspices for the exchange of prisoners of war. The League completed this task by 1922.

Administration of Saar and Mandated Territories. The Saar basin was administered by the League of Nations from 1920 to 1935 through a Governing commission consisting of five members including one French citizen, one native of the territory and three representatives (excluding Frenchmen and Germans). The First Chairman of this Commission, Victor Rault, became extremely unpopular due to his harsh attitude towards the local population whose elected representatives were never consulted in some of the important measures taken by him. The use of the French army instead of the local gendarmerie was another cause of discontent. In 1923 the League investigated into the cause of grievance but as the local inhabitants had no chance of presenting their case, the investigation was of no avail to the local people. Rault continued till 1926 when he was replaced by W. Stephens of Canada. He was succeeded after a year by Sir Winson Wilton, a Britisher. In 1932 another representative of Britain Geoffrey G. Knox replaced him. The French army was recalled in 1927 and a mixed force of French, British and Belgian soldiers took their place. The Treaty of Versailles had provided that in 1935 a plebiscite would decide the fate of Saar and, in case the people of Saar desired union with Germany, the latter state would purchase the Saar mines from the French. As the plebiscite approached much excitement was created. But, ultimately, the desired union with Germany materialised. In 1935 about 80 per cent of those who had registered themselves as voters went to the polls and the decision went overwhelmingly in favour of union with Germany.

Mandates. In the post-Versailles era the victorious powers had to deal with the colonies wrested from the vanquished, specially Germany and Turkey. A most significant international effort was to deal with the tangled problem of imperialism—a problem "of protecting native interests and that of keeping peace with empire builders." The need for accommodating such diametrically opposite interests needed the evolution of a new type of international machinery involving new departures in international law. Eventually, such a machinery was evolved and incorporated in Article 22 of the Covenant which was a part of the Treaty of Versailles. It received recognition of all the states which had gained League membership. Article 22 provided that those territories ceded by the vanquished "which are inhabited

by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" should be placed under 'the tutelage' of 'advanced nations', and that "this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League." The Covenant of the League made no mention of the manner in which the areas were to be distributed nor of the mandatory powers. The distribution was done by the Big Powers on a mutually agreed basis and later on ratified by the League Council. This division of the spoils was completed even before the war came to an end. The division of the overseas colonies of Germany and other Axis powers was completed by secret treaties. The reason for deciding the fate of the colonial people even before the war came to an end is not far to seek. The inner contradictions of imperialism and the rivalry that existed among the victors together with the fear of acceleration of national liberation movement in the colonies in the post-war period prompted such hurried division of spoils. The idea of creating a machinery under the aegis of the League was first suggested by General Smuts of South Africa. It was he who proposed in 1918 that the Covenant "should give precision to the idea of the responsibility of the civilized states to the more backward peoples". Over those territories which were divided as mandates, the League of Nations exercised only a supervisory authority through the Permanent Mandates Commission, created as late as 1920.

The League Covenant classified the Mandates according to the stage of development of the people, the geographical position of the territory, its economic conditions and other circumstances. They were grouped together as category 'A', 'B' and 'C'. In categroy 'A' were placed certain communities which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire. The Covenant described that these communities "have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory." Though the Covenant made such specific mention about the need for consulting the wishes of the people, yet, in fact, the local inhabitants had no hand in selecting their Mandatory Powers, because under this category, fell most of the Arab countries whose fate had been decided before the end of the war by secret treaties. In April 1920, in a conference at San Remo the mandate of Class 'A' territories was assigned in such a way that Iraq, Palestine and Trans-

jordan went to Britain and Syria and Lebanon were allotted to France.[7]

About states which were placed under category 'B' the Covenant stated that "other peoples, especially those of central Africa, are at a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion" subject to the maintenance of public order and morals and the prohibition of abuses such as slave trade, the arms traffic and liquor traffic, as also prevention of the establishment of military and naval bases for other than police purposes and defence. The Mandatory Power was directed to secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League. The territories under category 'B' were so distributed that Great Britain secured Tanganyika, one-sixth of the Cameroons, one-third of Togoland; France was assigned the rest of Togoland and Cameroons; and Belgium received Ruanda-Urandi.

In category 'C' were placed territories such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands. These, "owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the Mandatory or other circumstances", were considered to be best administered "under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory." The Mandatory Powers were not expected to extend equal privilege for trade and commerce to other nations. The Union of South Africa acquired South-West Africa, German Samoa was assigned to New Zealand, the island of Nauru was assigned to the British Empire. All other former German possessions south of the equator went to Australia and those of the north to Japan.

League Supervision. Clause IX of Article 22 ran as follows :

"A Permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates." The Mandatories were asked by the clause VII (Article 22) "to render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge". Accordingly, for the purpose of carrying out efficiently the task of supervision of Mandatory territories the League established in 1920 a Permanent Mandates Commission which

---

7. Among these countries Iraq became independent in 1932 and was admitted to League membership. Syria and Lebanon achieved independence in 1941, Transjordan in 1946. The State of Israel was created in 1948.

came to consist of 11 members. The Mandates Commission met twice in a year, and submitted facts and recommendations to the League Council after scanning the reports of the Mandatories. A representative of the I.L.O. might be invited to its meetings in an advisory capacity. Individual members of the Commission were chosen on the basis of their respective merits. The members, excepting university professors, were not allowed to hold any office in their country. The Mandates Commission could only recommend measures for the improvement of the territories administered by Mandatories. But its powers were merely advisory. Moreover, it had no authority to receive petition or visit the Mandated territories. Therefore, the Commission had no authority to verify the vague and incomplete report that it received. The Commission's working was unsatisfactory. In fact, the entire system was faulty and the Mandatory powers did as they liked without paying any respect to the recommendations of the Commission. In 1922 South Africa mercilessly suppressed local discontent in South West Africa. The same was done by France in the territories under its control. The Commission remained a helpless spectator to all this and could do nothing against the Mandatory powers who so flagrantly disregarded the League. In 1933 Japan left the League but not the territories it received as Mandate. "Since it (League) did not grant the mandates, it clearly could not revoke them. Where the sovereignty over the mandated territories resided was an insoluble legal conundrum."[8] The hold of imperialist powers over the Mandated territories was weakened, however, by the growth of the national liberation movements in the colonies. In the Arab countries this movement was accelerated by a strong feeling of anti-Zionism. Theoretically, the Mandatory powers were entrusted with the welfare of the backward communities on behalf of the League. But, in practice, they cared little for League supervision. It was under the mandate system that the imperialist powers covered their greed for grabbing the colonies of the vanquished and extending their hold over the backward communities. Thus the mandate in Palestine helped Britain to strengthen her hold over Suez and Japan gained control in the Pacific by occupying German colonies in this area. But, in spite of all its drawbacks, the mandate system was of considerable value. It focussed public opinion on the proper system of colonial rule. The advanced nations entrusted with the administration of the mandated territories were

8. Carr, E. H.: International Relations between Two World Wars, p. 16.

made conscious of their sacred trust towards the backward people. The old idea of imperialist exploitation was substituted by the more responsible concept of 'Sacred task'.

Minorities. To protect the rights of the minorities special minority treaties or conventions were signed soon after the Peace Treaties were completed. For the execution of these treaties the League accepted petitions on behalf of the minorities and the explanation of the governments against whom complaint was made. The League became the guardian of nearly thirty million people belonging to national minorities. Thus the responsibility of the League with regard to the protection of the minorities was onerous. There was every possibility and, therefore, the danger that the minority question might develop at any time into a political question and might lead to misunderstanding. In executing the delicate task of protecting the rights of the minorities the League had to be careful not to violate the sovereign rights of states or to antagonise the majority. The procedure prescribed by the League for redressing the grievances of the minorities was one of persuasion of the defendant government. Any member of the Council might call the attention of that body to any infraction of the rights of the minorities. The Council appointed a Committee consisting of three Council members to discuss the matter with the Government concerned. The minorities were not allowed the right to plead their case before the Committee. In case, the Committee failed to reach a solution, the matter used to be referred to the Council. The Council would then take up the matter with government concerned. The Council's task was to persuade the government concerned and to arrive at a settlement with its consent.

An Evaluation. The League of Nations failed to live up to the high hopes and expectations of its original founders. "To those who would judge in terms of creating a utopia, or even of achieving its purposes, the verdict is clearly adverse to the League. However, if one is satisfied with most modest test of better or worse, the evidence calls for a more favourable judgement."[9] The League achieved considerable success in many instances by settling disputes and adjusting differences peacefully. In the field of economic, social and humanitarian activities the achievement of the League was praiseworthy. The League granted loans for the reconstruction of Austria, Hungary and the needy Balkan states in the post-Versailles era. "Highly important, if less spectacular, work was accomplished through its agencies in such fields as preventive medicine, epidemio-

9. Schleicher, Charles P.: Introduction to International Politics, p. 592.

logy, the codification of international law, the suppression of the traffic in women, children and opium, and the struggle against slavery and forced labour.[10]

The League supervision of the mandate system helped the promotion of the feeling of trusteeship of the backward peoples and brought about a change in the old outlook of the imperialist powers about colonial-exploitation. The promotion of health services, the improvement in transport and communication, the co-ordination in scientific organizations helped the creation of the spirit of oneness among people living in different parts of the world. The intellectual co-operation established by the League of Nations is a unique contribution to the promotion of the cause of peace. If the League failed to ensure Collective Security it was due to the failure of its members to accept the principles on which the League system was based. But the existence of the League created a spirit of internationalism. The failure of the League should not blind us to the positive and constructive role that the League played in international politics in the inter-war period. The outcome of many of the disputes perhaps would not have been different had there existed no such international organisation as the League, yet the existence of the League at least did not affect them adversely.

The causes of the failure of the League were many. It is very difficult to determine whether this failure was due to the failure of the members of the League to support the system of Collective Security or the defects in the constitution of the League. There were, no doubt, certain drawbacks in the procedure of the League. The unanimity requirement in the Council and Assembly made decisions difficult to be obtained. But this was not necessary in case of recommendations. It implied that recommendations were not as strong as decisions. The League, moreover, did not outlaw the war. War could still be fought legally and members under the Covenant could still carry on wars in a righteous cause. But in spite of the defects in the League system, it is doubtful whether the members would have supported the League, even if the defects in the system were removed. The League was overburdened with various types of responsibilities. It was saddled with social and economic work and relief and rehabilitation. It had very little authority for enforcing its decisions. The economic and military sanctions of the League were incomplete. Therefore, the League could not make its authority felt.

The League from its very inception was dogged with misfortune.

---

10. **Langsome, W. C.:** The World Since 1914, p. 147.

It was tied with the Treaty of Versailles and was naturally a part of the Peace Settlement of 1919. As such, it was looked upon as an association of the victors by the vanquished. The anti-revisionist powers like France were in favour of maintaining the status quo. The revisionist Powers wanted to revise the existing status quo. The League, therefore, did not appear in the eyes of the vanquished as an impartial body. To the succession states and Anglo-French powers the League was an instrument for blocking all changes in the existing order. Germany and even the Soviet Union looked upon it at the early stage of its existence with suspicion.

Perhaps it was too much to expect that the League would gain any considerable success because from the very outset it worked under certain disadvantages. Prominent among these was the defection of the U.S.A. The defection of U.S.A. had a profound effect upon the League from the psychological point of view. The interpretation of many of the clauses of the Covenant regarding security would have been different had the United States co-operated sincerely with the League of Nations. From the Power standpoint, the defection of the U.S.A. weakened the League's jurisdiction in the Far-East and Latin America. With the co-operation of the United States the League would have been in a better position to enforce its will specially in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute or in the Sino-Japanese wars.

The League of Nations did not represent the peoples of the world. It was a League of sovereign states and the members were not at all willing to sacrifice their sovereignty to strengthen the cause of peace through a world organization. Naturally, when different nations tried to guard zealously their sovereign rights it was difficult, nay quite impossible, for the League to arbitrate successfully in their disputes.

The League could never command the membership of all the important states. Apart from the U.S.A., Germany and the Soviet Union were not original members of the League. Germany became a member of the League and its Council in 1926. But with the rise of Hitler, who was determined to wreck the League system of Collective Security, Germany decided to leave the League membership which she did in 1933. Japan, following her invasion of Machuria, severed her connection with the League. Italy did the same in 1937. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics became a member of the League in 1934. But, following her attack on Finland in 1939, she was forced out of the League. Thus the League lacked universality which was essential for her success.

The selfish policy of preservation of interests and in some cases

isolationism pursued by the Great Powers doomed the League to an ultimate failure. The U.S.A. in the post-Versailles era pursued the policy of isolationism except in Latin America and the Far-East. In both of these spheres she felt no necessity of co-operation with the League but pursued a policy consistent only with her national interests. Britain and France followed a policy of appeasement towards Fascists' aggression. They only paid lip service to the resolutions and decisions taken by the League. Thus the League of Nations failed due to the lack of co-operation of its members. Britain's unwillingness to take up international obligations and the Anglo-French desire to please the dictators, weakened the Collective Security that the League was expected to establish. Another patent cause that contributed to the failure of the efforts of the League of Nations to strengthen peace and check aggression was the rivalry among nations for trade, commerce and colonies. The revisionist powers were determined to establish their rights to secure living space for their growing population. The Depression of the thirties disrupted world economy. It was through the breach created by the economic blizzard of the thirties that the Nazis stormed into power. The tension and problems created by the Depression gave rise to serious international problems to which the League found no solution. The League failed but the circumstances that contributed to its failure were such that would have caused the failure of the most ideal institution.

SUMMARY

Origin. The Roman empire, the Holy Roman Empire and the mediaeval Church provided for universalism in the early and mediaeval periods. Piere Duboise (14th century), Dante (1306), Hugo Grotius (17th century), Emerie Cruce (1623) and Count Sally, minister of Henry IV, envisaged international co-operation. The Industrial revolution and the scientific discoveries brought the problem of international co-operation to the forefront. The Concert of Europe established after the fall of Napoleon tried to establish European co-operation through the system of international congress of Great Powers. The League is the logical "outgrowth of nineteenth century proliferation of such agencies" as the Universal Postal Union, the Danube Commission, the Rhine River Commission. It may also be called the Concert of Europe with democratic additions on a permanently organized basis. But the League introduced another novelty which distinguished it from all other attempts of international co-operation and this novelty may be summed up in the word 'Collective Security'.

The preparation for the formation of the League should be traced to the associations formed on the eve of the First World War for the promotion of peace. The 'League to Enforce Peace' was formed in 1916. It received support from President Wilson who formulated the Fourteen

Points. Prime Minister Llyod George also advocated the formation of an international organization and in Britain Lord Philmore formed a Committee for the promotion of peace. General Smuts in a pamphlet advocated the formation of an international organization. The Treaty of Versailles incorporated the provision for the formation of the League of Nations.

The Covenant of the League of Nations. The drafting of the Covenant of the League was entrusted to a Committee of 19 with Wilson as the President. The Covenant embodied the American principles and the British legal form. The covenant set out the purpose of the League as promotion of international peace and co-operation, acceptance of obligations and to resort to war, establishment of just and honourable relations among nations, acceptance of international law as the actual rule of conduct among governments and maintenance of just and scrupulous respect for treaty obligations. Articles 1-7 of the Covenant dealt with League membership and structure, Articles 8-9 about disarmament, Articles 11-13, 15 and 17 dealt with procedure for pacific settlement and Articles 10, 16-17 discussed Collective Security and sanctions. The validity of the Monroe doctrine (Article 21), the Mandatory system (Article 22), humanitarian and social activities (Articles 23-25) were discussed in the latter part of Covenant. Article 26 dealth with amendment of the Constitution.

The League Organisation and Structure. The League organization may be classified into four groups—(a) the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat; (b) International Labour Organization and Permanent Court of Justice; (c) Auxiliary agencies such as Economic and Financial Committees and Mandates Commission; (d) Specialized agencies such as the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation. Membership of the League was automatic in case of signatories of the Covenant. It was open to those who acceded to the Covenant without reservation. Self-governing states or Dominions or colonies had the right to become members if supported by 2/3 members. Membership ceased either by withdrawal after 2 years' notice or by dissent from amendments or expulsion by unanimous vote. The U.S.A. never became a member, the U.S.S.R. received membership in 1934 and was expelled in 1939. Germany became a member in 1926 and withdrew in 1933. Japan gave notice of withdrawal in the same year. Italy withdrew in 1937. The highest figure of membership reached in 1934 was sixty. In April 1946, 43 States retained membership on the eve of the dissolution of the League.

Assembly. Every state had the right to send three representatives to the Assembly, but could cast only one vote. The Assembly elected its own president and eight vice-presidents who together with the chairman of the six standing committees and two additional committees constituted the General Committee of the League. Article 5 provided that the Council or Assembly required unanimity on all matters except on procedural questions which needed a simple majority (admission of members required 2/3 majority). Article 3 provided that the Assembly may deal with any matter within the sphere of action of the League. In practice the Assembly formulated opinions and made recommendations on matters assigned to the Council. The Assembly played an active part at least in three

cases, viz., Sino-Japanese dispute, the Checo controversy and the Russo-Finnish war. The Assembly was a deliberative body. It had joint authority with the Council in selecting the Judges and the Secretary-General. The non-permanent or semi-permanent members of the Council were elected by the Assembly. It increased its authority by a gradual growth of power. It reflected the world's public opinion and the voice of the smaller states. It could amend the Covenant by a majority vote which required ratification by a unanimous vote of the Council.

The Council. Originally it had 5 permanent and 6 non-permanent members in 1922. With the withdrawal of Germany and Japan, the number of permanent members further decreased. Although the U.S.S.R. joined the League in 1934 and was givn a permanent seat in the Council, the permanent members were reduced to a minority. The non-permanent members were elected for a term of 3 years. The Council exercised exclusive jurisdiction in certain matters and performed in some cases, as in the administration of Saar, executive functions. It supervised the mandated territories through the Mandates Commission. The main function of the Council was, however, the pacific settlement of disputes. In short, the Council performed executive and administrative functions besides discharging duties as a mediator.

The Secretariat. The Secretariat was composed of the Secretary-General and his staff. It was the most useful of all the organs of the League. The first Secretary-General, Sir Eric Drummond, was named in the Annex of the Covenant. The subsequent Secretaries-General were elected by a mojority vote in the Assembly with the recommendations of the Council. The staff of nearly 750 persons recruited from different countries was divided into eleven sections. The efficiency of the Secretariat earned faith. They executed resolutions, gave information, registered treaties, carried on administration and investigation. The Secretary-General acted as general secretary in all meetings. He could summon a meeting when requested and arrange for investigation. He co-ordinated the activities of the different organs of the League.

The Permanent Court. Article 14 provided for a Permanent Court to determine disputes of international character and to act as an advisory body. Accordingly, a panel of jurists at the Hague submitted to the Council a plan which after amendments was passed to the Assembly. The latter adopted it as a statute with few amendments in 1920. It received ratification of the members (by 1939, 50 ratifications were received) and the World Court came into existence in 1921. The Court had 11 judges (15 in 1930) and 4 deputy judges (abolished in 1936) elected by the Assembly and the Council, by absolute majority from among eminent jurisconsults regardless of nationality. Their verdict was based on the majority principle. The voluntary jurisdiction of the Court was invoked if a dispute was submitted to it by two or more states. But some signed the optional clause and agreed to submit all disputes without reservation. The World Court also gave advisory opinion to the Council and Assembly on request. It gave 200 orders, tried 65 cases and gave 35 judgements.

The International Labour Organization. The I.L.O. was an autonomous body. The League members became automatically members of this organisation and non-members also were allowed membership of I.L.O.

Article 23 enjoined upon members to execute and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour. The I.L.O. sought to establish the necessary international organ to look after the interests of labour. The Annual Conference, the Governing Body and office of the I.L.O. corresponded to the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat of the League. Every country sent 4 representatives in the General Conference (1 labour, 1 employee and 2 government representatives). Two-thirds majority was necessary for adoption of Conventions (i.e., legal proposals) and recommendations. The I.L.O. forwarded its recommendations through the Secretary-General to member states to be submitted to their legislature. The Governing Body consisted of 32 members, representing 16 government delegates, 8 workers' representatives and 8 representatives of the employee. Belgium, Canada, France, German, the U.K., India, Italy and Japan—the 8 industrially important countries—monopolised 8 seats in the governing body. The I.L.O. office at Geneva had more than 300 employees. They prepared the agenda for the Conference, collected data and published information regarding labour. The League bore its expenses. Its conventions remained often unratified. By 1941 more than 50 states had registered with the League more than 879 ratifications, of which 49 came into force.

League activities—The League and the prevention of War. Under the League Covenant members undertook the obligation not to resort to war, to reduce armaments and to utilise the League method of pacific settlement as also to check aggression. But the unwillingness of the members to sacrifice their sovereign rights led to the unanimity rule and the exemption of domestic questions. The League provided for a cooling-off period, an organization and a procedure for pacific settlement. Under Article 11 members could bring to the notice of the Council any threat to peace. But the demand for unanimity destroyed the effectiveness of this Article. Under Article 12 members agreed to submit their dispute either to the World Court or to arbitration or to inquiry of the Council and allow 3 months to elapse (after the council's decision is made known) before resorting to war. Article 13 provided for judicial decision or arbitration. Under Article 15 any dispute (excepting those under domestic jurisdiction) could be submitted to the League. Articles 17 and 19 provided for settlement of disputes between members and non-members.

Collective Security. Article 10 of the Covenant stated the principle of Collective Security and the steps contemplated to uphold it. The members agreed to preserve territorial integrity and freedom of all against aggression. But in 1923 an amendment gave members choice to decide whether they should fulfil the obligations or not.

The League devised sanctions against offending states in Article 16. Violation of the Covenant meant **ipso facto** penalty which implied that the Council had the authority under Article 16 to authorise military sanctions against an offending state. But the application of the military sanction was voluntary and optional. The nations which violated the rules provided under the Covenant might also be subjected to economic sanctions or boycott by other states. Under the Covenant it was possible to wage war legally if a report failed to achieve the required votes. The

League did not enforce awards or decisions or interfere in any matter that fell under domestic jurisdiction.

Pacification of International disputes. The League was called to settle a score of international disputes, out of which eleven constituted actual outbreak of hostilities due to aggression. The League achieved a considerable success in three cases. But in the early phase (1920-24) the League's role was substituted, in the Greco-Italian dispute, by the Conference of Ambassadors. Greece was ultimately forced to pay compensation to Italy although she was the aggrieved party. The second phase of the League's activities, i.e., between 1924-1930, registered a high watermark of success. The Greco-Bulgarian dispute (1925-26) was the best instance of the amount of success achieved by the League during this period. It was the most successfully settled of all the disputes. The third period of the League's activities which started after 1930 is marked by the decline of the League. The League exercised hardly any influence at all in the Sino-Japanese war, the Italo-Ethiopian conflict and the Spanish Civil War. But in 1939 the League suddenly came to life and during the Russo-Finnish War (1939) expelled Russia from League membership with ludicrous haste. In the Vilna dispute of Poland and Lithuania (1920-22) and the Chaco controversy (1928-33) between Paraguay and Bolivia the League hardly could exert itself.

Among other controversies, not involving aggression or armed clash, the League successfully solved four. These four included the dispute of Sweden and Finland over Aland (1921), the Anglo-French controversy over Tunis-Morocoo nationality decrees (1922), the Rumanian optants' dispute (1923-30) over the property right of the Hungarians in Rumania and the boundary controversy between Poland and Czechoslovakia in 1923.

Other activities of the League—Economic, Social and Humanitarian. The League attempted to establish international co-operation in different fields. A few expert Committees were set up to direct the economic and financial affairs of the League. The Financial Committee was responsible for the issue and supervision of various loans granted to rescue those states which faced financial bankruptcy (e.g., Austria) in the post-Versailles era. The League tried to reduce tariff barriers and called Economic Conferences like the Geneva Conference of 1927 to standardize commercial practices and establish economic co-operation.

The League arranged for Refugee Rehabilitation and established conventions regarding inter-state communications and other means of communications. In the social and humanitarian sphere the League fought against the spread of epidemic diseases through its health services and tried to eliminate traffic in women and children. The League set up a Permanent Slavery Commission to abolish slavery. The Advisory Committee on dangerous drugs was known as the Opium Committee. The League promoted intellectual co-operation and arranged for exchange of students and teachers. The exchange of prisoners of war was arranged through the League.

Administration of Saar and Mandated Territories. The Saar basin was administered by the League of Nations from 1920 to 1935 through a governing commission consisting of 5 members including one French

citizen, one native of the territory and three representatives (excluding Frenchmen and Germans). The behaviour of the Chairman Victor Rault and the use of the French army created much discontent. But ultimately, the plebiscite (provided for in the Treaty of Versailles) held in 1935 resulted in the union of Saar with Germany.

Mandates. Article 22 provided that the peoples of the territories ceded by the vanquised should be placed under the tutelage of advanced nations. It created 3 categories of mandates. Category 'A' consisted of the communities of the Turkish empire. The Covenant directed that their Mandatory should be selected according to the liking of the people of these territories. But the fate of the Arab countries was decided, in fact, by secret treaties. In category 'B' territories like those of Central Africa were placed. The Mandatory guaranteed freedom of conscience, elimination of abuses and extension of trade privilege to other members of the League. Under this category Britain and France divided Tanganyika, and Cameroon and Belgium received Ruanda Urundi, under category 'C' were placed territories such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands and these were administered as an integral part of the Mandatory's territory. The Mandatory was not obliged to extend equal privilege in trade to other members. The League set up a Permanent Mandates Commission to advise the Council and to submit facts and recommendations to the Council after scanning the report of the Mandatories. The entire system was faulty because the Commission had no authority to verify the vague report that it received. The Mandatories did as they liked. In 1933 Japan left the League but not the territories that she had received as mandates. The system of League supervision, however, focussed public opinion on the proper system of colonial rule.

Minorities. The Minorities were provided with safeguards in the minorities treaties concluded after the completion of the Peace Treaties. The League thus acquired the responsibility of thirty million minorities in Europe. It was a delicate task and the League had to be careful not to violate the sovereign rights of the states or to allow the minority question to acquire political colour. The League adopted the method of persuasion and appointed a Committee of 3 Council members to take up the case of the minorities with the defendant governments.

An Evaluation. The League disappointed those who had high hopes about it. But the world was better off as a result of the influence of the League. Its efforts in the field of economic, social and humanitarian activities achieved considerable success. The League supervision of mandate system helped the promotion of the welfare of the backward peoples. If the League failed to ensure Collective Security, it was due to the failure of its members to support the actions of the international organization that they created. Nevertheless the League created the spirit of internationalism and its influence resulted in moderation in inter-state relationship.

Various causes contributed to the failure of the League. The drawbacks in the procedure, the unanimity rule, the failure of the Covenant to outlaw war, all these contributed to its failure to live up to the expectations that it generated. Moreover, the members failed the League which was overburdened with onerous responsibilities. From the start it

was dogged with misfortune. The association of the League with the settlement of 1919 made the revisionist powers antagonistic to the League. The defection of the U.S.A. had a profound influence from the psychological and 'Power' stand-point. It weakened the League to a great extent. Again, the League of Nations lacked universalism. The League could never command the membership of all the important states. Germany became a member of the League in 1926 and left it in 1933. So also did Japan after the Manchurian adventure. The Soviet Union which acquired membership in 1934 was expelled in 1939. The selfish policy of preservation of self-interest pursued by the Great Powers weakened the system of Collective Security. Britain's unwillingness to shoulder international responsibility and the Anglo-French desire to please the dictators resulted in undermining the basis of the League. The depression of the thirties gave rise to serious international problems to which the League found no solution.

FOR FURTHER READINGS

1. **Banerji, A. K.** : An Introduction to International Relations.
2. **Carr, E. H.** : International Relations between the Two World Wars.
3. **Howard Ellis, C.** : Origin, Structure and Working of the League of Nations.
4. **Pollock, F.** : The League of Nations.
5. **Schuman, Fredrick L.** : International Politics.
6. **Schleicher, Charles P.** : Introduction to International Relations.
7. **Zimmern, A.** : The League of Nations and the Rule of Law.

Chapter 8

Reparations, Inter-Allied Debts and the World Economic Crisis

Reparation and its Basis. After the First World War the victorious powers imposed upon the vanquished their own terms and conditions. The economic clauses of the Peace Treaties demanded from Germany and her allies indemnities which were known as 'Reparations'. The wisdom of demanding large sums of money from defeated countries was questioned by few at that time. These demands for indemnities gave expression to 'the anger of the victors'. The 'war guilt clause' imposed upon Germany the responsibility of all the losses and damages to which the Allied civilians were subjected as a result of the war. Germany was, therefore, asked to pay reparation on a fabulous scale. The juridical basis of reparation was thus laid by linking together war responsibility and reparations. But by including the burden of pension and separation allowance in reparation payment the moral basis of the demand was further weakened.

Economic and Political Implications. The demand for reparations was the natural outcome of the sense of revenge and a desire to punish the vanquished. But the possibility that such a demand might cause friction even in the camp of the victors did not occur to the multitude. Their leaders, even though they realized it, did not dare to undeceive themselves for fear of loss of popularity. Reparation became a source of friction among the Allies. Again, the demand for reparation and the excesses committed by the French embittered the Germans. The French occupation of Rhur (Jan., 1923), for securing productive guarantee and for punishing Germany for failure to pay reparation instalment, in time, caused bitterness and roused German national sentiment. It has been rightly said that "Two men

have united German people—Bismarck in 1871 and Poincare in 1923."

Reparation could only be paid either in gold or by transportation of goods across the land or by ship across the sea. The first alternative was neither possible for war ravaged Germany nor a feasible proposal.

The second alternative, even if made physically possible, would result in financial and industrial dislocation of the demanding countries. Again, the defeated nations had another alternative, if it agreed to repay the reparations, by rendering service in transportation or tourist traffic. But the implications of such repayment would affect adversely the economy of the victorious powers. Thus the reparation payments had nothing to do with the cost of war. But during the period immediately following the armistice no politician dared inform the public these bare facts. The Allied politicians to gain vote in the elections went on declaring that Germany would be forced to pay the war damages "till the pipe-squeaked". The result was that huge reparation demands, beyond the limits of German capacity to pay, were made. All this had an adverse effect on the future of Germany. Reparation problem embittered good relations among nations for a long time.

Reparation Commission and the Division and Fixation of Reparation. In 1919 it was neither possible to determine the amount that Germany could pay nor was it easy to get an estimate of the actual damage done by Germany. Therefore, the Treaty of Versailles did not fix the amount of reparation to be paid by Germany. "The important difference between the Versailles Treaty and previous peace treaties providing for a payment to be made to the victors by the defeated power was that, on this occasion, no sum was fixed by the treaty itself."[1] The matter was left in the hands of a special agency called the Reparation Commission. The Reparation Commission was to consist of one representative each from the Great Powers, viz., the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Italy as also a representative of the other Allied powers. Belgium became the representative of the lesser powers in the Reparation Commission. The United States refused to participate in the work of the Commission. Britain and France held quite different views on the aim of reparation. In the Reparation Commission their divergence of opinion was reflected and, after a brief struggle for predominance, the French succeeded in gaining ascendancy in the Commission.

---

1. Carr, E. H.: International Relations between Two World Wars, p. 53.

In the deliberations of the Commission France and Belgium generally voted against England and Italy and the decisions were taken in favour of the former two due to the use of the casting vote of the French President of the Commission. The Commission was asked to fix the amount and the mode of payment by 31st May, 1921. Meanwhile Germany was asked to pay £1,000,000,000.

Spa Conference. At a Conference held at Spa (July, 1920) the percentage of distribution was decided upon. Under the agreement arrived at, France was allotted 52% of the total receipts, the British Empire 22%, Italy 10%, Belgium 8%, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia 6.5% and Japan and Portugal, the remaining portion of 1.5%.

In the Spa Conference Germany was also invited to decide a lump sum for the settlement of Germany's reparation payment. But no agreement on this point could be reached by Allied powers and Germany. Owing to the failure of the German government to satisfy the Allies on the question of preliminary reparation payment the Reparation Commission declared Germany to be in voluntary default and ordered the occupation of Dusseldorf, Duisberg and Ruhrort on the east of the Rhine.

The London Schedule. On April 28, 1921 the Reparation Commission, in pursuance of the Treaty of Versailles, fixed Germany's total liability at £660 million (plus interest). It was three times the amount fixed by the expert committee at the Peace Conference. It was next to impossible for Germany to pay the amount. Therefore the Allied Supreme Council published the London Schedule according to which a schedule of payment was drawn up. German reparation payments were divided into three classes 'A', 'B' and 'C'. Two-thirds of the payment equivalent to nearly £4,000,000,000 were held by the Reparation Commission in 'C' bonds. The rest was to be paid in fixed annuities of £100,000,000 plus variable annuities corresponding to a tax of 25 per cent of the value of her exports. This schedule was communicated to the German government with an ultimatum that if it were not accepted by May 12 the Allied troops would occupy Ruhr which accounted for more than two-thirds of Germany's coal, pig-iron and steel. The Germans were in a quandary. They agreed, however, to accept the terms on May 11, 1921. The payment of the first instalment of £50 million was made on August 31, 1921. The payment of such a heavy debt required that Germany should possess a favourable balance of trade. But in the post-Versailles era Germany had an unfavourable balance of trade. She had to import a large amount of raw material to feed her industries. Her reserve of gold was depleted in the post-war period.

Germany could not continue to pay, without further crippling her own industries, the goose which laid the golden eggs. But in the meanwhile, the uncompromising Poincare became the Prime Minister of France. He was obsessed with the thought of French security and was determined to obtain 'productive' guarantee' by crippling German industries. He now threatened to force an immediate payment of reparation.

In Germany a financial collapse was imminent. The war ravages, the loss of assets and drain of wealth owing to payment of debts and the flight of capital due to the uncertainty in Germany had resulted in a fall of the value of mark. Germany's capacity to pay the reparation charges, even if she had a will to do so, was exhausted. The German government, therefore, asked for a moratorium or grace for 3 years until 1924. Llyod George was inclined to concede it and thus to help the revival of German markets to British goods. But Poincare was inflexible. The French refused to grant such concessions and allow Germany to evade payment while the French themselves had to bear the burden of post-war reconstruction.

The Ruhr Occupation. The French politicians including Raymond Poincare were obsessed, as has been already mentioned, by the idea of 'French security' and they felt that the occupation of the Rhur area would suit their purpose of gaining a 'productive guarantee'. The reparation question became now an issue not only between Germany and the Allied powers but also between France and England. In December 1922 German delivery in timber fell short of the agreed schedule. The Reparation Commission, in spite of the British protest, declared Germany in voluntary default. The Treaty of Versailles had provided that in case of voluntary default on the part of Germany the Allied powers had the right to take any step they felt necessary. The way was now open to materialise the measures which the French had long cherished.

On January 11, 1923 the French, Italian and Belgium troops occupied Ruhr. The British government considered this measure to be illegal and non-cooperative. In the occupied area an International Commission was set up to carry on the administration.

The effect of all this was to create complete chaos in the German economic system. German economy needed recovery in the post-Versailles era. Instead the most flourishing industrial area went under foreign occupation. Poincare desired to force Germany to pay by his rough and ready measures. It produced exactly the opposite effect upon the Germans. So long the German government was pursuing the policy of fulfilment advocated by Rathenau (assassinat-

ed in 1922). But now they formulated the policy of passive resistance. All reparation payments were stopped. Nearly a million of mine workers went on strike. The natives of the area refused to take orders from the foreigners. Officials and industrialists were expelled or imprisoned by the French for their refusal to obey orders. Nearly all communication services including telegraph, telephone and railway service came to a stand-still.

The French tried to work the mines and factories themselves but with little profit. The expenditure for the occupation could not be covered by the profit thus gained. The necessity for maintaining law and order led to firings and nearly one hundred people were killed. The French also adopted counter-measures in reply to German boycott. The French sealed off the frontier between occupied and free Germany.

The occupation of Ruhr brought about also a clash of British and French interests. Great Britain was unwilling to allow the French to ruin Germany, a potential buyer of British goods. The French attempt to encourage a separatist movement in the Rhineland was opposed by the natives as well as by the British government. On the other hand, in the Rhineland Commission, the British were voted down on almost all issues. The effect of the Ruhr occupation was to ruin German economy. German currency collapsed completely under the strain. Any one could travel throughout Germany with a few shillings. The German mark rapidly fell in value. In March 1922 a dollar was worth 670 marks; in August 4,500 marks. But by 1923, the mark had lost its value altogether. The French also were losing the goodwill of the Allies and facing financial losses. Therefore, when in September 1923, the German government withdrew its resistance, it proved to be a relief to the French.

But, the effect of this Ruhr occupation was ruinous for German economy. The introduction by Sacket, head of the German Reichbank, of a new mark called the Rentenmark went a long way to stabilise currency. But, by this time, the German middle class was completely ruined. Their savings were exhausted due to inflation. The uprooted middle class youths were easily recruited in the Nazi party for regaining their fortune. The rich managed to tide over the difficulties due to their wealth and the working class carried on movements, successfully in many cases, to increase their wages. But the middle class suffered and lost their savings. The introduction of the Rentenmark wiped out the rentier class and there now existed no savings to divide the middle class from the proletariat.

The Ruhr occupation was a turning point in the post-Versailles

era. The new chancellor of Germany, Stressemann, adopted Rathenau's policy of fulfilment, and eagerly sought and obtained foreign help for the recovery of Germany. The United States, Britain, Belgium, Italy and France now joined hands to rescue Germany from economic ruin. The Reparation Commission appointed a committee of experts to study the problem and make recommendations. The committee consisted of representatives of all the countries mentioned above. The representative of U.S.A., General Charles G. Dawes, was appointed chairman of this committee and, therefore, it is known as the Dawes Committee. It started its work in Paris in January, 1924. The Ruhr occupation had other consequences. The policy of Poincare was not supported by the French people who were suffering financial loss. They withdrew their support from the Poincare ministry in the election of 1924 which resulted in the formation of the radical ministry of Herriot. Thus an atmosphere was created for the withdrawal of the French troops from Ruhr and the introduction of the Dawes Plan.

The Dawes Plan. The Dawes Committee, significantly enough, was not composed of politicians but of businessmen. General Charles G. Dawes was himself an American banker. Therefore they approached the question of German reparation not from the point of view of politicians but from the viewpoint of businessmen. The Dawes Committee made the obvious point that Germany could pay only if her economy was set in order and her industries were flourishing. In politics also the formation of the Herriot ministry in France, the coming of Labour to power in England under Ramsay MacDonald and the policy of reconciliation pursued by Stressemann in Germany created a favourable atmosphere for the introduction of the Dawes Plan. The exchange value between the Rentenmark and pound was 20:1, *i.e.*, 20 Rentenmarks were equivalent to one pound. The Dawes Commtitee recommended the introduction of a new currency, the Reichsmark at the old parity. The control of this new currency was handed over to a Central Bank of Issue called the Reichsbank. A board of seven Germans and seven foreigners (among which one must be the chairman) was formed to supervise the Reichsbank which controlled the issue of paper money and acted as a depository for reparation payments. The Dawes Committee fixed a rate of annuity for reparation payments. This rate of payment was so arranged that fifty lakh pounds in the first year gradually increased to one crore fifty lakh pounds in the fifth year. The source for the reparation money should take three forms: a transport tax and railway bonds, bonds of industrial enterprises and pledged budgetary revenue

from customs, as also taxes from alcohol, tobacco and sugar. The Reparation Commission secured the right of appointing a foreign Agent-General for reparation payments as also foreign commissioners to execute the plan. The Dawes Committee also recommended a foreign loan of £40,000,000 to enable Germany to stabilise currency and to pay her first instalment.

The recommendations of the Dawes Committee were placed before a conference held in London in July and August, 1924. The French were persuaded by the British and the Americans to accept the recommendations. The London Conference decided that henceforth Germany could not be declared in default unless such a decision was taken unanimously by the Reparation Commission. Sanctions against Germany were possible, only in case of deliberate and large-scale default, by the concerted action of all the Allied powers. As soon as the Plan was accepted the evacuation of Ruhr began and a German loan was floated. Half of the loan raised was subscribed in the U.S.A., a quarter in Britain and the rest from France, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden.

Seymour Parker Gilbert, a young American expert, was appointed Agent-General. The Plan gained universal support and promised a bright future. In the Dawes Plan the responsibility of the transfer of huge sums paid by Germany as reparation payment was laid on the shoulder of the creditor countries. Thus the payments would not disturb the exchange. The Plan created confidence in Germany's future. German trade and business gained immensely due to the introduction of the Dawes Plan. The reparation payments were, henceforth, assured to the creditor countries which received securities for payment from specified revenues. As a result of the introduction of the Dawes Plan the diplomatic tension, that existed in Europe since the signing of the Peace Treaties, was removed. The question of reparation was removed from political sphere. The appointment of an American expert was in itself significant. It meant that the question was really one of financial transaction and not of political bickering. Henceforth the problem of reparation would be dealt with impartially from the standpoint of businessmen.

In spite of the merits of the plan, it had some serious drawbacks. The Plan provided for annual payment of reparation but failed to fix up the time limit. Nowhere did the Dawes Plan state how long Germany would make reparation payments. Nor was there any attempt to fix the amount. Naturally, therefore, the sum fixed by the Reparation Commission in 1921 was still in force. But it was not possible for Germany to continue annual payments for an indefi-

nite period and shoulder the huge burden of six hundred and sixty million pounds originally fixed by the Reparation Commission. The fixation of such a huge sum as the liability of Germany destroyed all desire to improve financial well-being. Germany had no incentive for savings because she felt that all her savings would merely enrich the foreigners. The Dawes Plan enabled Germany to pay because she was allowed to borrow from foreign countries specially from the U.S.A. The result was irresponsible borrowing. It created an atmosphere of artificial prosperity. In fact, during the four years between 1924-1928 Germany borrowed from foreign countries specially from the U.S.A. more than what she paid in reparations. Germany borrowed nearly fifteen thousand million Reichsmarks during these years. The U.S.A. on the other hand received back in the form of debt payments about one-fifth of the money she was lending to Germany. Thus the process went on without anybody seriously realizing that the German prosperity was a borrowed one. Out of the overseas loan she balanced her economy and made reparation payments.

The Young Plan. The introduction of the Dawes Plan had improved the foreign relations of Germany. The signing of the Locarno Pact in 1925 created an atmosphere of cordiality. Now at last it was agreed that Germany should seek admission in the League of Nations which she did secure in 1926. The situation in 1928 was ripe for a settlement on a more satisfactory basis for a further improvement of the reparation problem and the settlement of the Rhineland problem. The rapid flow of the U.S. capital in Germany induced the former government to settle the question of reparation on a sounder basis. The Franco-German hostility that had vitiated European politics in the post-Versailles era came to an end and the inter-Allied Commission was withdrawn in January 1927. Germany became desirous of effecting liberation of Rhineland at an early date and was eager to make concessions. Moreover, Germany desired to gain control over her finances which under the Dawes Plan suffered restrictions. Britain shared German opinion of ending Rhineland occupation at an early date. Circumstances from all sides favoured the appointment of a new Committee called the Young Committee to go into the question of reparation.

In the Ninth Assembly of the League held at Geneva in 1928 German delegates came to an agreement with Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan to appoint a new committee of experts. The United States when invited to join this committee agreed to do so unofficially. Two representatives from the five principal reparation

powers and two from the U.S.A. formed the Young Committee. The committee derived its name from its American president Owen D. Young. It met at Paris in February, 1929 and submitted the 'Young Plan' in the following June.

The 'Young Plan' contemplated thirty-seven annual payments of ten crore pounds followed by twenty-two small annual payments. The reparation payments were so arranged that it coincided with the annual debt payments of the Allied powers. The payment was to last from September 1, 1929 to March 1, 1988. The Reparation Commission along with the other controls established upon Germany's economy under the Dawes Plan was abolished. The Dawes plan had imposed the responsibility of transfer upon creditor countries. The Young Plan imposed it upon Germany. About one-third of each annual payment was called 'unconditional obligation'. But to save German currency against possible landslide and dislocation the Plan made provision for postponement of a part or whole of the rest of the annual payments for a period of two years. The annuities were to continue up to 1988.

The responsibility of collecting and distributing and receiving the reparation payments was handed over to a Bank of International Settlement. The Bank was empowered to carry on the entire administration and execution of the Plan. The B.I.S. was authorized "to issue an international loan secured on the unconditional annuities and in general to perform the functions of an international central bank."[2] The B.I.S., therefore, was to act as a Central Bank and was entrusted with large powers including the question of postponement of reparation payment. Its board of directors was composed of the representatives from Germany and the creditor countries. The board of directors contained two representatives of the seven countries that formed the Young Committee as also representatives of other countries interested in the reparation settlement. The B.I.S. was to tackle the reparation question on the basis of sound banking and not politics. Henceforth, only when the World Court declared Germany in voluntary default the Allied powers were authorized to take any action they liked. The Young Plan was placed before the Hague Conference which accepted it at an adjourned meeting held on January 20, 1930. It was ratified by France, Britain, Belgium and Japan and the B.I.S. was established in Germany. The law necessary for its establishment was promulgated in Germany. Reparation settlement was

2. Carr, E. H.: International Relations between Two World Wars, p. 127.

also made with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria. The former was exempted from all payments. Hungarian reparation payments were, henceforth, to be utilised for the relief of Hungarian optants till 1943. Bulgaria was to continue the payment of reparation. Finally, the Hague Conference presented difficulties for the insistence of Mr. Philip Snowdown, the British Chancellor of Exchequer, for return to the Spa percentage. He gained the greater part of his demand and the Young Plan was finally accepted.

The political Committee of the conference carried on talks for the evacuation of the Rhineland. The French insisted that investigation should be carried on to verify the demilitarization of Rhineland as directed by the Treaty of Versailles. Ultimately, however, an agreement was reached by Briand, Stressemann and Henderson and it was decided that the evacuation of the Rhineland should begin from June 30, 1930. In Germany, however, the resignation of Dr. Schacht, the Governor of Reichsbank as a mark of protest against the fixation of sums beyond Germany's capacity to pay, created difficulties. But a plebiscite held by the German government favoured the Plan and it came into effect.

The Young Plan had several merits. It resulted in the final reduction and fixation of the German debts. The establishment of the B.I.S. and the progressive scale of annuities reduced the problem of payment and disbursement. It separated the question of reparation from political and diplomatic question. At the same time the Young Plan reduced the uncertainty for both debtor and the creditor countries.

Troubles in Germany. It appeared that the Young Plan would finally settle the problem of reparations. But all was in vain. In 1929 the boom in U.S.A. restricted the American long-term loans. Germany had to look elsewhere, to Britain, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries which could advance only short-term loans. There was a definite fall in the standard of living and Germany had to cut down imports and intensify her attempts to expand exports for balancing her trade. But the situation became worse when the boom suddenly gave way to slump. The Wall Street crash resulted in the collapse of the stock market all over Europe. The recall of American investment increased. Germany's avenues for securing loans in other countries were also blocked due to the withdrawal of American loans from other countries. The economic blizzard of the thirties now struck Germany in full force. Throughout 1930 and 1931 Germany's economic situation became more and more difficult. The

introduction of rationalisation in German industries did not improve matters in a world of contracting markets.

Germany and Austria tried to save the situation by a customs union with Austria. But France saw in this an attempt, however disguised, of Anschluss. The French now held the whip hand and the proposed customs union could not materialise due to French objection. The Austrian Credit Anstalt, which controlled nearly two-thirds of Austrian banking industry and business, faced crisis and applied for loan to Britain. The Bank of England responded by granting the loan asked for on June 16, 1931. But the crash could not be averted. This adversely affected the German credit too.

The Hoover Moratorium. Germany was faced with economic ruin. Unemployment situation was threatening. The unemployment benefits weighed German budget heavily. Governmental emergency measures could not improve the situation. The flight of capital, the depression of the home market and the fall in the standard of living produced such a great fissure in German economy that President Hinderburg appealed to President Hoover for moratorium. The Hoover moratorium saved Germany from complete collapse for the time being. But the fissure created by the economic crisis resulted in permanent breach in Germany's economy through which Hitler stormed into power.

The Hoover moratorium postponed all payments of debts and reparation for one year (July, 1931 to June 1932). But the French had strong objections to granting moratorium on unconditional annuities. Ultimately, it was agreed that this sum was to be paid by the Germans into the B.I.S. and then at once to be reinvested by the Bank to the German railway so that the money returned to the funds of the government and did not go out of the country. The Hoover moratorium also provided for loans through B.I.S. to small European countries. Germany was asked not to utilise the money released from reparation payment for military purposes.

But the delay in the moratorium negotiations had caused the rapid withdrawal of short-term capital from Germany. The resulting crisis forced the Darmstader and National Bank to close its doors in July, 1931, and the Government declared fourteenth of the same month as a Bank holiday. To meet this crisis meetings were held in London and Paris. In accordance with a decision taken at the London meeting, the B.I.S. appointed a committee to find out ways and means for converting a part of Germany's short-term credit into a long-term one. The committee recommended that the existing short-term credit

should continue for at least a period of six months. The committee, however, stressed the need for fresh long-term loans.

These recommendations were accepted in the 'stand-still' agreement bewteen the German banks and their foreign creditors. Originally the agreement was only for six months but later on it was extended for one year after the expiry of the six months term. Germany also expressed its inability to pay Young annuities. The 'stand-still' agreement came after Hoover moratorium and saved a fatal collapse of German economy. But the drastic cut of imports and the restriction of export of fund resulted in the further fall of the standard of living in Germany.

The End of Reparation. The breathing space allowed by the Hoover moratorium and the stand-still agreement should have been utilised for solving the outstanding problems of war debts and reparation. But no concrete step was taken in this connection. The British Government was in favour of cancellation of war debts and reparation. Britain was more interested in Germany's commercial debt in which British interest was at stake. The French insisted that the German Government should first arrange for the transfer of unconditional annuities under the Young Plan before undertaking any other foreign payment. The French who were the considerable net creditors to Germany could not agree to the British proposal. When, however, the Hoover moratorium was nearing its end, Chancellor Heinrich Bruning, pressed by internal criticism directed against a weak government that agreed to all Allied proposals in matters of reparation and the Nazi campaign against the Treaty of Versailles, declared that Germany neither could nor would make any further reparation payment.

Meanwhile the attitude of the U.S.A. towards the repayment of the inter-Allied debts was stiffened. American public opinion refused to entertain any connection between war debts and the reparation payments and refused to scale down European debts to the United States. All these questions were referred to the Lausanne Conference of June 16, 1932. This Conference cancelled all German reparation and substituted in its place a payment by Germany of £150,000,000 in the form of 5 per cent redeemable bonds. This agreement was not the product of any desire to give relief to Germany but was dictated by the economic need for a revival of world trade and removal of all obstacles in its path. The Allied countries signed separate agreements cancelling war debts but a verification of such an agreement required confirmation by the U.S.A. and her willingness to settle the question of war debts satisfactorily. The United States, however,

was unwilling to forego the war debts. So the Lausanne agreements were dropped and the depression continued. But the question of reparation could not be resumed again. With the rise of Hitler the curtain was finally dropped on the complicated drama of reparation tangle. "Thus Germany gained about fifteen hundred million pounds sterling in loans as against the one thousand million of indemnities which she paid in one form or another by surrender of capital assets and value in foreign countries or by juggling with the enormous American loans. All this is a sad story of complicated idiocy in the making of which much toil and virtue was consumed."[3]

Inter-Allied Debts. During the war and in the post-armistice period the United States had turned into a creditor country and had advanced a total of nearly ten thousand three hundred and thirty-eight million dollars as war loan to Britain, France and other Allied countries. Out of the total loan advanced by the U.S.A., Britain had borrowed four thousand two hundred and seventy-seven million dollars, France three thousand four hundred and five million dollars, Italy one thousand six hundred and forty-eight millions and the rest of the balance was borrowed by other Allied Powers.

Britain also had to advance a large sum of money to different Allied powers including France and Russia. The total amount of loans advanced by Britain amounted to two thousand one hundred and eighty-three million pounds. Britain had advanced six hundred millions to France, seven hundred and eighty three millions to Russia, five hundred and eighty-three millions to Italy and the rest to other Allied powers (who were only debtors). France too like England was a debtor-cum-creditor country because she advanced to other Allied Powers nearly a million pounds. The United States alone was a creditor country.

Basically the inter-Allied debts had no relation with reparation. In the years immediately following the signing of the Peace Treaties the possibility of regular payments of the reparation dues was entertained by the French Government. But after 1922 there was a change in the situation. The main creditor country, *i.e.*, the U.S.A., started making serious demand on her war time Allies for repayment of loans. The French government now tried to inter-connect the reparation payments of Germany with the inter-Allied debt payments. The former must be paid because if Germany did not respect her obligations there was no reason for the victors to suffer for payment of debts incurred during the war. Britain, however, took an altogether diffe-

3. Churchill, Winston, S.: The History of the Second World War, Vol. I, p. 9.

rent stand. Being a major debtor as well as creditor country she was in favour of cancellation of all war debts. The British viewpoint was set forth in the Balfour Note of August 1, 1922. According to this 'Note', Britain signified her willingness "to remit all the debts due to Great Britain by allies in respect of loans or by Germany in respect of reparation." Thus in other words Britain informed her debtor countries that she would receive from them only such amount as she was expected to pay to the U.S.A. in settlement of her war debts. In 1922 Britain signed an agreement with the U.S.A. whereby she agreed to repay the war debts in 62 years. After the introduction of the Dawes Plan Britain signed agreements with her debtor countries, *viz.*, France, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece and Portugal, about annual repayment of war debts. These countries also agreed to pay annuities to the United States at the same time. All the vast transfer of funds could be done only through American loans to the debtor countries. The United States received back as debt instalments the sums that she now advanced to different European countries including Germany so that all payments in reparation and war debts found their way into the exchequer of the United States. In U.S.A. itself opinions were divided as to the advisability of collection of war loans. Those who were in favour of collection argued that the sum borrowed must be repaid to respect the goodwill and to restore the faith of the creditor. But those who favoured cancellation urged that for the U.S.A. it was necessary, in the interest of expansion of trade and for the removal of ill-will against the U.S.A., to cancel the war-time loans and to consider such loans as contribution to the cause.

Lausanne Conference. So long as Germany paid regularly every one seemed to be happy. But the mood did not last long. The depression of the thirties struck Germany in force and she appealed for and obtained the Hoover moratorium in 1931 for one year. The moratorium expired in 1932 but Germany declared her inability to pay reparation any more. A conference of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and Japan was called at Lausanne to discuss the matter. The reparation debts were cancelled except the payment of £150,000,000 in the form of 5 per cent redeemable bonds. Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, however, concluded separate 'Gentlemen's agreement' whereby they decided that the settlement regarding reparation would not come into effect until a satisfactory settlement had been reached between them and their own creditor countries. A satisfactory settlement between the U.S.A. and the debtor countries, however, was not possible during this period. The unpopularity of the Hoover moratorium and the deficit that the U.S.A. exchequer was

facing during this period (nearly eight million pounds) ruled out the possibility of any sympathetic reception of such a proposal.

The End of War Debts. It was clear that settlement or no settlement the Allied powers would not be in a position to pay war debts because there was no longer any hope of receiving reparation payments and the depression made it difficult, nay wellnigh impossible, for the continuation of such transactions. In December, 1932 among all debtors Britain made the last full payment of instalment. In the next June and December, Britain made nominal payments to avoid default. In this way a general de facto repudiation took place.

The rise of Hitler in Germany in 1933 finally sealed the fate of all reparation payments in future. "In effect the year 1932, says E. H. Carr, "saw the last act in that confused drama of reparation and inter-Allied debts which had tormented the world for more than ten years. The Lausanne Conference buried them both in the same unhonoured grave."

The Economic Depression. In the early days of the year 1929 the economic prosperity of the west had created optimism which vanished as the year advanced. The advance of industrial civilization had enabled the world to produce and exchange goods and services in greatly increased abundance. But the ability to produce in abundance created a ludicrous situation. Instead of plenty it produced scarcity and fear of glutting the market. The reason for this crisis is not to be sought in the fact that the world produced more than it needed. The trouble started really when people, who needed the goods produced, lost their means of purchasing them and the world stood aghast at its own productive power. The skill of the workers, the advancement of science, the abundance of harvest should contribute to the rise in the standard of living but instead it produced economic crisis. There is definitely something wrong in the economic system that released such a self-contradictory situation and produced alternatively boom and slump. The economic depression of the thirties was the result of one such tidal movement, part of the trade cycle, and even more than that.

The post-war dislocation of trade and industries had resulted in a rush for raw materials which resulted in the production of more goods than could be profitably absorbed by the industries. The heightened competition of the post-Versailles era together with the introduction of rationalization of industries led to the rise in the unemployment figure among workers and the loss of their purchasing power. The problem of war debts and reparation upset the world's financial balance. The United States emerged out of World War I

as a creditor country. Most of the gold reserves of the world were silted up in U.S.A. banks, consequently the needy lacked the money to purchase goods. The rise of the Far Eastern competition with European industries, the difficulties of the overseas investment and the redistribution of frontiers in Europe and the colonies disturbed trade and commerce. Among other legacies of the war the rise of Communism in Russia and Fascism in Italy were factors that caused world-wide reaction. The elimination of capitalism in Russia and the consequent loss of market resulted in the restriction of trade. The main factor in the creation of the slump was the abnormal flow of gold in the U.S.A. and the restriction on gold export imposed by other countries. The consequent restriction on normal flow of trade resulted in the crash of 1929.

The Spread of Dislocation. The loan payments received by U.S.A in 1928 totalled 1.620 million dollars. Out of this total payment nearly 880 million dollars was secured from American tourists and remittances of people settled in America to their friends and relatives in Europe. Overflow of gold resulted in unbounded speculation. The boom produced overconfidence. The increase of gold reserve in the U.S.A. and France reduced the purchasing power of other countries. The boom in America resulted in the withdrawal of American capital from abroad, because the scope of speculation and investment in America was far greater than in any other country. Foreign capital also flowed in the U.S.A. to gain share of the boom and the American gold reserve increased to a great extent. By 1931 U.S.A. and France shared between themselves 60 per cent of the world's gold reserve (excluding the U.S.S.R.).

The trade expansion could not go on indefinitely. Wages were low and lagged far behind the productive capacity. The purchasing power of the farming community who formed a large element in the population fell during this period. With each successive advance in the U.S.A. there had developed a farm problem and agrarian discontent.[4] It is not surprising, therefore, that the boom should be followed by the 'slump'. Some of the industrialists were already finding it difficult in 1928 to market their goods and stocks of foodstuffs, and raw materials were held up for bringing down prices. For the rapidly rising productivity there was no corresponding expansion of demand. Thus in September, 1929 there was a sensational detraction of paper values and prices of industrial goods started

4. See Hacker, Louise M.: Major Documents in American Economic History, Vol. II, p. 60.

their downward course. In spite of a partial and temporary recovery in 1930 the steady downward course continued for the next few years.

The Slump in Europe and the Crisis in Germany. The result of the boom followed by the slump in the U.S.A. meant the flight of capital from Europe. The need for paying loans and reparations now weighed heavily on Europe. The consequences of all this was the rise of bank rates, restrictive credit policy and high tariffs. Throughout Europe unemployment figures rose. The restriction of the trade and rise of interest rates resulted in high cost. The people of Eastern Europe—Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia—depended upon export of agricultural products. The depression of the thirties affected trade adversely because the exports and imports of the above mentioned countries fell considerably. The countries of Eastern Europe restricted imports and the industrialized nations of Europe had consequently to face the possibility of loss of profitable markets.

But Germany was the worst affected of all the nations. So long Germany paid her reparation payments out of the money borrowed chiefly from the U.S.A. The American investor also provided Germany with long-term loans. But the flight of foreign capital as a result of the Wall Street crash left Germany in a vulnerable condition. In 1928 U.S.A.'s investment in Germany had reached one thousand million dollars but in 1929 it was reduced to five hundred and fifty millions. Germany, the heaviest debtor, now found it difficult to pay her debts. Germany faced a budgetary deficit of £60,000,000. The introduction of rationalisation increased unemployment. There was contraction of home market, fall in standard of living and rise of unemployment figure.

Chancellor Bruning advised president Hindenburg to dismiss the Reichstag and rule through emergency decrees. Bruning hoped that he could save Germany from revolution and screw economics out of her people. Meanwhile he hoped that others would be convinced of Germany's need for relief. At the root of all this was the depression and reparation payment. In order to gain further relief Bruning attempted to effect a custom union with Austria—prohibited by the Treaty of Versailles. It was opposed by the French. The matter, when referred to the League Council, was by unanimous resolution placed before the World Court. The Court declared the union contrary to the Treaty. The failure of the project further intensified the depression in Germany. Hitler and the Nazis now took advantage of the failure of the government to increase their popularity. In the

election of September, 1930, the Nazis increased their strength in the Reichstag from 12 to 107. The denunciation of the reparation payments had increased their popularity. In fact, Hitler stormed his way to power through the fissure created by the depression and economic crisis. The failure of the custom union sealed the fate of the Weimar republic. It also precipitated the financial crisis in Austria. In May, 1931 the Credit Anstalt, the greatest of Viennes banks, closed its doors. Now the run on the German banks began. On July 13, the great Darmstadter bank failed, and government declared compulsory holiday for the banks on 14 July. Germany was on the verge of economic collapse. Hindenburg's appeal to Hoover, however, resulted in a moratorium for one year. This moratorium and the 'stand still' agreement between the German banks and foreign creditors saved the situation temporarily. But even after the expiry of the moratorium Germany was not in a position to pay reparation. The Lausanne Conference merely accepted the fait accompli when it cancelled all reparation in exchange of a token payment of £150,000,000 in the form of 5 per cent redeemable bonds. But the drastic measures taken by the German government to restrict import of foreign goods and export of funds further reduced the standard of living of the German people.

The Crisis in Britain. The world crisis now affected Britain. The Hoover moratorium and the stand still agreement had averted a collapse of the German economy but had adverse effect on financial concerns in London. The Hoover moratorium had deprived Britain of £11 million in reparation payments. London money market had occupied so long a pre-eminent position as a centre of world finance. The London banks had come to the rescue of Germany and had advanced loans all over the world. But most of the money advanced on long-term basis to other countries was money borrowed on short-term basis. As the economic depression grew worse, it became difficult to call back the money lent abroad. At the same time there was a large withdrawal from foreign countries including America and France. As long as the gold standard was maintained, money deposited in Britain was as good as gold to which it could be converted at any moment. The May Committee on National Expenditure recommended wage reductions and cut in unemployment insurance. The Labour Ministry of Ramsay MacDonald resigned. But immediately afterwards Mr. MacDonald reappeared as the head of a coalition including Conservatives, Liberals and some ex-Labour Ministers.

The coalition government at once suspended export of gold, that is to say, it went off the gold standard. The abandonment of the

gold standard provided for a slow recovery of the British economy but it produced powerful effects indirectly on other countries who had deposits in London. They also followed suit. Thus India, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Rhodesia, Austria, Japan, Portugal, Chile, Greece and Persia abandoned the gold standard. Though the abandonment of the gold standard relieved to a certain extent the burden of the debtor countries it could not off-set the depression. In the end of 1931 the crisis reached its climax and there was a maximum dislocation which caused alarm everywhere except in France.

Economic Nationalism. The abandonment of the gold standard by Great Britain was quickly followed by restriction of free trade and adoption of high tariffs all round. In 1932 Britain and her dominions now arranged for preferential treatment and excluded others from its privileges. This policy was adopted at the Ottawa Conference of 1932. Under the circumstances all international attempts at political and economic co-operation were fruitless. Briand's scheme of European union originally aimed at political co-operation. He had also discussed plans for lowering trade barriers. But under the influence of depression, high tariffs and preferential treatment it lost all possibility of success. After the expiry of the Hoover moratorium the Allied powers met at Lausanne and buried for ever the question of inter-Allied debts and reparations in the same unhonoured grave.

The World Economic Conference was called at London in 1933. The United States was invited to participate and readily accepted it. During this period the economic blizzard was blowing in full swing in the American continent. Franklin D. Roosevelt who had become the President of the U.S.A. in the election of 1933 had to take emergency measures to save a complete collapse. U.S.A. finally abandoned the gold standard. The President was forced to place the domestic question above international co-operation. The New Deal established considerable state control over trade, industry and business. The narrow attitude adopted by the United States and other Great Powers contributed to the failure of the economic conference. In reply to a demand for currency stabilization as a pre-condition for reduction of tariffs and quotas, U.S.A. refused co-operation until such time as a sufficient rise in price was achieved at home. The failure of the economic conference signified that a policy of economic nationalism had triumphed over all attempts at international co-operation in the economic field. Bilateral agreement took the place of international co-operation. Every nation fought for its own economic recovery.

Political Effects. The effects of all these in the field of international politics was to end the period of Collective Security. The

basis of international co-operation established by the League was knocked out. The economic crisis of these years and the rapid strides of Soviet economic growth increased the fear of the capitalist countries. To check the progress of international communism, the Great powers, specially Anglo-French powers, adopted a policy of appeasement towards Fascist aggression. The disarmament talks proved fruitless with the rise of Hitler in Germany. In Germany the breach created by the crisis paved the path for the rise of Nazism. In France Ministerial crisis continued with the economic crisis which resulted in the instability of the government. The Latin American countries in the early days of 1930 faced frequent changes of their governments through internal rebellions.

In the Far East, the economic crisis between 1929 and 1931 reduced the Japanese foreign trade to half and contributed to unrest in Japanese politics. The Japanese diet was virtually dominated by the two largest concerns—Mitsu and Mitsubisi. Between themselves they commanded nearly half of the export trade. Forced by the need for economic expansion and pressed by the growing population, Japan now decided to embark upon a policy of conquest. Japan attacked Manchuria in 1931 and thus created breach in the League system of Collective Security. Professor Arnold J. Toynbee has summed up in the following words how the economic situation in Japan contributed to her conversion to militarism. In the words of Toynbee—"Racked by the remorseless turning of the economic screw in the long-drawn-out course of the world depression, the Japanese people at last followed the lead of the Japanese army in reverting from the policy of commercial expansion to the policy of military conquest."[5] Japan was the first to lead in the field of aggressive wars, others soon followed. The Italian aggression on Ethiopia in 1935, the beginning of the 'Phoney War' in Spain in 1936, the Munich tragedy and ultimately the outbreak of the Second World War—were directly or indirectly the product of the economic expansion sought by aggressive nations. Only in one aspect the crisis had a little adverse effect. This was the armament industries and trade in arms. "The prosperity due to re-armament veiled the persistence of the underlying depression."[6]

---

5. **Toynbee, Arnold J.**: Survey of International Affairs, 1931, p. 403.

6. **Hardy, Gathorne, G.M.**: A short History of International Affairs, p. 288.

SUMMARY

The 'Reparation' demands on Germany were made after the First World War because Germany was held responsible for the damage done in the war of 1914-1918 through the 'war-guilt' clause. But the consequences of such a demand on inter-Allied relations as well as the bitterness it would cause was not foreseen. Reparations could be paid either in gold or in goods but the first alternative was ruled out due to the exhaustion of German reserve and the second would affect the economy of the Allied powers. But during the years following the war very few realized it and none dared to lay bare these facts.

Reparation Commission and the Division and Fixation of Reparation. The Treaty of Versailles left the sum to be paid by Germany unspecified. The task was left in the hands of a special agency called 'Reparation Commission.' The Commission was to consist of 1 representative each of U.K., U.S.A., France and Italy as also a representative of the minor Allied powers. U.S.A. refused to join and France soon established her hold over the Commission. The Spa Conference (July, 1920) decided the percentage of distribution of allotting 52% to France, 22% to the British empire, 10% to Italy, 8% to Belgium and the rest among minor Allies. At Spa the Allies could not reach a satisfactory settlement of Germany's lump payment and extended the zone of occupation in east Rhine.

The London Schedule. On 28th April the Reparation Commission fixed Germany's liability at £660 million. As it was not possible for Germany to pay the London Schedule divided German debts into 3 sections and provided that two-thirds of debts were to be held by the Commission. The rest was to be paid in fixed annuities of £100,000,000 plus variable annuities equivalent to a tax of 25% on the value of German exports. Germany paid her first instalment on August 31, 1921. But soon, internal condition diminished Germany's capacity to pay. Great Britain was interested in German revival and insisted on granting German appeal of a respite for 3 years. Yet French opposition ruled out any such possibility.

The Ruhr Occupation. The Reparation Commission declared Germany in voluntary default because in December, 1922 the delivery in timber fell slightly short of the schedule. In spite of British opposition it was made the occasion for sending French, Italian and Belgian troops in January, 1923 to Ruhr. The non-co-operation and passive resistance of the German people in the occupied areas blocked all possibility of any profit from the mines and factories and increased the expenditure of occupation. The French policy was opposed by Britain. The effect of all this was to ruin German economy. The mark became worthless and was replaced by Rentenmark and in 1923 Germany gave up resistance. The appointment of Stresemann who adopted the policy of rapprochement facilitated improvement of relations with the Allies. The situation in Germany called for sympathy from Allied powers who appointed the Dawes Committee in 1924 to find out ways and means for German recovery. U.S.A. joined the Committee and the Chairman Charles G. Dawes was an American businessman. The French election resulted in the fall of Poin-

care, the architect of Ruhr occupation, and appointment of Herriot as Prime Minister. The latter favoured rapprochement with Germany.

The Dawes Plan. The Dawes Committee approached the reparation problem from the standard of businessmen and presumed that Germany could pay if her trade flourished. It recommended the following measures (a) Introduction of a new currency called Reichsmark at parity of 20 : 1 to the Pound. (b) Creation of a Reictsbank with powers to control note issue. It had fourteen directors half of which were foreigners. (c) Fixed the annuity rate (rising from 50 lakh pounds in the 1st year to 1 crore 50 lakhs in the 5th year). (d) It divided the source of reparation into three forms, transport tax and railway bonds, industrial bonds and fixed budgetary revenue from certain taxes. (e) Mr. Gilbert, an American Agent General, was appointed to supervise the execution of the plan, The plan imposed the responsibility of the transfer of reparation payments on the creditors. It was accepted in the London Conference of the Allied powers in August, 1924. The plan had the following merits: (i) As a result of its introduction German business picked up; (ii) It assured the creditors of payments; (iii) It reduced diplomatic tension; (iv) It separated reparation from politics. The main flaws in the plan were : (a) It did not fix the time limit for reparation payment; (b) Nor did it fix the amount to be paid. The old figure of £660 million was presumably still in force; (c) It destroyed incentive for saving; (d) It led to indiscriminate borrowing (nearly 15 m. marks were borrowed by Germany).

The Young Plan. The improvement of Germany's relations with Allied powers as a result of the Locarno spirit and the admission of Germany to the League led to the withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Commission. Germany became eager for a final settlement of the reparation problem and to secure the evacuation of the Rhineland. Accordingly, in 1928 five principal reparation powers, viz., Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and Japan, agreed with Germany to appoint a Committee presided over by Owen D. Young, an American, to go into the question. The Young Plan provided for 37 annuities of £10 crores and 22 small instalments. It ended foreign control over currency and imposed responsibility of transfer of reparation payments on Germany. A Bank of International Settlement composed of representatives of Germany and the creditor countries was authorized to receive and disburse reparation payments on the basis of sound banking. The Hague Conference of January, 1930 accepted the Plan. A settlement of the reparation question with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria was also arranged and the former was exempted from all payments. The Rhineland evacuation took place in June, 1930.

Hoover Moratorium

But because of the world financial crisis between the years 1929 and 1932 Germany was unable to make any reparation payment. President Hindenburg appealed to President Hoover of the United States for a moratorium which was granted for one year. Through the fissure created by the crisis Hitler stormed into power and refused to pay reparations. The Young Plan was, in effect, still-born. The Lausanne Conference of June 16, 1932 had cancelled all German reparation and substituted in its place a payment by Germany of £150,000,000 in the form of 5 per cent

redeemable bonds. But, in fact, the question of reparation was finally buried in the Lausanne Conference.

Inter-Allied Debts. During the war U.S.A. had advanced a total sum of $10,338 million of which $4,277 m. was borrowed by Britain, $3,405 m. by France, $1,648 by Italy and the rest by others. Britain had advanced £2,183 m. to her wartime Allies. Out of this sum, France received £600 m., Russia £783 m., Italy £587 m. and the rest by other Allied powers. France, too, like England, was a debtor-cum-creditor country. The inter-Allied debts and reparation payments were not interlinked when in 1922 U.S.A. insisted for repayment France demanded that reparation payments must be received if war-debts were to be repaid. The Balfour Note (August 1922) set forth the British viewpoint and stated that Britain would receive from the debtor countries the amount she was to pay to the U.S.A. in settlement of war-debts. Britain signed agreement with the U.S.A. for repayment and other countries did the same with U.K. and U.S.A. All these payments could be made only through U.S.A. loans. Thus all payments of war-debts and reparation found their way in the U.S.A. exchequer. The depression of the thirties ruled out the possibility of further payments of debts and reparations. "The Lausanne Conference buried them both in the same unhonoured grave."

The Economic Depression. The optimism of the early days of 1929 vanished with the advent of Economic Depression of the thirties which was, strangely enough, the product of the capacity of modern industrial civilization to produce goods that could not be profitably marketed. Various causes contributed to bring about the depression that started with the Wall Street crash of September, 1929. Chief among them may be enumerated as the following: (a) Over-investment in raw materials; (b) Rationalization of industries and unemployment; (c) Reparation and war-debts; (d) Concentration of gold in the U.S.A. and France (excluding Russia nearly 60% of world's gold remained in the vaults of French and American banks); (e) Dislocation of trade due to Far-Eastern and Overseas competition; (f) Loss of the Russian market. The effect of the slump in Europe led to the flight of capital, the rise of bank-rates, high tariffs and rise in unemployment figures. It led to privations in Eastern Europe which depended upon export of agricultural products. High tariffs affected their export and these countries in turn adopted restrictive import policy and industrial nations suffered as a consequence. But the worst affected country was Germany. The flight of capital left Germany in a vulnerable position. Rationalization, unemployment, budgetary deficit and contraction of home market resulted in privations and fall in the standard of living. The failure of the attempted customs union with Australia sealed the fate of the Weimar republic and the Nazis took advantage of the crisis to increase their strength in the Reichstag from 12 to 107 in 1930 elections. In May, 1931 the famous Austrian bank Credit Anstalt closed its doors and it was followed by run on German banks. The Lausanne Conference finally buried reparations. But the drastic measures taken by the government further reduced the standard of living.

Britain Goes Off the Gold Standard. The Hoover moratorium resulted in the loss of £11 m. for Britain in reparation payments. So long London had borrowed on short-term but lent out on long-term. There-

fore, when the depression caused rapid withdrawal of foreign capital, Britain was forced out of gold standard. Others including Scandinavian countries and India followed. But it could not check depression which reached its peak in 1931.

Economic Nationalism. In the Ottawa Conference Britain adopted the policy of preferential treatment for Commonwealth countries. All attemps at international co-operation including Briand's Scheme of European Union met with failure. In 1932 a World Economic Conference was called at London. It failed due to the refusal of the U.S.A. to co-operate for currency stabilization so long as sufficient rise in price was not achieved at home. Bilateral agreements took the place of international co-operation. Every nation fended for itself.

Political Effects. The effects of all these knocked out the basis of international co-operation and the League system of Collective Security. The crisis laid the basis of the future policy of appeasement of Fascism as a counterpoise to international communism. The crisis also paved the path for the rise of Nazism in Germany, ministerial instability in France and frequent revolutionary uprising in the Latin American countries in the year 1930. In the Far-East, Japan embarked upon a policy of conquest and attacked Manchuria in 1931. The crisis induced Japan to turn from a policy of commercial expansion to the policy of military conquest. Aggressive wars such as Italian attack on Abyssinia and the Spanish Civil War created further insecurity. The cumulative effect of all these contributed ultimately to the outbreak of World War II. Only in armament industry the crisis had little effect. But this prosperity in armaments merely veiled the underlying depression.

FOR FURTHER READING

1. Carr, E. H. : International Relations Between Two World Wars.
2. Cole, G. D. H. : The Intelligent Man's Guide through World Chaos.
3. Hacker, Louis U. : Major Documents in American Economic History—2 Vols.
4. Thomson, David : Europe since Napoleon.
5. Langsoune, W. C. : The World Since 1914.

Chapter 9

Germany Under Hitler

Various causes contributed to the rise of Hitler. The Treaty of Versailles, no doubt, was the object of violent criticism of the National Socialists and the popularity of that party was largely gained through its attack on its provisions. The reparation payments and the German grievances against it were fanned by the Nazis. But there were other factors that contributed more powerfully to the rise of Hitler. The economic blizzard of the thirties smote Germany. The middle class was reduced to the position of the proletariat. Their small savings were washed off. They proved a happy hunting ground of National Socialist propaganda. The National Socialists held out high hopes of the regeneration of the old glittering Germany. They promised a panacea for every economic evil. They pledged to provide everything to everybody. To the 5 million unemployed in Germany they promised jobs and comfort, to the shopkeepers and lower middle class they promised that large stores would be immediately communalized. The National Socialists came to power on the eve of the world recovery in 1932. Had it been delayed by a few months they would have lost their popularity. They marched to power through the breach created by the depression of the thirties.

But the greatest single factor that brought them into power was the fear of the spread of communism in Germany. They proved the rallying point for the anti-communist and reactionary forces. Schuman correctly analysed the causes of the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany when he wrote—"Industrialists and Junkers subsidized the brown shirt Nazi storm troopers hoping to make use of them against communists, socialists, the trade unions and other threats real or imaginary to prosperity and privilege." In addition to their opposition to the communists, the N.S.D.P. or Nazis attracted to their camp those

who were opposed to the "Weimar Jew Republic." The Nazi movement was based on anti-semitism, anti-communism and a vague economic programme of National Socialism. The lack of unity among other parties and their failure to unite against the National Socialists helped the Nazis to win victory. The state authorities allowed them to build up private armed gangs to terrorize and intimidate their opponents. The Nazis indulged in false propaganda and adopted unscrupulous methods to gain power.[1]

Hitler's Rise to Power. But outwardly at least Hitler's rise to power was every bit as legal as any other Chancellor in the Weimar republic. On January 30, 1933, President Von Hindenburg who was re-elected to the presidency nine months earlier, appointed Hitler as the Chancellor. Hitler now ordered the election of the Reichstag. Thus an outward show of constitutionalism was maintained. But behind this outward show of constitutionalism there were other factors at work. According to Winston Churchill: "The Army Chiefs in 1931 and 1932 felt they must, for their own sake and for that of the country, join forces with those to whom (i.e., the Nazis) in domestic matters they were opposed with all the rigidity and severeness of the German mind." The Reich was delivered to Hitler as a result of a deeply laid conspiracy against chancellor Schleicher by Franz Von Popen, Hugenberg, the ultra-nationalist publisher, and Thyssen, the steel magnate. They wanted to utilise Hitler and his National Socialists for their own purpose.

But Hitler, when he became the Chancellor, at once demonstrated that in him they had a new master. He consolidated his powers swiftly. He banned all meetings and demonstrations of the communists. On February 27, on the eve of the new election, the building of the Reichstag broke into flames. Hitler at once took advantage of the event to assume emergency power. A fierce campaign and persecution of the left parties started. Hermann Goering declared before an audience on March 3, that the struggle against the communists would be a struggle to the death. The radio declared Hitler's determination to carry on war of extermination against Marxist and left forces. Still the German people refused to submit to threats. The Nazis increased only 5½ million more votes and the communists lost 1 million votes. The Nazis had received a bare majority with their Nationalist allies (288 plus 52), the party of big business and the aristoracy. But the communist party was outlawed and the absence of eighty-one communist deputies enabled Hitler to rule without the

1. See also Chapter 3 for causes of the rise of Nazism in Germany.

help of the Nationalists. The Enabling Act, "the fundamental law of the Hitler regime", gave him dictatorial power. Thus by July 4, 1933, one by one, all political parties were outlawed and the N.S.D.P., i.e., the Nazi party, was declared by a Cabinet decree to be the only political party in Germany.

Hitler took steps to bring the Federal states completely under his control. By January, 1934, Nazi controlled ministries were established in all the states. The state Diets were abolished and the sovereign powers of the states were transferred to the Reich.

Hitler had created illusions about a second revolution and sweeping changes in the economic and social structure. But after assuming power he wished to bring the revolution to an end. The opposition to this policy found expression in the S.A. which was a strong anti-capitalist mass movement with strong radical leanings. By the end of 1933 Ernst Rohm, its leader, commanded nearly million people. There were other problems too. "The situation with which Hitler had to deal was produced by the intersection of three problems, the problem of the Second Revolution, of the S.A. and the Army, and of the succession to President Von Hindenburg."[2] On June 30, 1934 the 'Bloody Saturday' Rohm and his men and hundreds of S.A. men were executed. Papen narrowly escaped death. On August 4, 1934 on the death of Hindenburg, Hitler succeeded to presidency which was ratified by a plebiscite on August 19, 1934. 38 million Germans voted approval and only 4 and a quarter million had the courage to vote 'no'. Hitler's purge of the Army took places at a later date when Field-Marshal Blomberg was removed from his post for an unhappy marriage. The same fate awaited General Fritch, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Hitler took personal command of the Army by a decree.

The Nazification of Germany. The rise of Nazism meant entire re-orientation of Germany. Nazi control was established on every aspect of life. There was complete Nazification of culture under the direction of German propaganda Minister Goebbels. German culture was put "into a Nazi strait jacket". The press, the universities, schools, stage and cinema were completely controlled by the Reich chamber of culture. Education was fashioned in a spartan way and the schools and universities were Nazified. In economic life the programme was of restoring prosperity through a sort of 'planned economy'. This prosperity and planned economy in agriculture meant holding the peasant to his land like serf. His life was regulat-

2. **Bullock, Allan:** Hitler–A Study in Tyranny, p. 292.

ed by the Reich. The Food Estate established by a law of September, 1933, controlled production, marketing and processing. Nazi economic policies—largely based on rearmament—were the creation of Dr. Schacht. "It was deliberately designed to function, not only in time of war but during the peace that led to war."[3] Dr. Schacht's genius was applied to gain for the Third Reich a prosperity which would prepare her for a total war. It destroyed organized labour and free scope for entrepreneur. The little businessmen who had stored high hopes from chancellor Hitler soon found themselves forced to the position of wage earners. But despite their difficulties businessmen made good profits because in the Third Reich labour was reduced into virtual serfdom and there was no strike at all. A law in 1934 created the so-called Labour Front. It was an integral part of the N.S.D.A.P. The Law regulating national labour or the so-called 'Charter of Labour' had placed the workers at the mercy of the employer and the state. The German worker under Nazi regime was no better than the mediaeval serf. But Hitler's Germany solved the unemployment problem by providing jobs for the workers in the ammunition factories.

The National Socialist had stormed into power by using the bludgeon. Personal rights or safety of the individuals were trampled down. The Reichstag was composed of a single party members who were called at intervals to hear speeches from the leader or Der Fuhrer. Any suspicion of opposition to the will of Hitler meant summary trial and death sentence in the sinister people's court or special courts or miserable existence in the concentration camps like that of Dachau near Munich. To prove the race superiority of Germans Hitler persecuted the Jews, sent them to concentration camps, beat them and ultimately exterminated them. The 'Non-Aryan Christians' and catholics as well as protestant pastors were sent to concentration camp for their opposition to the Nazis. The Gestapo's, (or the secret state police) will was the law. A law promulgated in 1936 put it above law.

Hitler destroyed the Weimar Republic but he always tried to give a legal illusion of his power. Thus the emergency power which Hitler had assumed under the presidential decree of February 28, 1933, after the Reichstag burning, became the basis of many laws promulgated by him. The Enabling Act had helped him to gain dictatorial powers. Cabinet meetings and discussions were infrequent and ceased after February, 1938. Hitler became the supreme authority and as Goering declared "Der Fuhrer carries final responsibility.

3. Shirer, William L.: The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, p. 322.

His will is law."[4] The government was based on leadership principle. It was run by bureaucracy. Graft, corruption and cut-throat rivalry marked the activities of its top most men and party leaders. At the top stood the Austrian Corporal.

Foreign Policy of Nazi Germany. In foreign policy Hitler pursued the same technique which had given him so large a success in internal affairs. But while his tactics changed like that of an opportunist he never changed the aim of his foreign policy. "Hitler had only one programme; Power, first his own power in Germany and then the expansion of German power in Europe. The rest was windowdressing."[5] As long as other powers agreed to make concessions he had no need to use force. But the realization of his aim after a certain point could be achieved only by the use of force. For "the history of all ages had proved that expansion could only be carried out by breaking down resistance and taking risks; setbacks were inevitable." Therefore rearmament for Germany was essential. The alliance with Italy, Japan and Germany was necessary for breaking down the resistance of the two hated antagonists Britain and France. The anti-communist alliance and the possible war with Bolshevik Russia in the name of anti-communism was another essential part of Nazi foreign policy.

In the first few years of Hitler's rise to power Nazi Germany had to take cautious steps so as to allay the suspicion of the world. But the willingness of Hitler to risk war gave him an advantage over his opponents, specially the Anglo-French powers. The British and the French Governments were disinclined to use force against Nazi Germany and fell in with the pacific declarations of Hitler. After every act of aggression Hitler professed pacific intentions and violated it by his next step. Thus he succeeded in successive bluffs beyond expectation. Taking advantage of the feebleness and division of his opponents he pursued his policy of aggrandizement with rare skill and achieved unheard of success without even the display of force. Thus just after the Rhineland remilitarization on March 16, 1935, he declared before the world, "National Socialist Germany wants peace because of its fundamental convictions". In the early years up to 1938-39 he was not ready to risk a general European war, but after that period German rearmament gave him confidence to risk it. But from the very start though techniques changed his aim in foreign policy remained the same. War for gaining living space

4. Quoted in International Politics by Schuman.

5. **Bullock, Allan**: Hitler—A Study in Tyranny, p. 489.

for Germany remained from first to last the aim of the German Third Reich. In the words of Schuman, "The inner dynamics of German Fascism made war abroad a necessity for peace and prosperity at home."

The Repudiation of Treaties. After his accession to power Hitler took a swift succession of measures which reduced the Treaty of Versailles to a scrap of paper. The first act which signified Germany's intention of following her own destiny was notified when in October, 1933 she gave notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations. Hitler was still unprepared to perpetrate open violation of the 'Versailles Diktat'. He acted secretly. The weakness of Germany in the first two years forced him to act in a way which would prevent concerted action of the Versailles powers against Germany. In July 1934, the Austrian Nazis with active encouragement from their German counterparts killed the Austrian chancellor Dr. Dollfuss. As other powers including Italy set their face strongly against any prospect of the Anschluss, the Nazis failed to capture power. Hitler at once disclaimed it. This loss of face was counterbalanced next year by the plebiscite held in Saar in January, 1935 whereby the inhabitants signified their intention of an immediate reunion with Germany.

Hitler declared on this occasion that Germany had no further territorial ambitions. In the meanwhile he worked fervently for building up Germany's armed forces. He declared through Goering to the correspondent of London Daily Mail that Germany had a military Air force. It had no adverse effect on Britain because Sir John Simon accepted an invitation to visit Berlin even after this declaration. On Saturday, March 16, 1935, Hitler declared his intention to reintroduce conscription. This violation of the Treaty provision was condemned by Britain, France and Italy. These three powers met at the Stressa Conference in April. But Hitler had merely to watch and wait for some time before this united front against him broke down without any effort on his part. The British government concluded an Anglo-German Naval Agreement in June 1935 without consulting their French ally or informing the League of Nations. The Stressa front thus broke down and the path was now open for fresh violation of the Treaty of Versailles.

The success of Mussolini in his Abyssinian adventure had diverted the attention of Europe. The failure of the League and its sanctions had signified the collapse of Collective Security. On March 7, 1936, Hitler took advantage of it to send his troops to remilitarize Rhineland. Britain was unwilling to take any step against such a

flagrant violation of the Peace treaties and France was unwilling to take any step without the British co-operation. Thus once again Hitler who had taken this step in opposition to his generals succeeded in his bluff. Due to Anglo-French feebleness the opportunity to restrain Hitler was lost for ever.

The Spanish War and Anschluss. The next step in German aggression was the Anschluss with Austria and the incorporation of Czechoslovakia. But the effect of the above development also resulted in a close alliance between Hitler and Mussolini and the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis which was formally brought into existence in October, 1936. The Italian co-operation was brought about by another serious hitch between Italy and Anglo-French powers. The Spanish Civil War started just when the withdrawal of the League sanction against Italy for the Abyssinian War was creating the possibility of a rapproachement between Italy and Britain and France. The Spanish Civil War created an unfriendly Fascist state in the border of France and paralysed her action. It served to estrange Italy further from the Anglo-French powers and drove Mussolini to the arms of Hitler. Hitler reaped the results. On October 21, 1936, Ciano, on behalf of Italy, and Neurath, on behalf of the German Reich, signed a protocol for Italo-German co-operation. Mussolini described it as an Axis round which European powers 'may work together'. In the following November, Germany signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan. It was directed against Russia. It did not work well. But it had some propaganda value. Western powers were favourably impressed by the anti-communist crusade in which Italy also adhered at a later period. Within four years of Hitler's accession to power he had made an impressive record. The Third Reich had secured alliance with Poland by a non-aggression pact in 1934, concluded alliance with Italy, Spain and Japan and broken the fetters of the Treaty of Versailles. By 1937 Hitler had bluffed his way into Rhineland, secured a powerful Army, Navy and Air Force and caused boom of business. A new, thriving and powerful Germany was brought into existence.

Hitler now reaped the results of his Italian alliance and convinced Mussolini of the inevitability of the Anschluss. Mussolini was so deeply impressed of the power of Nazi Germany that he was convinced that the future of the world lay with the Third Reich. He not only gave his signature to the Anti-Comintern Pact on November 6, but told Ribbentrop, the German Foreign Minister, of Italy's declining interest in Austrian independence. The way was now clear for the Anschluss. On March 11, 1938, without firing a single shot,

without any opposition from the League or the Anglo-French powers and the Soviet Union whose forces could have overwhelmed him, Hitler added 7 million subjects to the Reich and effected Germany's union with Austria.

Towards Munich.[6] Vienna is the gateway to South-Eastern Europe. Its occupation by the Germans brought about a decisive change in the European balance of power. Case green, i.e., German plan for the occupation of Czechoslovakia, was prepared as long back as June, 1937. The pretext was provided by the quarter of a million German minorities in Sudetanland who were affected by the virus of National Socialism. The British Government was unwilling to support the French action in favour of Czechoslovakia. Daladier and Chamberlain showed unusual eagerness to appease Hitler who declared that this was his last territorial claim in Europe. Chamberlain in a radio broadcast on September 28, 1938 frankly admitted the unwillingness of Britain to risk a war "because of a quarrel in a far-away country between people of whom we know nothing." The Munich tragedy (September, 1938) resulted in a "Collective blackmail" of the Czechs for preservation of peace. Chamberlain was grossly mistaken when he said that "This means peace in our time." On March 15, 1939, Hitler demonstrated what exactly were his intentions about Czechoslovakia by completely bringing it within the German Reich. The Anglo-German and Anglo-French non-aggression pacts signed by him with Chamberlain and Daladier were treated as scraps of papers. It was impossible to set limits to Hitler's aggression other than by force.

The Road to War. Had Chamberlain and Daladier decided to take advantage of "the unity of sentiment and purpose between Britain and Russia against Hitlerite aggression" there was every possible chance of saving the peace which they desired. The sacrifice of Czechoslovakia meant in the words of Churchill "the liberation of twenty-five German divisions which threatened the Western front; in addition to which it will open for the triumphant Nazis the road to the Black Sea. It is not Czechoslovakia alone which is menaced, but also the freedom and democracy of all the nations." It was but the preliminary for a major drive for Lebensraum in the East and a military settlement with France in the West.

The last days of peace were fast approaching their end and there was fervent preparation in both the camps. Before the next major turn of events took place it was essential to reach an understanding

6. For details see chapter 5.

with the Soviet Union. In the Munich agreement the Anglo-French powers did not care to consult U.S.S.R. and ignored the possibility of an alliance with her. Britain and France were eager to turn Germany's face eastward and the Soviet Union took measures to protect herself. Neither the democracies nor Axis could afford to involve in war without reaching an understanding with Russia. Hitler knew that any attack on Poland would involve him in a war with the Anglo-French powers. Russia now had no possibility in being involved in war without allies. Therefore Stalin bought both space and time by the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact on August 23, 1939. Germany occupied Memel and made demands on Poland for the return of the Polish corridor. Poland which had annexed Czech territories now found herself in grave danger. On August 20, Germany renewed demands on Poland. The French and British guarantee to Poland was extended. In the words of David Thomson, "the idea of Nazi-Soviet Pact was born of the Franco-British guarantee to Poland." The Pact now encouraged Hitler to attack Poland on September 1, 1939, which resulted in the nemesis for Germany and started the Second World War. Italy which had concluded a close military alliance with Germany was, however, taken aback by the prospect. Hitler's hope for another Munich through Mussolini and Count Ciano was smashed on September 3 when Britain and France declared war on Germany.

SUMMARY

The National Socialist or the Nazi Party under Hitler stormed into power through the breach created by the depression of the thirties. They gained recruits from the bankrupt middle-class and frustrated youths of Germany. They held out a panacea for every economic evil. They promised job to the unemployed and business to the traders.

The fear of international communism proved a threat to property and privilege and industrialists and junkers patronised them. Nazi anti-Semitic and anti-communist programme attracted many to their camp. They used the bludgeon method in their dealings with their opponents.

The Reich was delivered to Hitler by a conspiracy of few men like Von Papen. Outwardly, however, every show of legality was maintained. Hindenburg appointed Hitler as Chancellor on January 30, 1933. Hitler ordered a new election of the Reichstag to maintain his show of legality but assumed emergency powers to crush the left and communist forces. The pretext for emergency was provided by the deliberate burning of the Reichstag building on the eve of election. The Nazis in spite of such unequal contest secured a bare majority in alliance with their Nationalist allies (282 plus 52). But as the 81 deputies of the outlawed Communist Party could not join the legislature Hitler enjoyed majority. The Enabling Act gave him dictatorial power. Within a short time all other

parties except the N.S.D.A.P. or Nazi Party were outlawed.

Within a short period Hitler established complete control over the Federal states and installed in every state Nazi controlled ministries. But he now faced certain problems which were interlinked. The S.A. under Rohm demanded further change—a second revolution, and the question of succession to president Hindenburg had to be dealt with. Rohm and his men were liquidated by a bloody purge on June 30, 1934. The presidency went to the Fuhrer—the new leader of the German people after the death of the old Field Marshal. The support of the Army (purged at a later period) gave Hitler complete control over the destinies of the German people.

The Nazification of Germany. The Nazis established complete control over the life of the German people. Culture was made to order. Education was remoulded in Nazi fashion which demanded a spartan way of life for the youth. The peasants under the Reich Food Estate, established under law, remained like serfs bound to soil. The Nazi economic policies were deliberately designed to function not only at times of war but during the peace that led to war. It destroyed organized labour and free scope for the entrepreneur. The so-called Labour Front was an integral part of the N.S.D.A.P. The German worker was no better than mediaeval serf. Germany provided jobs to the unemployed in the munition factories.

The people lost their rights. The so-called Peoples Courts and special courts carried on summary trials. Concentration camps cropped up like mushrooms. The Jaws were persecuted and finally exterminated to prove the race superiority of the Germans. The Gestapo or the secret state police was placed above the law. All state power was concentrated in the hands of a single individual. Goering stated, "Der Fuhrer carries final responsibility. His will is law."

Foreign Policy. Hitler's aim was to gain expansion of German power in Europe. The hated antagonised Britain and France must be forced to give way before the alliance of Germany, Italy and Japan. The aim of Nazi Germany was to eliminate not only the capitalist democracies but also the citadel of Bolshevism, the hated Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. He pursued his policy with rare skill and achieved unheard of success without even the display of force. But "The inner dynamics of German Fascism made war abroad a necessity for peace and prosperity at home."

The Repudiation of Treaties. Hitler by a succession of measures reduced the Treaty of Versailles to a scrap of papers. He withdrew from the League and the disarmament conference. Dr. Dolfuss, the clerical dictator of Austria, was murdered by the Austrian Nazis with active encouragement from their German counterparts. But the coup failed in face of opposition from Italy and other powers. Hitler disavowed all connections. His next step was the reintroduction of conscription (March 16, 1935). France, Britain and Italy at once condemned it in the Stressa Conference. But the signing of the Anglo-German Naval Agreement in April resulted in the crumbling of the Stressa Front. Hitler now desired Italian alliance. Circumstances favoured him. The Abyssinian war followed by the

Spanish Civil War drove Mussolini into the arms of Hitler. Hitler took advantage of the pre-occupation of Anglo-French powers during the Abyssinian War to remilitarize Rhineland. The Rome-Berlin Axis came into being in October, 1936. It was followed in November by the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany and Japan. Italy and Spain adhered to it later on. The Spanish Civil War created a third hostile Fascist state on the border of France. Hitler now reaped the benefits of the Italian alliance to effect the Anschluss with Austria on March 11, 1938, without firing a single shot. Other powers including Britain, France and Russia offered no opposition.

Munich and Drift towards War. The next step in Hitler's aggression was naturally Czechoslovakia. The British and French policy of appeasement facilitated it. The Munich Tragedy (September, 1938) resulted in a "Collective blackmail" of the Czechs from the preservation of peace. But peace could not be preserved because it was impossible to set limits to Hitler's aggression other than by force. Hitler violated his Munich promise by occupying the rest of the Czech territory by March, 1939. War was inevitable in near future. Both camps prepared fervently. But before the next major turn of events took place it was essential to reach an understanding with the U.S.S.R. Munich had made Russia suspicious that Anglo-French move was intended to divert German expansion eastward. Stalin now concluded a non-aggression pact with Germany to gain time and space (August 23, 1939). In the meanwhile Hitler had annexed Memel and demanded the Polish corridor. Anglo-French guarantee to Poland was extended. Hitler's attack on Poland on September 1, 1939, started the Second World War.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Bullock, Allan. : Hitler, A Study of Tyranny.
2. Churchill, Winston S. : The Second World War.
3. Lipson, E. : Europe (1914—1939).
4. Thomson, David : Europe Since Napoleon.
5. Shirer, William L. : The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.
6. Schuman, Fredrick L. : International Politics.

Chapter 10

Great Britain and the Policy of Appeasement

Principles and Problems of British Foreign Policy. The principles of British foreign policy in the post-Versailles era were the same as existed in the earlier period. Britain had gained immunity from aggression from the continent by natural isolation. It was, therefore, a cardinal point of British foreign policy to build up a strong navy equivalent to two next largest navies in the world. Britain thus could afford to maintain a sort of aloofness from continental politics and alliances. But at the same time Great Britain was unwilling to allow a single power to dominate over Europe. To achieve this object Britain was unwilling to allow any single power to disturb the balance of power. Whenever such a possibility was in sight it was Britain's accepted principle to build up an alliance against the offender. The Napoleonic wars and the wars against Germany in 1914 demonstrate British policy clearly. Such instances may be multiplied to illustrate this cardinal principle of British foreign policy. Only in the blind pursuit of a policy of appeasement of Germany Mr. Chamberlain forgot it and thus paved the path for the catastrophe that followed. Another cardinal principle of British foreign policy was the concern of Britain for the safety of the Low countries. The security of Britain depended upon it. The Low countries could be easily utilised by any hostile army as jumping ground for an attack on Britain.

In the post-Versailles era the application of these principles with all their implications became difficult. The problems of British foreign policy, in the post-Versailles era, were complicated by several factors which originated in a changed world. The war resulted in the decline of trade, the depreciation of the currency, the increase in

the unemployment figure, the decline in the export and the fall in production. Apart from these internal weaknesses Great Britain after World War I had to face more intense competition in the Far East and other parts of the world. The emergence of Japan was a serious blow to British interest in the Far-East. The emergence of America as a Great Power destroyed the well accepted British principle of a two navy standard and in the Washington Conference she was forced to relinquish it. The breakup of the Turkish empire and the creation of a number of small Arab States in the Middle East turned the area into a cockpit of contending factions. The Arab-Jewish conflict over a national home for the Jews in Palestine complicated the problem.

Great Britain had undertaken under the League Covenant responsibility of maintaining 'Collective Security'. But her commitments abroad and the unwillingness of the Dominions to involve themselves in European affairs made it nearly impossible to translate League obligations into action. The rejection of the Geneva Protocol, for instance, was due to the opposition of the Dominions.

The Weakness of British Empire. Britain after World War I was faced with many contradictions which reflected themselves in her foreign policy. "Great Britain", in the words of John Strachey, "is the Austria of the twentieth century."[1] The Austrian Empire, it is true, was confined to Europe and the British Empire spread all over the world. But that merely increased the problems and difficulties of the latter. The post-Versailles era saw the growth of self-governing Dominions into practically independent status. The acceleration of the colonial liberation movement increased the difficulties of the British government. The British Empire still commanded immense resources. But the Empire was definitely in the wane. This decline was all the more apparent due to the rise of Russia, America and Japan. The old principles could not be applied successfully in a changing world. British foreign policy in the post-Versailles era was riddled with contradictions almost impossible to solve. A further complication was provided by the problems created by the intricate question of reparation and war debts. Reparation prevented a normal restoration of trade. But the sentiment after the war was such that Germany was forced to agree to pay. The whole postwar problem of reparation created a vicious economic reaction. Ultimately the Depression of the thirties forced Britain to adopt preference for Empire trade at the Ottowa Conference. The British economy was

1. Strachey, John: The Coming Struggle for Power, p. 274.

forced out of gold standard and free trade. All these reflected in politics prompted caution in action. All post World War I governments in Britain followed a policy of international collaboration and attempted to avert risky and problematical gains, however brilliant. It was a policy of wait and see, a policy of hoping for better times.

Anglo-French Relations. The War of 1914-18 had resulted in the temporary restoration of balance in Europe. But the French were determined to prevent any further recurrence of aggression from Germany. The French attempt to gain security was met by the mutual guarantee of Britain and U.S.A. which later on refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and consequently the guarantee. The efforts of the French to build up a system of alliance against possible German revival never received support from the British circle. Britain, secured in her policy of isolationism and the shield of the British navy, looked upon French attempt to maintain hegemony in the continent as detrimental to British interest. The revival of Germany in the post World War I period was looked upon with favour by the British businessmen. After all Germany was a good customer of British goods and a revival of British trade with Germany required speedy revival of German economy to normalcy. The French policy of gaining productive guarantee and the occupation of Ruhr in 1923 was opposed by Britain. Britain desired to play the role of an arbiter in the continental politics. So long as no single power dominated Europe the British policy promised success and Britain successfully held aloof from continental commitments. But with the rise of Hitler in Germany and the growth of Italian aggression British politicians lost touch with the realities of the day. The fatal divergence of Anglo-French politics proved, in the long run, to be a contributing factor of the growth of Fascist power. Thus Britain, by concluding the Anglo-German naval treaty in June, 1935, destroyed the Stressa front. She did not feel it necessary to inform France about her decision. In this way every major decision of Britain served to weaken France and her allies and to help the Fascist powers, Italy and Germany, to gain their end. This policy was reversed only when it was too late.

Britain and Collective Security. Great Britain's position as a Great Power was affected by the independent actions of the Dominions. The Dominions refused to undertake responsibilities for 'Collective Security' and thus increased the problems of Britain. In 1923 the Canadian delegate to the League presented an interpretive resolution which limited the responsibility of the League members to 'Collective Security'. But Britain's responsibility with regard to con-

tinental politics had increased due to the disturbance of European balance of power after World War I. Britain, therefore, desired to help in the revival of Germany and courted Italian friendship after the rise of Hitler to power in Germany. Her foreign policy was torn between a desire to gain collective security and the need to maintain balance of power in Europe. The sanction against Italy, for aggression on Ethiopia, through the League was, therefore, half-hearted. Italy's occupation of Ethiopia did not materially affect the balance of power in Europe. The Hore-Laval Pact was a mere recognition of this fact. But it involved the surrender of collective security. Mr. Eden who was in favour of strong action to maintain collective security was sacrificed in 1938 to satisfy the 'Dictators'. The maintenance of the Stressa front was necessary to check Germany and to maintain status quo. France, Italy and Britain had formed a united front in the Stressa Conference. At the same time Britain desired a revival of Germany in the interest of balance of power and allowed it to crumble by the naval agreement. This British foreign policy dilemmas paved the path for the consolidation of Hitler's power. In Spain a democratic government was allowed to be crushed by the Fascists in active co-operation with Italy and Germany in the name of non-intervention. The weakness and inaction of Great Britain flowing from post World War I economic problems and the depression of the thirties led to foreign policy dilemmas.

Origin of Appeasement.[2] The series of steps which the British policy makers took to solve the foreign policy dilemmas has been aptly characterised as the policy of 'appeasement'. England during these years was wandering along the downward path in her easy-going way. During these years Britain's conservative government under Stanley Baldwin (1935-1937) and Neville Chamberlain (1937-1940) pursued a policy of concession to the Italian and German aggression. The policy of appeasement is specially associated with the name of Mr. Chamberlain. He was an appeaser of the Fascist dictators par excellence. Mr. Chamberlain was a successful businessman. He applied the experience gathered in the conduct of business to politics without understanding the fundamental difference between business relations and the relations of nations. During the fateful years that he dominated British politics he tried, with sublime confidence born of ignorance, to conduct foreign affairs in the same way as he had conducted his private business. He believed that personal approach could solve the differences which existed between Britain and France

2. See also Chapter 5.

and the 'Dictators'. Britain tried to satisfy Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and militarist Japan by throwing to them chunks. Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria and Czechoslovakia were sacrificed with the hope that by such concessions the hungry wolves of Fascism could be satisfied. It would entail no involvement of England in risky wars which she could hardly afford. Thus old England would be allowed to live in her easy-going way. He never realized that dire consequences might follow as a result of the inability of Britain and her allies to react against Nazi aggression.

One of the main reasons which induced Mr. Chamberlain to pursue the policy of appeasement in good faith was his firm belief that the appetite of the 'Dictators' was limited. He was convinced that Italy and Germany had genuine grievances and if these grievances were satisfied peace could be maintained in Europe. He pursued, therefore, this policy with firm determination, in spite of warnings from statesmen like Winston Churchill who correctly appreciated the character of Nazi aggression. The Prime Minister believed in the good faith of Hitler. When Hilter reintroduced conscription and violated the Treaty of Versailles he promised to keep Locarno Treaty. When he broke the terms of the last treaty he promised no further territorial claims.

The Anschluss, and the Munich tragedy followed. The basic assumption behind Chamberlain's policy of appeasement was wrong. He wrongly assumed that appeasement would earn for Britain gratitude of the 'Dictators'.

The defenders of the policy of appeasement, however, argued that the policy of appeasement was necessary in order to postpone the war. If the war with Nazi Germany was inevitable it was absolutely essential that the western powers should gain time to gird themselves for the inevitable struggle. Mr. Chamberlain played for time and provided the western world the breathing space necessary for preparing themselves for the struggle against Fascist aggression. This argument sounds realistic and logical. But, in fact, the policy of appeasement paved the path for the aggressive designs of Hitler and Mussolini. Britain was quite unprepared to undertake war and in the breathing space provided by the policy of appeasement British armament expenditure increased. In 1938-39 it reached £304 millions, the number of formed squadrons increased and ack-ack guns multiplied. But at the same time during this period the Axis powers were not sitting silent. Germany's armament expenditure in 1938-39 had increased to £1,500 millions. The bluffs of Hitler had resulted in the reintroduction of conscription, the remilitarization of Rhine-

land, the Anschluss with Austria which added 7 million subjects to the Third Reich without striking a blow and ultimately the partition and occupation of Czechoslovakia. In the words of Churchill, "The subjugation of Czechoslovakia robbed the Allies of the Czech Army of twenty-one regular divisions, fifteen or sixteen second line divisions already mobilized and also their mountain fortress line,.....We certainly suffered a loss through the fall of Czechoslovakia equivalent to some thirty-five divisions." More than this it resulted in a relative increase of the German forces. The Skoda factory increased Germany's strength. The German army increased in number and quality. Such was the fruit of the policy wrongly adopted by Chamberlain and his associates.

Another cause that contributed powerfully to the policy of appeasement, pursued so persistently by the makers of British and French policies, was their unwillingness to build up a "Grand Alliance" against Fascism with the Russian aid. Even after the Munich tragedy when it became apparent that nothing short of complete capitulation could satisfy Hitler, Chamberlain stated, in a private letter, "I must confess to the most profound distrust of Russia".[3] Russia was not only left out of door in the Munich but her offer of a six power conference after Munich was "coldly received and allowed to drop".[4] The western powers were, in fact, accentuated to appease Germany so that her attention might be diverted eastward. Western powers desired to deflect Nazi aggression towards Russia. Germany was admired by many Tory conservatives as a bulwark against communism. If Italy, Germany and Japan united in anti-comintern pact to save the western democracies from fear of international communism nothing could be more happy for France and Britain.

The Fruits of Appeasement. The road to Munich and to the final reversal of British policy which prompted her to give guarantee to Poland and risk the Second World War is a sad tale of miscalculations which reached their climax at Munich. Was it necessary for Chamberlain to fly thrice to Germany to gratify the desire of Hitler? Were Britain and France so weak as to make an abject surrender to Germany?

The defenders of Daladier and Chamberlain claim that Munich saved London and Paris from being wiped out by Luftwaffe's murderous bombing. But the confession of General Keital proved

3. See Churchill's The Second World War, Vol. I, p. 313.
4. **Idem.**

that Germany was not prepared for an immediate war. Keital confessed at the Nuremburg trial that "We had always been of the opinion that our means of attack against the frontier fortifications of Czechoslovakia were insufficient. From a purely military point of view we lacked the means for an attack which involved the piercing of the frontier fortifications". It was quite impossible that London and Paris were not aware of this. On the eve of Munich the French army, according to the assurances given by Gamelin, the French Commander-in-Chief, to Daladier, was in a position which would enable the Allied powers to dictate peace. But Daladier was not the man to act nor even Chamberlain obsessed by the wrong notion of securing peace at all cost. They spurned the Russian offer of co-operation, deserted Czechoslovakia, handed over the Skoda Arsenal and abjectly surrendered to Nazi threats. Chamberlain and Daladier were unduly alarmed with the fear of the German Air Force. But the Army and Air Force of Germany could hardly at that time concentrate on the western front when it was so much concerned with Czechoslovakia. The defenders of Munich point out to the valuable space of one year gained by Chamberlain and Daladier for British and French re-armament. But the one year's space said to be gained by Munich went in favour of Germany and Italy. In effect it resulted in giving Germany the valuable time she needed to complete her preparations for a final assault on the democracies. Had Germany started war on October 1, 1938, it is almost certain, as subsequent facts and the Nuremburg trial revealed, that she would have been quickly defeated. Thus British and French inaction produced a situation under which the democracies had to go to war under a much worser condition.

"The peril could probably have been averted by coming to terms with Russia for a Grand Alliance to check-mate the Axis. This the Tory leaders of the wasted years were never willing to do, since they seem to regard any extension of Soviet power as more dangerous to Britain than any extension to German power."[5] From the viewpoint of capitalist democracies this was a sound theory in the long run. But for the present Britain's survival was at stake. Britain needed after the outbreak of the war a new leader in Winston Churchill who valued Soviet friendship in a life and death struggle against Fascism.

French Appeasement. The French after the First World War were keen upon preventing a German revival. This had led her to search for security in and outside the League. She tried to build up alliances and gain productive guarantee. But the Ruhr occupation of

5. Schuman: International Politics, p. 579.

1923 proved to be a failure. The retreat from Poincare's policy led to collaboration with Britain, the signing of the Locarno Treaty, the admission of Germany to the League and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The Locarno spirit created a sense of security and the French government reduced conscription to one year. All these were the fruit of the efforts of Briand who served in successive ministries for 7 years (1925-1932).

The French finances in the post-Versailles era suffered terribly due to the loss in the war of 1914-18. The French budget could hardly be balanced due to the reluctance of the French people to be taxed heavily. The flight from franc and the attempt of the French government to retain the gold standard resulted in hardships and privations and ultimately led to the abandonment of the gold standard in 1936.

All these had repercussions on French internal and foreign policies. France saw the rise of a multi-party system which resulted in ministerial instability. Between the years 1929 and 1936 the failure to gain stability in the internal situation resulted in the formation of at least 20 Ministries. Many among the French bourgeoise politicians became active sympathisers of Fascism. So much so that it was feared that the right would attempt to establish a dictatorship of the Fascist type by exploiting the discredit into which the republic had fallen. The General Confederation of Labour, therefore, called a general strike to counter the situation. In 1936 M. Blum the socialist premier was supported by all left parties to counter the attempts of royalist and Fascist groups. In 1937 after his resignation another period of ministerial instability followed until under Daladier a strong executive was formed. All these differences reflected itself in the weakness of the French conduct of foreign affairs. French enjoyed predominance over Europe during the post-Versailles era till 1933. Subsequently their actions were paralysed by their fear of a recurrence of the horrors of war. French foreign policy was directed in appeasing Italy and gaining Mussolini's goodwill against Hitler. Mussolini was bent upon gaining a settlement of the colonial questions in Africa. When the colonial question was settled in 1935, Italy directed her attention towards Abyssinia. The League sanction against Italy strengthened 'Collective Security'. But pro-Fascist elements in France like the French Minister Laval tried to give Mussolini a free hand in Abyssinia. France attempted to keep in good terms with both Italy and the League at the same time. But the half-hearted efforts at appeasing Italian Fascism destroyed the good

faith that the small nations had in France and drove Mussolini in the embrace of Hitler.

The rise of Hitler had created the French desire to keep in good terms with Mussolini. But every stage in Hitler's repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles was facilitated by French inaction. Thus when Hitler introduced conscription on March 16, 1935, the French response was the reintroduction of 2 years' military service and the conclusion of Franco-Soviet pact of mutual assistance. But apart from this the French government did nothing to check the 'Resurrection of German Military Power.' Then came the next step: the remilitarization of the Rhineland on March 7, 1936. "There was perhaps still time for an assertion of Collective Security based upon the avowed readiness of all members concerned to enforce the decision of the League of Nations by force." This was an issue for France, but the French government refused to move without the aid of England. Thus the French lost for ever the chance for arresting Hitler's power. Henceforth French foreign policy faithfully copied the British policy of appeasement. German remilitarization of Rhineland and the construction of the Seigfried line destroyed all possibility of the maintenance of the status quo under French leadership. The advice of a young officer Charles de Gaulle for mechanized army was ignored and the French relied more and more upon Great Britain for her safety. The result was the rape of Austria and the tragedy of Munich which affected French defence vitally. The success of Franco in Spain, to which Anglo-French policy of non-intervention contributed to a great extent, imposed upon French border a third Fascist power. The same reasons which had induced the British policy-makers to adopt the principle of appeasement towards Fascist powers, viz., fear of communism, had also induced France to refuse the helping hand extended from Moscow to Paris. In the Munich Conference Russia was kept out of doors and Daladier joined with Chamberlain to hand over Czech territory and defences to Hitler. The Allied powers failed to check the disaster by a strong policy and to build up a Grand Alliance against the Fascist powers. "For France Munich was a disaster, and it is beyond understanding this was not fully realized in Paris. Her military position was destroyed."[6] The German Army was not only better equipped, it was numerically superior. The French resources for building up armaments were far less than the German. The Czech army of 35 divisions could have prevented Germany from concentrating on the west. As a result of the Munich

6. Shirer William: Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, p. 521.

betrayal Czechoslovakia as a power ceased to exist. More than that it undermined French prestige among small nations who no longer could set their reliance on French help against German aggression. At Moscow it induced the policy-makers of Kremlin to recast their policy in the coming struggle for power.

SUMMARY

The cardinal principles of British foreign policy which allowed her to rest content with splendid isolation were three, viz., balance of power, maintenance of a powerful navy on two navy standard and concern for the safety of Low countries. These principles became difficult of application in the post-Versailles era. The post-World War I trade dislocations and economic problems increased the internal weakness of Great Britain. The challenge of Japan in the Far-East and the emergence of America as a Great Power created immeasurable difficulties for Briain. Britain now had several competitors to face in the world market. Moreover, the challenge of Soviet communism was a menacing threat to the capitalist world. The Balkanization of the Turkish empire and the Arab-Jewish conflict over Palestine increased Britain's problems. Collective responsibility undertaken under the League Covenant further complicated matters. The unwillingness of the Dominions to share responsibilities in the continent further aggravated the situation.

Britain's weaknesses after World War I were contributed by various other factors. The British Empire like the Austrian Empire embraced within its folds various races and languages and diverse interests. But unlike the Habsburg dominion it was spread all over the world and that enhanced its difficulties. The Dominions in the post-World War I era were unwilling to follow the lead of the metropolitan country. The post-World War I period saw the acceleration of the colonial liberation movement. The problem of reparation and war debts prevented the normal restoration of trade relations. The Depression of the thirties forced Britain out of the gold standard. All these weaknesses in the internal financial and political set up when reflected in foreign policy prompted cautious action and induced the evolution of a policy of international collaboration.

Anglo-French Relations. Britain and France pursued opposing purposes in the post-Versailles era. Britain, desirous of restoration of German trade, disliked the French policy of gaining productive guarantee by the occupation of Ruhr in 1923. Neither did Britain entertain like the French idea of opposing German revival at any cost. The divergence of British and French foreign policies proved, in the long run, to be a contributing factor in the growth of Fascist power. Thus in June, 1935, by concluding the Anglo-German naval treaty Britain destroyed the Stressa front. In this way every major decision of Britain served to weaken France and her allies and to help the Fascist powers.

Britain and Collective Security. The League system of 'Collective Security' proved to be an additional responsibility which Britain, due to the reluctance of Dominions to be involved in continental politics, was not in a position to discharge. British foreign policy was torn between

the need to maintain 'Collective Security' and the dictates of balance of power. Therefore, England's support to League sanction against Ethiopia was half-hearted and the Hoare-Laval pact was the recognition of the fact that Italian occupation of Ethiopia did not materially change the balance of power in Europe and did not interest England. Mr. Eden, who was in favour of maintaining League system of 'Collective Security,' was allowed to resign to satisfy the 'Dictators.' The weakness of Britain resulted in a series of foreign policy dilemmas characterised by appeasement.

Origin of Appeasement. The series of steps taken to solve British foreign policy dilemmas by the conservative government under Baldwin (1935-37) and Chamberlain (1937-40) resulted in concession to the aggressors. Mr. Chamberlain, a lay businessman, was an appeaser par excellence. He conducted foreign affairs as he had conducted his private business. The Fascist powers could be appeased, according to his theory, by concessions. He failed to realize that nothing short of capitulation could satisfy them.

Mr. Chamberlain firmly believed that Germany and Italy had genuine grievances and if these grievances were satisfied peace could be maintained. But the true character of Nazi aggression became apparent when Hitler successfully violated the Treaty of Versailles, effected Anschluss and partitioned and finally occupied Czechoslovakia. Each time he broke his promise and committed further aggression. The Munich agreement, it has been said, allowed England and France the much needed space to prepare for resisting Nazi aggression. But this argument loses its edge when we remember that during this so-called respite for nearly a year German armament nearly doubled. Moverover, by depriving the Allies of the fine Czech army it increased the relative strength of Germany.

The fear of international communism and the desire to divert German aggression eastward was the real motive force behind the policy of appeasement pursued so consistently by the Tory government of England and the French policy makers.

The Fruits of Appeasement. The policy of appeasement resulted in a series of blunders. Munich, it was claimed, saved London and Paris from annihilation. Subsequent revelations at the Nuremburg trial prove that Germany was ill prepared for undertaking a war on two fronts at the time of Munich. Chamberlain and Daladier, unduly alarmed, determined to secure peace at any cost. British and French inaction as also their unwillingness to build up a Grand Alliance with Russia produced a situation under which they had to go to war under a much worser condition. The Tory leaders were more concerned with the possibility of an extension of Soviet Russia's influence than Nazi aggression. The result was disastrous. When Hitler started the Second World War the German Army swiftly overrun the continent.

French Appeasement. French foreign policy in the post-Versailles era was obsessed by the search for security against a possible German revival. Under Poincare the French in their attempt to gain productive guarantee occupied Ruhr in 1923. The failure of this policy and the Locarno Pact lulled France into a sense of security and induced her to re-

duce compulsory military service to one-year term. The financial problems of the republic and the flight from franc resulted in economic crisis. In France, government during this period was constantly changing under the pressure of multiparty system. The neo-Fascist attempt of destroying the republic was however checked by the formation of a ministry under socialist Leo Blum in 1936. In the same year France went out of gold standard. All these internal troubles reflected themselves in foreign policy dilemmas. In 1937 Daladier became Prime Minister in place of Blum but by this time France firmly adhered to a policy of appeasement.

The French enjoyed predominance till 1933 after which the rise of Hitler and the horrors of war paralysed French action. French efforts at gaining Italian friendship against Hitler led to a policy of appeasement towards Italy. Italy's African claims were settled peacefully. But the Ethiopian aggression resulted in League sanction. Pro-Fascist French politicians like Laval tried to give Mussolini a free hand in Abyssinia. The half-hearted effort at Italian appeasement drove Mussolini in the embrace of Hitler and cost France the goodwill of the small nations of Europe.

Every stage in Hitler's aggression was facilitated by French inaction. The introduction of conscription on March 16, 1935, was followed on March 7, 1936 by the remilitarization of Rhine. There was still time to check Hitler. But France refused to move. The establishment of the Franco regime, largely due to Anglo-French policy of non-intervention, created another Fascist power in the French border. The remilitarization of Rhine and the construction of the Seigfried line destroyed all possibility of the maintenance of the 'status quo' under French leadership. Henceforth the French followed British lead in appeasing Fascist powers. The result was the rape of Austria and the tragedy of Munich which affected French defences vitally. Fear of communism had induced France to bring about her own ruin. She refused to take the helping hand extended by Moscow.

"For France Munich was a disaster." It destroyed her military position and deprived her of the service of the well-trained and well-equipped Czech army. It finally destroyed the confidence of the small nations on French help. Above all it induced the policy makers of Moscow to recast their policy in the coming struggle for power.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Coates, W. P. and Zeldak, K. : A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations.
2. Bullock, Allan : Hitler, A Study in Tyranny.
3. Churchill, Winston S. : The Second World War.
4. Hartmann, Fredrick, L. : The Relations of Nations.
5. Sharp, Walter R. and Kirk, Grayson : Contemporary International Politics.
6. Shirer, William, L. : The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.
7. Strachey, John : Contemporary International Politics.

Chapter 11

The Collapse of Collective Security and the Origin of the Second World War

The Phoney War. The events of Europe specially the civil war associated with Spain prove beyond doubt that the shadow of Fascism was falling across Europe, long before the actual outbreak of World War II. The Spanish Civil War which broke out in 1936 was an event of utmost importance. It has been aptly called the 'Little World War' because it involved all other powers. The Spanish Civil War was a prelude to World War II. In Spain, Italy and Germany in defiance of the principle of 'Collective Security' undermined a democratic government and Britain and France demonstrated a complete callousness which resulted in the victory of Fascism in Spain. The outcome of the Spanish Civil War foreshadowed that, in future, Fascism might apply the same tactics on a bigger scale. In a sense, the Spanish people were the first casualties of the Second World War. The circumstances leading to the war demonstrate clearly that the democracies in Europe were living under constant threat from Fascist violence.

The smouldering discontent against monarchy forced Alfonso XIII of Spain to leave the country in April, 1931. Immediately afterwards President Zamora declared Spain to be a republic. In Spain the extreme republicans started anti-clerical riots and centrifugal tendencies demonstrated itself in the attempt to establish autonomy in Catalonia and certain other provinces. The election of the Constituent Assembly on June 28, 1931, showed a definite landslide for republicanism and in the Cortes the socialists with 117 seats became the largest single group.

Spain adopted a radical republican constitution based on German, Soviet and Mexican model with a president and a cabinet res-

ponsible to the Cortes. The church was deprived of its hold over education and civil liberties were guaranteed. Expropriation of the large landed estates proceeded apace. Essential public services were nationalized and the property of the jesuit order was confiscated. The government undertook large public works schemes and granted extensive autonomy to the provinces. Most of these reforms were carried out by the radical minister Manuel Azana. In the election of 1933 the Azana government fell and the Cortes was dominated by a moderate coalition ministry which did not enforce the laws against landed estates and church. Premier Lerroux tried to establish a pro-Fascist government and suppressed the radical opposition. President Zamora now dissolved the Cortes and ordered fresh election in 1936. In the election of February, 1936, the Popular Front parties composed of republicans, socialists and communists secured 258 seats and the right parties 215. Manual Azana became the President and Santiago Casares Quiroga became the Premier. The government had to face immediate opposition from unruly groups like Spanish Phalanx and the Army. Strong measures to check the restive elements hardened the opposition. The attempt of the government to steer a middle course failed to quell disturbances and the Fascists after careful preparation staged a military revolt on July 18. Military revolts took place in a number of garrison towns in Spain and Spanish Morocco. Originally the choice of the counter-revolutionaries fell on General Sanjurgo who was killed on his way to Spain in a plane crash. General Franciso Franco, who was exiled to Camary Islands for his anti-republican attitude, now took up the leadership of the rebel army.

Relative Strength of the Rivals. At the outbreak of the war the rebels had the advantage of surprise on their side. Franco was joined by the Moorsh troops and reactionary Army Generals. He received the aid of the Civil Guard, the Monarchists, the Foreign Legion and, above all, the Nazi counterpart in Spanish politics, the Falangists and the fifth column. The sailors were, however, republican in sentiment and though Franco was able to seize a naval battleship the counter-revolutionaries were deficient in the beginning in naval strength. Numerous civilians of monarchist and clercical sympathy rallied round Franco. They were reinforced by thousands of well-trained volunteers from Italy and Germany. Regular Italian troops nearly sixty to seventy thousand fought as volunteers in Franco's army. The Germans spent nearly half a billion marks on the venture. German airmen and planes who earned reputation of killing Spanish civilians profited by gaining experience and training. The Republican side had the support of workers, sailors and pea-

sants trained in military service. Some of the army officers prominent among whom were General Miaja and General Rajo undertook the task of defending the Republic and training the miners, workers and peasants who flocked to the Republican army. Thousands of volunteers from U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and other countries joined hands in the defence of democracy. Among these volunteers were Poles, Czechs, Frenchmen, Germans and Italian refugees who served in the Republican army in such units as the International Brigade, the Abraham Lincoln Battalion and the Debs Column. The Republican government of Largo Caballero unified the military command and the cabinet moved to Barcelona in October, 1937. The Caballero cabinet which contained a large number of syndicalists resigned in 1937 and was succeeded by the right socialist government of Juan Negrian.

The Attitude of Different Powers. Germany and Italy were naturally interested in installing a Fascist power in Spain. The Salazar government of Portugal saw in the radical republic the germs of a Bolshevik State and actively aided and abetted in its downfall. Italy and Germany saw in the rise of a Fascist Spain great advantage to their cause. Ideologically, the adherence of Spain would help the spread of Fascism and materially it would weaken France, increase the possibility of exploiting Spanish mines and raw materials in a future war against democracies and strengthen the hold of Italy in the Western Mediterranean. In Britain and France the people sympathised with the cause of the Republican government. The Labour opposition also strongly urged help to the government legally constituted. But Mr. Stanley Baldwin and even Churchill, who opposed the Nazi aggression on every other issue, felt that nothing could be done for helping the Republicans. British businessmen were interested in the copper and iron mines of Rio Tinto and Bilabo iron region as also Jerez sherry trade and, therefore, the conservatives were unwilling to displease the rebels who had extended control in those regions where British investment was the heaviest. The behaviour of the French government during this period was an enigma to the rest of the world. The cabinet was headed by Leon Blum, the socialist, who was installed in power by the Popular Front. It was natural for such a government to show concern for the fate of the Republic. Blum was paralysed by the fear of Right reaction in any attempt to aid the Republicans in Spain. He set his face resolutely against the pressure that was brought to bear upon him by his radical sympathisers. The Republic was in dire need of more arms. But contrary to all expectations the French Popular Front govern-

ment prohibited all export of arms to Spain on July 25, 1936. This was a violation of an earlier agreement whereby France had undertaken to supply arms to Spain.

The Role of the Non-Intervention Committee. The British government was steering a middle course. It was unwilling to alienate Italy whose friendship was earnestly sought for as a counterpoise to Nazi Germany. Naturally when Blum suggested the formation of a Committee of Non-Intervention it was welcomed. Eventually, the Non-Intervention Committee was formed in August, 1936, with twenty-seven nations. Germany, Italy and Portugal also joined it. The purpose of the Committee was to enforce the agreement reached among powers to hold a ring around Spanish Civil War so that others might not be involved in it and to prevent any military aid on either side. The Fascist powers had no intention of letting down Franco and while Britain and France meticulously applied the principle of non-intervention to prohibit export of arms to Spain, the rebels received planes, munitions and men from Germany, Italy and Portugal. Thus while the legitimate government of Spain was deprived of all aids from outside and ran short of the sinews of war, in the name of non-intervention, the rebels secured active foreign aid. The Non-Intervention Committee in the meanwhile indulged in interminable and acrimonious debate. It was quite apparent by this time that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy had joined the Committee only to cover their designs on Spain.

The League Council passed a resolution in May, 1936, and directed all other states not to intervene in the Spanish Civil War. The United States also unilaterally followed a policy by which both the sides were prevented from purchasing arms and ammunitions from America. Thus the Fascist powers were now free to act as they liked in Spain. Men and arms poured to the rebels while the legitimate government suffered from lack of supply due to the intervention of the Committee of Non-Intervention. As Mr. Litvinov had pointed out aptly before the Political Committee of the League, "If the Non-Intervention Committee had anything to boast of it had genuinely interfered with the supplies for the legitimate Republican army and with the provision of food for the civil population in the territory occupied by the latter."[1] The dubious role of the Non-Intervention Committee merely provided a shield for Fascist aggression in Spain. Italy and Germany were allowed to strike another

---

1. Quoted in A History of Anglo-Soviet Relations by Coates, W.P. and Zelda, K., p. 569.

blow at the democracies. The concessions granted by the western democracies to Italy and Germany were, however, unnecessary. What would have happened had they decided to take strong action to prevent interference in Spain? It was apparent from the outcome of the Nyon Conference that a determined stand taken by France and Britain could have still prevented Fascist aggression. In September, 1937, the Nyon Conference was convened to prevent mysterious assault on ships carrying goods to Spain by unknown submarines. It was reasonably suspected that this act of piracy was the work of Germans and Italians who boycotted the Conference. The Nyon Conference took the decision of joint patrol of British and French ships in Mediterranean to prevent future damage to non-Spanish ships. The immediate effect of this decision was to stop such damage to shipping.

The Victory of Franco and its effects. The Civil War in Spain lasted from 1936 to 1939. The rebel forces which at first occupied northern and western portion of Spain tried to divide the government territories into two by advancing along Teurel-Valencia line. But its early attempts on Teurel were frustrated. The Republican capital was removed from Madrid to Barcelona in 1937. In 1938 foreign help to Franco, specially the Italian Legionary Army Corps of nearly 100,000 and German specialists whose figure rose to nearly 15,000, enabled the rebels to capture Teurel and cut the government territories into two. Resistance, henceforth, though stiff became futile and in March, 1939, Franco captured Madrid. Thus the Spanish Civil War ended in a victory for the Fascists. On February 21, in the triumphant parade at Barcelona the Italian troops under General Gambera headed the march-past.

The Spanish Civil War was not, as is commonly believed, a struggle for mastery over Spain between the communists aided by U.S.S.R. and the Fascists aided by Nazi Germany. None of these countries were deeply involved in the war. German aid to Spain never equalled that of Italy. "The war remained in essence what it had been in origin—a clash between all the forces in Spain which believed in republican government and a policy of social reforms, and all other forces which clung to the old order in principle and sought in the institutions of military and fascist dictatorship a more effective means of perpetuating their power."[2] The feebleness of the democracies helped Fascist aggression in Spain. The event is of European significance. It proved beyond doubt that Germany and

2. **David Thompson**: Europe since Napoleon, p. 677.

Italy, if necessary, would combine in the coming struggle for power and ruthlessly smash democratic forces in Europe to their advantage.

The Spanish Civil War paved the path for the Rome-Berlin Axis. Ulrich Von Hassell, German ambassador to Rome, made the following comment in December, 1936, to bring out the significance of the Spanish Civil War in cementing an alliance between Italy and Germany. "The role played by the Spanish conflict as regards Italy's relation with France and England could be similar to that of the Abyssinian conflict, bringing out clearly the actual opposing interests of the Powers and thus preventing Italy from being drawn into the net of the Western Powers".[3] The outcome of the Spanish Civil War was disastrous for France. It gave her a third Fascist power on her border. It paralysed French action and served to enhance the internal strife in French politics between the Right and the Left. Though Italian sacrifice in the war was far greater than German, yet it was Hitler who profited most in the Spanish Civil War. It served to weaken the democracies and bring Italy closer to Germany. Above all it encouraged Hitler to further aggression. Henceforth, as Litvinov prophesied, "there would be no guarantee against its repetition on a wider scale in relation to other States." In Spain the opposing forces fought out the 'phony war' which resulted in the victory of Fascism. It encouraged the Fascists to start the World War II which however resulted in their utter defeat.

Origin of World War II—Poland. The immediate circumstance that led to the outbreak of World War II was Hitler's attack on Poland on September 1, 1939. In the past Poland was affected seriously by successive German aggressions. But Polish politicians were blind to German intentions since the Peace Settlement of 1919, although, of all the countries that lay in the border of Germany, Poland had most to fear.

Polish Politics in the Post-Versailles era. Polish landowners owned extensive territories in Lithunia and Ukraine till the Russian revolution of 1917. The Peace Settlement which created an independent Poland included only Polish territories. Poland desired an extension of her hold over lands formerly under her control. It was in this spirit that Marshal Pilsudski, the head of the Polish State and army, struck at an already reeling Russia in 1920 to grab Ukraine. But the attempt though initially successful failed miserably and in their counter-thrust the Soviet forces reached within a few miles of Warsaw. It was here that Pilsudski administered a check on the

3. Quoted in Hitler—A Study in Tyranny.

Soviet troops and advanced once more to Russia territories. The Treaty of Riga signed in 1921 gained for the Poles a frontier which was some 150 miles east of the so-called 'Curzon line' proposed by the Allied powers. In the post-Versailles era Vilna became a bone of contention between Poland and Lithunia. Poland forcibly occupied the port and Lithunia compensated herself by seizing Memel. The Allied powers merely recognised the *fait accompli*.

Poland had no natural frontier and it was placed between Soviet Union in the east and Germany in the west. Poland's security lay in building up military alliances with France, the Baltic States and the Little Entente powers. Poland, therefore, signed the Litvinov Protocol and allied herself with France and Rumania. In 1931 Poland reached non-aggression accord with the Soviet Union.

Polish-German Relations till 1939. The makers of the Peace Settlement in their desire to provide Poland an access to the sea converted the German city of Danzig into a free port. Its administration was entrusted to the League but it was placed under the economic authority of Poland. The Polish-Danzig agreement of 1921 provided a constitution for the free city with the executive authority vested in the hands of a High Commissioner appointed by the League. The relation between Danzigers and Poland was not particularly happy and Polish attempt to develop the port of Gdynia further embittered their mutual relations. The Treaty of Versailles also handed over a territory west of Danzig, 260 miles long and 80 miles in breadth, to Poland. This Polish corridor divided East Prussia from the rest of the Third Reich and provided a source of bitterness for Polish-German relations. Much of the land given to Poland was inhabited by Poles and was seized during Polish partitions in the 18th Century. But the Poles had taken more than they deserved in Silesia and German governments before the advent of Hitler had claimed these areas as German. Germany looked upon the Corridor and Danzig as irredentist area. The growth of Nazi influence in Danzig after the advent of Hitler had made it apparent that within near future the Free City would be reunited with the Third Reich.

But Col. Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, readily accepted Hitler's offer of a pact of non-aggression in 1934. Hitler's reasons for this rapprochement with Poland were dictated by the need to placate his pacific intentions and to dissociate France from her principal ally in Eastern Europe. For Poland it was a policy of suicide. Because so long as the issue of Danzig and the Polish Corridor remained it was difficult to foresee how a mutually acceptable compro-

mise could be worked out. But the Polish non-aggression pact served the purpose of Hitler for the time being. Beck and his fellow colonels watched benevolently the remilitarization of Rhineland, the occupation of Austria and the Munich tragedy. Poland even demonstrated a hyen-appetite by grabing portions of Czechoslovakia with the approval of Hitler in October, 1938.

The Reversal of the Position. In January, 1939, Ribbentrop had visited Warsaw and the Polish-German friendship was loudly proclaimed. But in the following March the whole position was reversed and in September Nazi boots pounded on Polish soil. Earlier in October, 1938, Ribbentrop had offered to Lipski, the Polish ambassador, terms for the settlement of outstanding questions between Poland and Germany. It included transfer of Danzig to the Reich and building of German railway through the Corridor. But Beck, the Polish Foreign Minister, was unwilling to concede nor was he taken by Ribbentrop's assurance of an alliance against Poland's most hated neighbour U.S.S.R. Germany did not persist to gain her demands for the present because Hitler was bent on occupying Bohemia and Moravia where he sent his troops on March 15, and German troops established protectorate over Slovakia. The situation changed at once. German troops were in Slovakia in the southern front. Already the northern and western fronts were controlled by the Germans. Militarily the position of Poland became untenable. The Jaws of Nazi Germany were everywhere except the Russian border. On March 22, Germany occupied Memel. The scales began to fall from Beck's eyes though it was perhaps too late. On March 21, 1939, Germany presented to Poland a series of demands which were virtually the same as offered earlier. German demands of extra-territorial road and railway across the Polish Corridor was rejected by the Polish government.

The Reversal of British Policy and President Roosevelt's Peace Appeal. Germany was by this time well prepared for an all out offensive against Poland. But Poland was not so easily intimidated as Austria and Czechoslovakia. The 'Colonels' who ruled Poland were not prepared to accept *fait accompli* in Danzig. Warsaw regarded the German demand as only the beginning which would ultimately lead to other far reaching demands. But even under such pressing circumstance Poland was unwilling to accept the six power conference suggested by Litvinov. Beck felt so much dislike for Russia that the reasonable offer that the two governments should confer for improvement of transit traffic through Czech territory was rejected. And even when a possible showdown was almost certain

he was unwilling to accept Russian help. The attitude of Poland was better 'Hitler than Stalin'.

Beck's position was strengthened by this time. On March 31, Mr. Chamberlain by a unilateral declaration assured Poland of British and French aid in case of Nazi aggression. This was a complete reversal of British policy of appeasement so far followed with persistence. But without the aid of Russia this guarantee was worthless from the military viewpoint. The British government also extended assurance to Rumania and Greece. Their attempt to arrive at an understanding with Russia reached a deadlock, however, because of the unwillingness on the part of Poland and Rumania as also the Baltic States to receive the Russian guarantee. On May 3, 1939, Litvinov, the advocate of Collective Security, was replaced by Molotov and it was evident that a reversal of the Soviet policy was imminent.

At this juncture President Roosevelt in a message to the 'Dictators' requested them to give assurance to a list of twenty-seven nations ranging from Finland to Iran to the effect that, for at least a period of ten or preferably twenty-five years, their armed forces would not commit aggression against these states. This was made the occasion of a long denunciatory speech by Hitler on April 28, 1939. Roosevelt's none too tactful appeal had very little chance of success in the tense atmosphere of European politics. Hitler took this opportunity to denounce the Anglo-German naval treaty of 1935 and the Polish-German non-aggression pact.

The Maturing of the Crisis. The Polish crisis now reached its final stage and the Rome-Berlin Axis was further strengthened by the Pact of Steel signed between Germany and Italy on May 22, 1939. The Pact in its preamble declared that "the German and Italian nations are determined to act side by side with united forces for the securing of their living-space and the maintenance of peace."[4] Hitler now considered the time ripe for a final move against Poland. On August 22, Chamberlain made a last minute effort to resolve the Danzig Crisis by an appeal to Hitler in a personal letter. But Hitler's reply was uncompromising. On August 23, the Soviet-German non-aggression pact was signed. Churchill has pointed out that Stalin's move was, 'at the moment realistic in high degree'. But it was a complete reversal of the policy of Collective Security so far pursued and acted as 'a major bombshell into the Allied Camp'.

Hitler desired to localize the Polish war on which he had set his

4. Quoted in Hitler—A Study in Tyranny.

heart. To isolate Poland Hitler now attempted to win Great Britain. In a message, delivered verbally to the British ambassador, Sir Nevile Henderson, he expressed his desire to solve in his own way the question of the Polish Corridor and Danzig, but at the same time he pledged himself for the continuance of the British empire. He even expressed his readiness to render German assistance, if necessary, to Britain. On August 28, the British government proposed direct negotiation for resolving the differences between Poland and Germany. Hitler in reply demanded that Warsaw should send an emissary with full powers to negotiate with the German government. The proposal had no chance of being accepted and the British government in reply sent a counter-proposal of a restoration of normal contact. It was presented by Nevile Henderson to Foreign Minister Ribbentrop on the 30th August. Ribbentrop in reply merely read out the German proposals to Poland 'at top speed'. On September 1, Hitler's army marched into the Polish territory to execute 'Case White'. A last minute effort for peace by Mussolini failed and the Anglo-French powers declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939.

Causes of World War II—The Follies of the Victors. In 1919 the Allied Armies had completed the humiliation of Germany. Defeated, disarmed and at the mercy of the victorious powers Germany's fate lay at the hands of the war leaders assembled at Paris to decide her future. The Paris Peace Conference differed from all other peace conferences. In the words of Churchill, "Gone were the days of the treaties of Utrecht and Vienna, when aristocratic statesmen and diplomats, victors and vanquished alike, met in polite and courtly disputation, and free from the clatter and babel of democracy, could reshape systems upon which they were all agreed."[5] With one passionate spasm people everywhere raised the slogan that Germany never again should be allowed to become a threat to the peace of Europe. The politicians attempted to translate this sentiment in the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

The Treaty was ostensibly based upon the idealism of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. But through its war-guilt clause, its territorial readjustments and other clauses it sought to cripple Germany. German army was reduced to the size of less than the armed forces of Belgium. The major terms of the 440 articles of the Treaty of Versailles aimed to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a Great Power. The Balkanization of south-eastern Europe proceeded

5. History of the Second World War, p. 4.

apace and in the newly created states were included German minorities—a factor which accounted for German aggression in future. The liberal ideals of western democracies were imposed upon the German nation. It could not satisfy the imagination of the German people specially because the Weimer republic was looked upon as a part of the 'Diktats' of Versailles. The way was thus paved for the rise of the Nazis who marched through the breach created by the economic crisis of the thirties, and took fullest advantage of winning the confidence of the people by their opposition to the Treaty.

The economic clauses of the Treaty were directed to make Germany pay for the damages done during the war. Germany lost in the Treaty nearly 15 per cent of her arable land and 12 per cent of industrial area. Above all, war-torn Germany was saddled with reparation payments which were far beyond her capacity. Germany was able to pay only through huge loans from U.S.A. All these transactions regarding war debts and reparation prevented the restoration of normalcy in the post-Versailles era. German sentiment was hardened against the unequal peace imposed upon her. E. H. Carr while analysing the injustice inherent in the Treaty has aptly remarked that "Nearly every treaty which brings a war to an end is, in one sense, a dictated peace; for a defeated power seldom accepts the consequences of its defeat willingly. But in the Treaty of Versailles the element of dictation was more apparent than in any previous peace treaty of modern times." The Treaty of Versailles contained the germs of a future war.

Failure of Collective Security. The League of Nations was created with an ambitious aspiration to eliminate war as an instrument of policy. But the League received a mortal blow at the very outset due to the refusal of the United States to become a member of the League. America pursued a policy of isolation except in the Far-East where the rise of Japanese militarism constituted a threat to peace. Even those nations which accepted the League membership demonstrated a callous infidelity to the spirit of Collective Security. The Covenant of the League was either ignored or evaded. Article 10 became as good as a dead letter after 1923 and Article 16 was obeyed more in the breach than in substance. The coercive machinery of the League was not adequate to cope with the task entrusted to it. Economic sanctions were useless against a determined aggressor and the application of military sanctions against a Great Power needed willing international co-operation of all other Great Powers. But the League at no stage received willing co-operation of all the Great Powers. Again as Gathorne Hardy aptly points out, "The

power of the League whether real or imaginary would probably have been adequate as a deterrent, if the nation contemplating aggression had reasons to fear it in the earlier stages of its plans." As it was the rigid criterion 'resort to war' left the aggressor nothing to fear. Each power sought to turn the League into an instrument of its national policy. The League system of Collective Security naturally failed to maintain peace and provide guarantee against aggression. The result was disastrous for all. The first breach in 'Collective Security' was made when Japan invaded Manchuria and the League remained a silent spectator. It was followed by Italian aggression on Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War. In all these cases the failure of the League was fatal for world peace.

Failure of Disarmament. The Treaty of Versailles ultimately proved to be a twenty years' armistice as Marshal Foch, the Allied Supreme Commander, foresaw it in 1919. The failure of Collective Security system to guarantee peace undermined the possibility of disarmament. A definite guarantee of peace provided in the Treaty was the provisions regarding disarmament of Germany. Until 1934 these clauses of the Treaty guarded peace. But after that year it was neglected and ultimately in 1935 Hitler was allowed to introduce conscription. Thus, in the words of Churchill, "the final safeguard of a long peace was cast away". The Covenant of the League also provided for disarmament. In Article 8 it was clearly stated that the members of the League would take steps for the "reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety." But as the League members had no faith in the system of Collective Security guaranteed by the League each nation entered into a competition for rearmament, so that the words 'the lowest point consistent with national safety' came to mean that each nation should be more heavily armed than its potential enemy. The Disarmament Conferences called by the League failed to achieve the desired aim. The totalitarian states armed at a rapid stride and raised the slogan of 'guns before butter'. Politicians in democratic states failed to keep pace with them for fear of losing elections as Mr. Baldwin frankly admitted before the House of Commons on November 11, 1936. The result was disastrous for the security of the peace-loving nations.

The Policy of Appeasement and Pacifism. In the post-Versailles era the policy makers of Downing Street and Quaid'orsay demonstrated a strange lack of appreciation of the dangers that threatened world peace due to the rise of Nazi Germany. They considered that 'the Dictators' had real cause of grievance and that these could be

satisfied by concessions. They failed to appreciate that nothing short of capitulation could satisfy them. Their pacific desire led them to think that the policy of appeasement would help to maintain peace and that the 'Dictators' once satiated would leave others alone. They were also induced to follow this policy of appeasement due to their desire to drive German aggression eastward towards the hated citadel of Bolshevism. Thus Germany was allowed to rearm, to remilitarize the Rhineland, to effect the Anschluss and to partition and finally occupy Czechoslovakia. The possibility of resistance to German aggression and the chances of its success diminished at every stage. The necessity of building up a Grand Alliance of Britain, France and Russia was overlooked till the thunderstorm of war actually broke out and engulfed the world.

Ideological Factor. One of the main reasons which prompted the western powers to adopt a policy of appeasement was their fear of Bolshevism. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republic was considered by the western powers as enemy number one. The rise of Hitler encouraged some of the pro-Fascist politicians in western democracies to encourage the Fascist aggression as a counter-poise to Bolshevik expansion. But the western democracies failed to understand the simple truth that it was impossible to set limits to Fascist aggression and tyranny. "The movement and its leaders were nihilistic —bent upon total destruction of the liberal matrix of civilization which they detested, and if in this they failed they were bent upon self-destruction."[6] Fascism meant war and a war which could end either in the ascendency or in the destruction of the Fascist doctrine. In the east Japan followed the same policy. Fascist aggression was directed not only against Russia but also the democracies whose feebleness facilitated its growth. The Second World War was the outcome of the follies of the victors, the miscalculations of the democracies, the economic crisis of the thirties which helped the rise of Fascism. But above all it was the outcome of the aggression of Nazis who tried to establish their monstrous regime over the rest of the world.

SUMMARY

The Spanish Civil War was the prelude to World War II. Italy and Germany in defiance of the principle of Collective Security undermined the democratic government of Spain. In 1931, Spain became a republic and adopted a radical constitution. The Government undertook a number of reforms including the confiscation of large landed estates and

6. **David Thompson,** : Europe Since Napoleon, p. 716.

Church property. But in the election of 1933 the radical government of Manuel Azana was replaced by a pro-Fascist government which tried to re-establish old privileges and suppress all democratic parties. In the next election held in 1936 the socialists and radicals secured majority in the Cortes and Fascists with the help of army officers raised the standard of rebellion against the Government.

The Generalissimo of rebel forces was Franco. He was supported by the Monarchists, the Foreign Legion, and the Nazi counterpart in Spanish politics, the Falangists, and the Fifth columnists. The sailors, however, remained loyal and although Franco seized one battleship, he was deficient in naval strength. German airmen and technicians joined Franco's horde and regular Italian troops nearly sixty to seventy thousand fought in Franco's army as 'volunteers.' The Republic was supported by workers and peasants and army officers like General Miaja and General Rajo. Volunteers from all countries flocked to the republican standard to defend democracy against Fascist assault.

Germany and Italy saw in it an opportunity to spread Fascist ideology, weaken France, strengthen Italy's influence in Western Mediterranean and to exploit Spanish resources in a future war. British Conservative government did nothing for the republicans and were reluctant to displease the rebels who had established their hold where British investment was the heaviest. The 'Popular Front' government of Leo Blum in France was paralysed by the fear of Right reaction in any attempt to aid the republicans and prohibited export of arms to the legally constituted Government of Spain.

At French suggestion a Committee of Non-Intervention was formed with 27 nations including Germany, Italy and Portugal. The Fascists paid lip service to the resolutions of the Committee and used the cover to aid the Falangists. Britain and France on the other hand drew a ring round Spain and deprived the Spanish Republic of all aid from outside. The League Council also directed all other states not to interfere in the Spanish Civil War. The U.S.A. prohibited arms export to both the parties. Thus the activities of the democratic countries and the Non-Intervention Committee resulted only in enhancing the difficulties of the Republic. Strong action to check Fascist help to Franco was avoided. Only when British and French shipping suffered from pirate submarine attacks the democracies took the decision of checking it by joint patrol in the Nyon Conference. It was suspected that this piracy was engineered by the Fascist powers and the decision of the Nyon Conference was sufficient to check their action. The Civil War which raged from 1936 to 1939 ended in Franco's victory. The war remained in essence a clash between Republicanism and Fascism. It cemented Rome-Berlin Axis and imposed in the border of France a third Fascist power. Germany profited most in the Spanish Civil War. The war drew Italy nearer to Germany and served to weaken France. Henceforth "there would be no guarantee against its repetition on a wider scale in relation to other states."

Origin of the Second World War II—Poland

Polish Politics since 1919. Since 1919 Poland remained quite callous about the possibility of German aggression. In her desire to extend

control over Ukraine the Polish army under Marshal Pilsudsky struck at an already reeling Russia in 1920. Peace was concluded in the Treaty of Riga (1921). It gained for the Poles a frontier which was some 150 miles east of the so-called 'Curzon line' proposed by the Allies.

Placed between Russia and Germany, Poland sought her security in building up military alliances with France, the Baltic States and the Little Entente powers. In 1931 Poland also signed non-aggression pact with U.S.S.R. But the Peace settlement by recognizing the economic authority of Poland in the Free city of Danzig and handing over the Polish Corridor to Poland provided a bone of contention between Germany and Poland. The Poles had seized in Silesia more territory than they deserved and the Corridor divided East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Germany looked on these territories as irredentist area.

Just after his advent to power Hitler concluded a non-aggression pact with Poland to dissociate her from the democracies. Poland looked on benevolently to the successive acts of aggression and demonstrated a 'hyena appetite' by seizing parts of Czechoslovakia in October, 1938.

But now came the turn of Poland. The Jaws of Nazi aggression was closing on Poland. When Bohemia and Moravia as also Slovakia came under German control Poland's position became militarily untenable. Germany presented to Poland in March, 1939, a series of demands including transfer of Danzig and transit rights through the Polish Corridor.

It was evident that the German claims, if conceded, would lead, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, to further aggression. Poland was not intimidated but at the same time she was unwilling to take Russian aid in case of German aggression. Great Britain unilaterally gave guarantee to Poland. It was followed by an Anglo-Polish accord. To relieve the international tension President Roosevelt appealed for peace. But far from reducing the tension it gave Hitler opportunity to defend his policy in a Reichstag speech in which he denounced Anglo-German naval pact and the non-aggression pact with Poland.

Hitler now prepared for an all-out assault on Poland. Germany concluded on May 22, 1939, a Pact of Steel with Italy and on August 23 the German Soviet non-aggression pact—'a major bombshell into the Allied camp'—was signed. The way was now open for war. But Hitler took a last minute chance of political manoeuvre to isolate Poland. He told the British ambassador that if England allowed him free hand with regard to Poland he would guarantee the continuance of the British empire and even render assistance to do so. The British government appealed for direct negotiations between the two governments but refused to be taken by Hitler's diplomacy. Attempts at negotiation, however, failed due to the impossible conditions imposed by Germany. On September 1, Hitler attacked Poland and started World War II.

CAUSES OF WORLD WAR II

The Follies of the Victors

The Treaty of Versailles, though ostensibly based upon Wilsonian idealism, sought to cripple Germany militarily and economically. The aim

of the Treaty was to prevent Germany from ever again becoming a Great Power. The German people, therefore, determined to overthrow the Peace Settlement at the earliest possible opportunity. The reparation payments imposed upon Germany created unnecessary bitterness and prevented the restoration of normal relations. The Depression of the thirties created serious breach in the unpopular Weimer republic which could not withstand the crisis and Hitler and his Nazi faction stormed into power. Thus the Treaty of Versailles proved to be a twenty-year armistice and with the coming of the Nazis to power war became inevitable. The Versailles, 'Dictates' accounted for the rise of Hitler to a great extent.

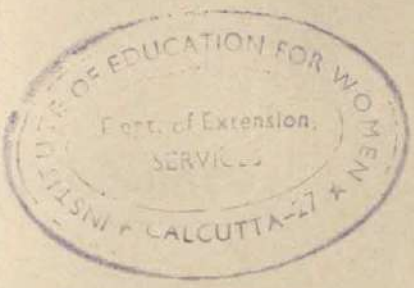
Failure of Collective Security. No sooner was it born the League received a mortal blow from the withdrawal of U.S.A. The infidelity of the League members' to the provisions of the Covenant became apparent. Article 10 became a dead letter in 1923 and Article 16 was obeyed more in the breach. The coercive machinery of the League was inadequate to cope with the task entrusted to it. Moreover, the sanctions of the League became ineffective due to lack of support of the members. At no stage of its existence did the League receive support from all the Great Powers. The inability of the League to guarantee 'Collective Security' was demonstrated in Sino-Japanese War of 1931, Italo-Abyssinian War and the Spanish Civil War; collapse of 'Collective Security' led to World War II.

Disarmament. The Treaty of Versailles had made provisions to keep Germany virtually disarmed. Till 1934 peace was secure due to these clauses of the treaty. But after this period the precautions were cast away. The result was the introduction of conscription and the growth of Germany's power to strike. The League's failure to provide security made clause 8 regarding reduction of armament "to the lowest point consistent with national safety" a misnomer. The disarmament conferences became futile. Each nation armed more heavily than its potential enemy.

The Policy of Appeasement and Pacifism. The series of miscalculations which led the democracies to follow a policy of appeasement towards Fascist powers was based upon the wrong assumption that the 'Directors' could be pacified by concessions. This policy also flowed from a desire to divert German aggression east-wards towards the hated Bolsheviks. But ultimately this policy recoiled upon the west when Germany concluded non-aggression pact with Russia and started the war in a much advantageous position.

Ideological Factor. One of the main reasons behind the policy of appeasement was the fear of Russian communism. It prevented the formation of a Grand Alliance of France, Britain and Russia against Germany. But policy makers of Britain and France failed to appreciate the true character of Nazi aggression. "The movement and its leaders were nihilistic—bent upon total destruction of the liberal matrix of civilization which they detested and if in this they failed they were bent upon self-destruction." Fascism meant war and a war which could end either in the ascendency or in the destruction of Fascist doctrine. Japan, Germany and Italy joined hands to impose their monstrous regime over the rest of the world and though they failed their aggression resulted in bringing about World War II.

1. **Bullock Allan** : Hitler—A Study in Tyranny.
2. **Churchill, Winston S.** : The Second World War.
3. **Hardy, Gathorne, G.M.** : A Short History of International Relations.
4. **Sharp, Walter R. and Kirk, Grayson** : Contemporary International Politics
5. **Shirer, William L.** : The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich.
6. **Taylor, A. J. P.** : Origin of the Second World War.


INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
Dept. of Extension
CALCUTTA-17

PART II

Chapter 12

The United Nations

War Time Conferences. During the Second World War the Allied powers held four major Conferences for co-ordinating their military strategy as also to lay down fundamental principles for post-war reconstruction. A beginning, however, was already made in August, 1941, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt met the British Premier Winston Churchill in mid-ocean and issued the Atlantic Charter. The Atlantic Charter outlined the aims of the Allied powers. The Atlantic Charter applied to the whole world. It assured self-determination of the nations, peace and security. The President in a speech guaranteed to the world four freedoms, viz., freedom of speech and religion and freedom from want and fear. To assure permanent peace, the Charter guaranteed freedom of the seas and security based on disarmament. The Charter expressed the ideal of international co-operation and peace. The principles and purposes of the Charter were accepted subsequently by a declaration signed on January 1, 1942, by Britain, U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China. Twenty-two other nations adhered to this declaration. Henceforth it was designated as United Nations Declaration. In January, 1943, in a meeting at Casablanca Roosevelt and Churchill decided to invade Sicily. The purpose of this conference was purely military. The next war time conference of importance was the Moscow Conference (October 1942) of the Foreign Ministers. Cordell Hall, the U.S.A. Secretary of State, Mr. Eden, the British Foreign Minister and Molotov, the Russian Foreign Commissioner, met at Moscow in an atmosphere of cordiality and thrashed out important questions regarding co-ordination of Allied efforts to deal with problems that would arise after the defeat of Nazi Germany. The Conference decided to make no separate peace and promised punishment for the

atrocities committed by the Germans. Due to the insistence of U.S.A. a Four Power declaration including U.S.A., U.S.S.R., U.K. and China against the Axis was drawn up in this Conference. At the end of the next year Churchill, Roosevelt and Chiang Kai-shek met in another conference at Cairo. This Conference decided to deprive Japan of her conquered territories and to create an independent Korea. The Teheran Conference of Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill which followed Cairo decided tentatively the date for operation 'overlord', i.e., Normandy invasion. It was also decided that if Turkey declared war against Germany the Soviet Union would protect her against a possible attack of Bulgaria as a reprisal. In the Conference the Curzon line was approved as Poland's eastern frontier. The Allied powers agreed henceforth to keep in close touch with each other with regard to the operations planned for the future. In August, 1944, another Conference of the representatives of the four Great Powers, *viz.*, U.K., U.S.S.R., China and U.S.A., held in Dumbarton Oaks took important decisions regarding the international organization to be set up after the end of the Second World War. In the Conference it was decided that the major powers including the four countries represented in the Conference (and if possible France) should exercise veto. There was, however, difference of opinion regarding the extent to which a power could exercise vote in the Security Council in disputes in which it might be involved.

In the Yalta Conference held in February, 1945, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met together for the last time. The Conference made important decisions regarding setting up of a new international organization. In its decisions regarding the future of Germany and Japan the Conference, it has been alleged, made substantial concessions to Russia. But the results of the Conference do not justify this criticism. Territorially the only substantial advance made by Russia, over her pre-Russo-Japanese war status, was the gain of Kurile Islands. In addition southern Sakhalin was acquired by Russia and Port Arthur was leased out to her as a naval base. Joint control of Russia and Kuomintang China was established over Manchurian and Chinese Eastern Railway. The veto in the Security Council and the inclusion of Ukraine and Byelorussia as U.N. members was conceded at Dumbarton Oaks and, therefore, in Yalta, Roosevelt did not surrender to Russian demands as has been pointed out by his critics. A decision to demand $20 billion as initial reparation charge from Germany was taken at this Conference. At Yalta the three powers agreed to destroy German militarism and to eliminate Nazism from Germany. Germany was to be divided into occupa-

tion zones by the victorious powers. Poland was given additional territorial concessions and the Allied powers decided to set up a democratic government in Poland as also in liberated Europe. But later on it was found that Russia and the Western powers possessed different ideas about democracy. Russia agreed at Yalta to declare war against Japan within three months of the fall of Germany. In Yalta the decision to call, in the following April, a conference at San Francisco to set up the new international body was taken.

The critics of Yalta point out that failure of Nationalist China in later years was due to the concessions made at Yalta at the cost of China. But they forget to mention that Nationalist China had already dug its grave by abysmal corruption and the concession at Yalta was meant to draw Russia in the War against Japan and to save China. The Yalta conference led to the Russian recognition of Nationalist China and the Sino-Russian treaty of August 1945 which helped Chiang to re-occupy North China.

Yalta was no second Munich. Here Churchill and Roosevelt did not make any concession to an aggressor but gave some Chinese and Japanese assets to win Russia's co-operation in the drive to subdue Japan. It was done before July 16, 1945, *i.e.*, before the prospect of ending the War with A-bomb had opened. Nor was China betrayed in any way because not only did the Allies strain their utmost to supply China with sinews of war but she was also allotted a permanent seat in the U.N. Security Council.

The last war-time conference was held at Potsdam in July, 1945. But before the Conference was held President Roosevelt breathed his last and President Harry Truman took his place. In Britain Churchill was replaced by Clement Attlee as Prime Minister. Stalin, Truman and Attlee took important decisions regarding the future of Germany which was divided into zones of military occupation with Russia holding the eastern part and Britain, France and U.S.A. holding the western part. A Council of Foreign Ministers was entrusted to draft peace treaties for Italy and smaller European nations. Pending a final peace treaty the frontier of Germany was delimited along the Oder and Neisse rivers. Germany was to be disarmed and her economy was to be decentralized. The Allied powers decided to de-Nazify Germany. At Potsdam it was decided that Austria detached from Germany was to be divided into four military zones for occupation of the victors but Germany should be treated as a single economic unit. The final settlement of the western frontier of Poland, it was agreed, should await the Peace Settlement. At Potsdam Conference it was decided to proceed with the Peace Treaties after the con-

clusion of which Italy and the Balkan States should be supported for U.N. membership.

Origin of the U.N. These war-time conferences mainly directed their energy to thrash out differences among Allied powers and to co-ordinate allied actions against the enemy. The outcome of these conferences was, however, not only military and strategical but also political. On the political side these conferences resulted in the creation of the U.N.

The roots of U.N. however lay far back in history in all the attempts hitherto made to save the world from the devastations of the war. U.S.A. Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hall, in his memoir notices that even in the early stage of the war he was convinced that to maintain world peace in future the setting up of a new organization was urgently necessary. Such an organization came within sight when on January 1, 1942, twenty-six nations accepted the principle of the Atlantic Charter in the United Nations Declaration. The Moscow Declaration on 'General Security' was released on November 1, 1943, after eleven days of negotiations on post-war matters by Hall, Eden and Molotov. The fourth point of the Declaration recognized the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership to all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security. This was followed by the Teheran Declaration (December, 1943) which welcomed all nations "into a world family of Democratic Nations."

The next collective stage in foundation laying was done in the Dumbarton Oaks Conference (Feb., 1944). After preliminary negotiations an informal conference of the major powers was called. The U.N. in its main features was outlined. The most difficult question was concerned with Great Power veto. In this Conference an agreement was reached on the principle but soon difference arose as to the extent to which veto should be allowed in the Security Council where a Great Power was a party to the dispute. There were other gaps on trusteeship and colonial territories as also Soviet claim to include all sixteen constituent republics of U.S.S.R. as members of U.N. These were referred to the view that the Big Three in impending Conference at Yalta should take. At Yalta it was agreed that the veto would not apply to procedural matters, and that a party in dispute would not veto where peaceful adjustment of view was involved. But all decisions involving enforcement of measures required Great Power unanimity, no matter whether one of the Great Powers was

party to the dispute or not. The Yalta schedule led to the invitation of 46 States at San Francisco. Subsequently four additional governments were invited.

While these Conferences laid the foundation-stone for the international organization, some specialized agencies had already cropped up in response to practical needs. U.N. owes much to these specialized agencies for its growth. The need for relief of war-ravaged areas and the refugees, for instance, led to the growth of U.N.R.R.A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration). The I.L.O. survived the League. The Food and Agricultural Organization and other such bodies became a part of U.N. and their objectives harmonized with U.N. aspirations.

The San Francisco Conference was important in this that here for the second time in human history an attempt was made to re-create an international organization. The decisions were openly arrived at and were accepted by a majority of two-thirds vote. The question of colonies was not resolved at Dumborn Oaks. In the Yalta Conference the Big Three had agreed that all existing mandatory territories, ex-World War II colonies and other territories should be placed under trusteeship. At San Francisco it came under fire and the result of the agreement ultimately reached is embodied in Chapter XI—XIII of the Charter. The veto came under fire of criticism of the smaller powers led by Australia and New Zealand. It seemed that this question of veto would ultimately wreck the whole Conference. Fortunately a compromise was found and this compromise changed not a word of the Yalta Formula. Finally, after overcoming few more hurdles, the U.N. Charter was ready for signature and by 24 October this was attained. The name United Nations was fixed upon to stress the continuity of the war-time alliance and the first meeting of the General Assembly followed at London on January 10, 1946.

U.N.O. and the League—A Comparative Study. The U.N.O. like the League came into existence due to the desire of the peoples and politicians of the world to ensure peace on a permanent basis. There exist naturally many similarities between the two international organizations. World War I and its ravages prompted the establishment of the League to prevent the recurrence of war. A similar sentiment led to the birth of the U.N. The League organization was based on a Council, an Assembly and a Secretariat. The Security Council, General Assembly and Secretariat of the U.N., though not an exact replica, yet bears strong resemblance to the Council, Assembly and Secretariat of the League. The Trusteeship system is virtu-

ally an improved version of the Mandatory system. The I.L.O. and the International Court and some specialised agencies of the U.N. are virtually a continuation of the League organs.

But in spite of the fact that the U.N. was virtually a revival of the League in a new form, there are important points of difference between the two. The makers of the U.N. did not commit the mistake of associating the international body for the enforcement of peace in the post-war period with Peace Settlement as was done in the case of the League. Neither did the U.N. originate after a world war. The U.N. originated during the war.

In composition, powers and functions the United Nations is a step forward from the League system. The League Council was flexible. Its number of non-permanent members went on increasing until the Great Powers were reduced to minority. Thus in the League the small powers came to acquire more importance. In the U.N. such a development cannot take place because the U.N. Charter has fixed the number of permanent seats and instead of the unanimity rule of the League the U.N. has given exclusive right of veto to the five. This was done with a view to prevent the Assembly from acquiring progressively greater influence as was the case with the League. So that in the Security Council each of the Great Powers were given a seat and it was saddled with greater power than the Assembly. But the system has failed. The underlying assumption of the Charter about the need of Great Power unanimity for enforcement of peace in war-torn world reflected the reality of 1945. But the division of the Great Powers today is creating insurmountable difficulties and U.N. Secretary General U. Thant has therefore proposed a return to the League system. Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter has authorised the Security Council to take measures for the maintenance of peace. But the changed condition of today, where out of eight or nine significant powers only four have been given permanent seat in the Council, has necessitated a reform of the Charter by transferring more authority to the Assembly.

The U.N. depends today for its success upon the co-operation of the Great Powers. But when the Great Powers themselves have fallen out it is difficult to see how the U.N. could fulfil its purpose. The League was utilised by the Anglo-French powers to appease the Fascist aggressors. American policy makers, on the other hand, desire to utilize the U.N. machinery for resisting communist states. The U.N., therefore, is facing the same fate as the League in 1930. The withdrawal of Indonesia from U.N. membership is a significant fact and if the disintegration of the international organization is to

be checked the U.N. must be improved. It is difficult to see how the line suggested by President de Gaulle of including Communist China in place of Nationalist China in the Security Council could improve matters very much. Nevertheless, such a step is necessary in order that the Chinese people may be properly represented in the U.N.

The suggestion most frequently made about the abolition of veto might destroy the Great Power co-operation which is the basis for any permanent peace. The U.N. system was so devised that no single power (excepting those who had permanent seats in the Security Council) was given right to prevent the decision of the Security Council. The League provision of unanimity had given authority to the members to use their veto to prevent any action. The small powers in the U.N. are given far less importance than in the League. The League, it was alleged, failed due to the provision of unanimity decision of the General Assembly. But today the critics of U.N. point out that the Security Council has been given much more authority than the Assembly and that has led to the failure of U.N. to work smoothly in recent times.

The League Covenant provided for arbitration and conciliation in Article 12 and for inquiry by the Council. If the Council failed to reach unanimous decision the members reserved the right to act as they liked. But if the Council passed a decision unanimously the members agreed not to go to war against a party that accepted the Council decision. Article 16 provided for sanctions against aggressors. But the amendments to Article 16 in 1921 and to Article 10 in 1923 virtually empowered individual states to decide for themselves whether they should take action to enforce League resolutions against aggressors or not. The Charter of the U.N. attempted to close the gap in the Covenant. In Chapter VI of the U.N. Charter provisions for the pacific settlement of disputes has been made. Chapter VII of the Charter empowers the Security Council to enforce peace. But these provisions concentrate authority in the hands of the Great Powers and in the changed situation they are quite inadequate to meet the needs of the time.

The U.N. and the League both have failed to satisfy the desire for complete accord and peace. But still they have changed the mode and procedure of international transactions. They have contributed in the improvement of relations between nations and mark a definite step forward. But the U.N. is largely the League in disguise. Mr. Hartmann has rightly pointed out that "In its essence the United Nations is, so far as its vital functions are concerned, an improved version of the League."

The Aim, Purpose and Principles of the U.N.O. The U.N. Charter has outlined in its 111 Articles the purpose, principles and the organizational set-up of the U.N. The preamble proclaimed the intention of the United Nations to save succeeding generations from the scourge of the war and asserts the value of fundamental human rights. The preamble expresses the determination of the United Nations to establish conditions under which justice and respect for international obligations can be maintained. Promotion of social progress and better standards of life are its declared aim. Peace and security and abandonment of the use of armed force except for common purpose are essential to create a condition under which the international machinry can be used for the advancement of all peoples. The signatories, therefore, promised to practise tolerance and live together in peace.

Chapter I of the Charter states the purpose and principles of the U.N. The U.N. was to become a centre for certain common ends for the purpose of maintaining international peace and for taking action against aggression. To develop friendly relations among nations became one of its main purposes. The U.N. aimed at solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms.

To achieve the above purposes the U.N. acted according to certain accepted principles. Firstly, it was based upon sovereign equality of all nations. Secondly, the members in their turn were to fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the Charter. The members of the U.N. undertook to settle their international disputes by peaceful means. The members also agreed to refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state or in short in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations. The members promised to support the actions of the U.N. and to refrain from aiding any state against which U.N. action might be directed. For the purpose of international peace non-members were also required to conform to these principles as far as possible. Matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of a state were left outside the scope of U.N. action. This principle would not apply, however, when enforcement measures were taken to deal with threat to peace, breaches of the peace or acts of aggression.

U.N. Charter also acknowledged the right of individual states to form regional arrangements for the maintenance of peace and security. Members were even encouraged to settle their disputes mutually

through such organizations. But the regional organization could take no action unless authorized by the Security Council which might use them for the purpose of enforcing peace. The members were given the right to take steps for individual or collective self-defence pending approval and action by the Council.

The U.N.O.—Organization.

Membership. The original members of the U.N.O. were fifty-one in number and the figure has been more than doubled at present. Article 4 of the Charter laid down that "Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgement of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations." Additional members may be admitted by a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly upon a favourable recommendation of the Security Council. The admission of membership has become an issue in the cold war and naturally some of the states including Communist China have been refused admission. The total number of U.N. membership is at present hundred and twenty-five. The major antagonists in the cold war oppose or support a state according as the state belongs to one group or another. Article 6 of the Charter states that a member which persistently violates the Charter may be expelled "by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council". The Charter has not mentioned the question of withdrawal. But the withdrawal of Indonesia recently from U.N. membership, as a mark of protest against the inclusion of Malaysia, has raised the question for the first time in the history of U.N.

The Charter (Article 7) describes the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat as the "principal organs of the United Nations."

The General Assembly—Composition and Organization. The General Assembly consists of all the members of the U.N. Each state can send five representatives but can cast only one vote. But an additional number of five deputies (and an ample number of advisers) are allowed to each delegation.

The Assembly elects its own president for the session. Thirteen vice-presidents and chairmen of the seven standing committees of the Association are also elected by the General Assembly. These standing committees unite under the president to form the General Committee which acts as a Steering Committee for each session. In addition there is a credential committee elected at each session.

The preparatory Commission had equipped the Assembly with six committees as follows:—

First Committee	...	Political and Security.
Second Committee	...	Economic and Financial.
Third Committee	...	Social and Humanitarian and Cultural
Fourth Committee	...	Trusteeship.
Fifth Committee	...	Administrative and Budgetary.
Sixth Committee	...	Legal.

The First Committee was aided by an ad hoc political committee. The ad hoc in course of time became permanent. Every state is represented in each of these committees.

Powers and Functions. The functions and powers of the General Assembly have been discussed in Article 10—17 of the U.N. Charter. Article 10 authorises the Assembly to discuss any questions likely to endanger international peace and security or draw the attention of the Security Council to situations likely to endanger international peace and security. But the powers of the General Assembly were restricted by Article 12 which was designed to prevent conflict between the Security Council and the Assembly. The General Assembly is forbidden under Article 12 to make recommendations on a subject while the Security Council is exercising its functions with regard to it. But the General Assembly may, under Article 14, recommend any measure for peaceful settlement of any situation likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations. Thus the General Assembly was granted potential powers on which to draw in case the Security Council failed. Within a year or two of its existence the Security Council was found wanting and even the Great Powers referred matters which the Security Council failed to discharge to the General Assembly.

Among its functions the General Assembly has been a parliament through which it carried on its 'teaching' functions, as Walter Bagehot puts it. Secondly, the General Assembly initiates studies and makes recommendations for the development and codification of international law and for the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms. It is a quasi-legislative function. Thirdly, the General Assembly acts as an organ for peaceful settlement of international disputes. Many important political questions like the Korean independence were brought to the Assembly to avoid the difficulty of the veto. The effectiveness of Article 12 began to wear thin and the convention that for removing an item from the agenda of the Security Council the unanimity of the Big five is not necessary was finally established. Lastly, the Assembly in its resolution

in 1950 asserted its jurisdiction in cases where the Security Council fails to exercise its primary responsibility. This resolution of 'Uniting for Peace' has given the Assembly authority in a field which the Charter had reserved for the Council. The General Assembly had not contemplated any change in the original approach to collective security prior to the end of the year 1950 or to be more precise prior to the outbreak of the Korean War. The frequent use of veto had clogged the machine of the Security Council in many important decisions. It was, therefore, desired by the Western sponsors of the 'unite for peace' resolution to strengthen the Assembly where there would be no problem of a Soviet veto. Under this resolution which was passed on November 3, 1950, the General Assembly was authorized to consider an urgent matter, requiring sanction, which may be prevented in the Council by a veto. A majority of the U.N. members or the Security Council might request the General Assembly to meet and consider such matters. If the Assembly is not in session it meets within twenty-four hours in such cases. The decision of the Security Council to refer to the Assembly is taken by a procedural vote. If the Assembly recommends sanction in such cases it is considered volunatry for the Assembly has recommendatory power. The General Assembly also supervised the work of the Secretariat. The ECOSOC and the Trusteeship Council as also the Security Council make their report to the Assembly. The first two have been placed by the Charter under the authority of the Assembly.

The Assembly elects members to the U.N. or to the Security Council, Trusteeship Council, the ECOSOC, and the International Court by a two-thirds vote. The Assembly also elects the Secretary General upon a favourable recommendation of the Council. All other matters are decided by a simple majority. The Assembly adopts the general budget of the U.N. and assesses the members for their share of the budget according to their capacity. Any member in arrears is expected to resign. The refusal of Russia and France to share the burden of certain steps such as in Congo without their approval had created deadlock which could be solved only through the tact of U.N. Secretary General U. Thant. The Assembly is a bundle of paradox. "In its making and functioning", says H. G. Nicholas, "have gone the experience of all sorts of institutions of the world over, but it is not exactly comparable to any of them."

Security Council—Composition. Article 23 of the Charter fixed the number of members at eleven, five of these (Nationalist China, France, U.K., U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.) are permanent members and the other six are elected by the General Assembly for a term of two years,

three each year. "In the first election of the non-permanent members three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election." On August 31, 1965 the Assembly by an amendment of the Charter increased the number of non-permanent members of the Security Council to ten. Subsequently India was elected a non-permanent member of the Security Council. On January 1, 1969, 5 new members replaced countries from their region whose term expired. Colombia, Nepal, Finland, Spain and Zambia have been elected by the Assembly to succeed Brazil, India, Denmark, Canada and Ethiopia respectively. The intention of the authors in endowing the 'veto' right to the Great Powers was to achieve Great Power unity. In the League every state was given this right of veto. In limiting this right to the Great Powers the U.N. took a step forward. But time has brought the fall of Nationalist China and the rise of some other powers. It is, for instance, a contradiction that while the Formosa Government is exercising this right, countries like India or Canada are not given permanent seats in the Security Council. The Charter directed that in the election of non-permanent members due regard should be paid to the contribution of members to the purposes of U.N. as also to geographical distribution. Thus from the Middle East, Egypt, Syria, Egypt and Turkey were elected while from Western Europe, Holland, Belgium, Norway and Holland again have served in turn.

Powers and Functions. The original intention was that a military force should be at the command of the Security Council. The members of the U.N. undertook to carry out its decisions. Thus the Security Council possesses in theory certain legislative powers within the field of its job as policeman. But due to the failure of its members to reach an agreement the Security Council has failed to organise its police force. Moreover, except in certain cases like Korea it has not been able to agree on the use of force. The legislative powers of the Security Council remain virtually in abeyance. "The Security Council", according to Article 28, "should be so organized as to be able to function continuously." The president of the Council is elected for one month according to alphabetical order of the names of its members.

Jurisdiction. Article 24 confers upon the Security Council "Primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security" but if it fails the General Assembly is given authority to take up the matter. Certain "strategic trusteeships" are administered by the Security Council. The authority and jurisdiction of the Security Council with regard to pacific settlement of disputes has been

more specifically dealt with in chapter VI and chapter VII of the Charter. The Security Council may investigate any dispute likely to endanger international peace and security, otherwise the Council is not supposed to deal with it. But the provisions of the Articles 33-34 have been liberally interpreted so that the limitation is of no practical value. For the settlement of disputes the Security Council "shall first of all seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, or resort to regional agencies or arrangements or other peaceful means of their own choice." In matters which do not constitute threat to peace the Council's authority is only recommendatory, similar to that of General Assembly.

But where the situation is a serious one the Council under the provision of Article 39 "shall determine the existence of any threat to peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression." The Council after taking such a decision may take provisional measures to check an aggravation of the situation without prejudice to either party in dispute. The Council may decide diplomatic, economic and military sanctions under Articles 41 and 42. All members are obliged to carry out the decisions taken by the Security Council. Any nation whether a member or not has the right to draw the attention of the Security Council to any threat to peace or breach of peace or act of aggression. Any state whether a member of the Security Council or not may be invited to participate, without the right to vote, in discussions relating to a dispute to which it is a party. This right is extended to a state which is not even a member of the U.N. The Council has concurrent jurisdictions in such matters as the admission of new members, selection of the Secretary-General and the Judges of the International Courts.

Voting. Under Article 27 of the Charter each member of the Council exercised one vote. The decision on procedural matters requires a majority of seven votes. On substantive matters an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring vote of permanent members is required. In matters of pacific settlement under Chapter VI and Article 52 a party to a dispute abstains from voting.

The 'veto' right accorded to the Great Powers followed from the desire of the major states not to be overruled by and dictated by others. Its absence would have perhaps prevented the inclusion of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. from joining the world organization. It would have prevented the Great Powers from assuming the leadership of the organization which they could only give. The absence of the unanimity rule would have prevented the unity of the Great

Powers without which the peace and security of the world would be endangered. From one point of view the veto power of the Council represented only a device to stop international tension. But from another viewpoint it acted as a safety valve that prevented the U.N. from undertaking a task beyond its capacity. It ensured the co-operation of Great Powers—a condition that guaranteed successful fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by the U.N.

Dissatisfaction of the use of veto had resulted in discussions and resolutions of the General Assembly in recent years. As far back as 1949 the Assembly recommended that a number of questions should be considered procedural by the Security Council. The Assembly also recommended that the members of the Security Council in their efforts to avoid veto should consult among themselves beforehand. Though the powers have agreed to consult in advance, the recommendations of the Assembly, on other matters, have fallen into deaf ears. The only important decision taken so far by the Security Council on this issue is the acceptance by common consent of a change in the procedure of voting. Henceforth abstention is not regarded as veto.

The veto has been used more frequently than it should have been used. Moreover, nearly half the vetoes were applied for membership application. The frequent use of veto in the Security Council is largely due to the fact that the expectations of 1945 are not holding good at present. The 'Big Five' co-operation under the stress of war has been followed by the mutual rivalries and distrust. The hot war has given way to the cold war and it has affected the international body adversely. To avoid the veto some items have been taken out of the agenda of the Security Council and referred to the General Assembly. But the veto problem is rather a symptom of disagreement. The disease which is slowly reducing the vitality of the U.N. should be sought elsewhere. The disagreement of the members and their unwillingness to accept even the legal recommendations of the U.N. are the most important contributing factors for the exercise of veto rights so often. It may not be possible to abolish it altogether as has been suggested by some. But it can be modified. For instance the decision to determine the existence of threat or breach of peace or an act of aggression may easily be regarded as a procedural matter. But whether sanctions should be allowed to be vetoed is a controversial question.

The Secretariat. The Secretariat of the U.N. has been established under the rules outlined in Chapter XV of the Charter. According to Article 97, "The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General

and such staff as the organization may require." The personnel of the Secretariat is recruited from all over the world. Article 100, therefore, states that in the discharge of their duties the Secretary-General and his staff "shall not receive instructions from any other authority external to the organization." In the Charter the members undertook to respect the international character of the responsibility of the Secretary-General and the staff. The appointment of the staff was left in the hand of the Secretary-General under rules established by the Assembly. In appointing the staff, the Secretary-General has been asked to pay due regard to a wide geographical basis. The permanent condition in the employment of the staff "shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity."

The Secretariat is organized on a functional basis. Till 1954 the Secretariat was divided into an executive office of the Secretary-General and six departments and two services under Assistant Secretaries-General. The Secretariat was reorganised after a resolution to the effect was passed by the General Assembly in 1953. The posts of Assistant Secretaries-General and directors were abolished. They were replaced by under-secretaries. This reform concentrated more authority in the hands of the Secretary-General.

The staff in U.N. Headquarters has an elaborate job to do. They prepare the materials necessary for the delegates to use in their discussions. They arrange for recording the proceedings in different languages. In the U.N. journal 'summaries' of discussion are published. The Department of Public Information arranges for publishing books, journals and news of the U.N. all over the world. The record room of the U.N. preserves the proceedings. The Charter directs the members to register treaties with U.N. which arranges for its publication. The U.N. staff also carries on scientific research and studies. It prepares the budget of the U.N. and places it in the General Assembly through the Secretary-General. Yet to see the U.N. function nobody would believe that an iota of world's poverty is reflected in world body's ways. In 1946 the U.N. budget was a mere $19.3 million; by 1968 the budget stood at $140.4 million. The staff alone costs $75.4 million. The expenses of U.N. increase at a rate which might make Professor Parkinson suggest that his Law be renamed.

The Secretary-General. "The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization." (Article 97). But the Secretary-General is not

only the Chief Administrative Officer of the U.N. but he has also important political responsibilities. His appointment itself is the outcome of much political manoeuvre. The recommendation of the Security Council implies the concurrence of all the permanent members. At least theoretically, this requirement of gaining the approval of the Great Powers set him above power conflict. In the political field the Secretary-General has many channels through which he can exert this influence. One of the methods favourite to the first Secretary-General, Mr. Trygve Lie, for relieving tension, was encourage direct negotiation. The Secretary-General may fill up the vacuum that may appear in the system which the Charter provides for safeguarding peace. Article 99 provides the Secretary-General with power to bring "the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security." Mr. Lie took advantage of this clause to bring the situation of Korea to the attention of the Council. The Secretary-General may make his influence felt in his annual report to the Assembly, in preparing the agenda or in participating in actual discussions. The Secretariat drafts many resolutions of the different U.N. organs and the Secretary-General, if he so desires, may influence the activities of the U.N. to a great extent through these resolutions.

The multifarious activities of the Secretary-General as the executive head of the U.N. Secretariat give him wide power and authority. His appointment has become an issue of the 'Cold War'. The first Secretary-General Mr. Trygve Lie of Norway was appointed for five years in 1946. He continued three years more even when his term expired due to the inability of the permanent members to agree as to his successor. It was not until 1953 that his successor Mr. Dag Hammerskjold was sworn in the office. He was reappointed for a term of 5 years in 1957 but died of a plane crash on September 18, 1961, while on a mission to establish peace in Congo. He has been replaced by the present Secretary-General Mr. U. Thant whose appointment reflects an increasing importance of the neutral nations and the Afro-Asian groups in the affairs fo the U.N.

The Secretary-General has often taken initiative in interpreting or even suggesting the revision of the Charter. In the recent dead lock resulting from the refusal of Russia and France to shoulder the expenses of U.N. for maintaining peace in Congo and the Middle East, the U.N. faced an unprecedented crisis, because according to Article 19 a member which is in arrears "shall have no vote in the General Assembly". To overcome the difficulty the Secretary-General Mr. U Thant postponed voting in the Assembly. His action helped the U.N.

to tide over the crisis. In a lecture in the world peace conference held at New York he suggested a revision of the Charter specially Chapter VII where the Security Council has been saddled with the responsibility of maintaining international peace and order. In the Palestine issue and East-West deadlock the then Secretary-General Mr. Lie took a series of steps to relieve the deadlock. Th Secretary-General through his annual report can create opinion in favour of peace. On him rests to a certain extent the responsibility of advancing the principles of the United Nations.

Economic and Social Council. The Economic and Social Council was conceived as a co-ordinator of the activities of the several specialized agencies which are created to undertake economic and social welfare activities. The Economic and Social Council or ECOSOC is itself a specialized agency. It has, therefore, a dual role to play. It has been placed under the supervision of the General Assembly to which it must submit draft conventions. It covers virtually the same sphere of activities which falls under the jurisdiction of the Economic and Financial Committee and the Social Committee of the Assembly. Thus instead of a policy framing body it has become a duplicate organization.

Composition, Functions and Powers. The ECOSOC is made up of 18 members elected by the Assembly. Each year the Assembly elects six members for a term of 3 years. In the first election the term of six members expired after one year and of six others at the end of two years. A retiring member is eligible for immediate re-election.

The ECOSOC may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to economic, social, cultural, educational and health and related matters and make recommendations to the General-Assembly and U.N. members and to the specialized agencies. These recommendations may concern promotion of human rights. "It may call in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence". (Art. 62).

Much of its work is carried on by a number of committees, commissions and sub-commissions. In 1952 some of these were reduced or eliminated but since then others have expanded so that its work has remained as complex as before. First, it has a number of committees composed of members of the Council. Secondly, it has functional commissions on such varying subjects as Human Rights, Narcotic Drugs, Transport and Communication, Fiscal, Statistical and Social affairs, Status of women, population and International commodity. These Commissions are mostly composed of experts. The

studies and recommendations of the Commissions are submitted to the General Assembly through the ECOSOC. Thirdly, there are regional commissions. The first of these the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE) was set up in 1947. In the same year the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) was established. In 1948 a third one, the Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA) came into being. A fourth group of Commissions consists of the so-called 'special bodies' which enjoy a certain independence from the supervision of the ECOSOC. The most prominent among these is the U.N. Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). It is a philanthropic organization financed by donations from different governments. It has a director of its own and has done valuable work for Children's Welfare all over the world.

The ECOSOC co-ordinates the work of the specialized agencies. Article 63 states that the ECOSOC may co-ordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation and recommendations. It obtains reports from these agencies and communicates its observations on these reports to the General Assembly. With regard to ECOSOC's right of supervision and control over these specialized agencies the Charter shows a tender regard to the sovereignty of these organizations some of which antedate the U.N. The agreements with these agencies concluded under the direction of Article 63, follow a common pattern. They are mutual exchange of informations and undertakings to attend meetings. Much of the task of co-ordination is entrusted to the Assembly and the Secretariat.

Article 71 of the Charter directs the ECOSOC to consult with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. This provision might have resulted in agreement with countless organizations had there been no categories for these organizations. There are at present three categories. In category 'A' about a dozen organizations whose field of activities coincide with the activites of the ECOSOC have been admitted. In category 'B' are admitted organizations whose work partly covers a field of ECOSOC activities. About a hundred organizations such as All India Women's Conference come within this category. In category 'C' almost twice as many are admitted on a mere 'register' for ad hoc consultation. The Rotary International falls in the last category.

The makers of the U.N. Charter aimed at the creation of stability and well-being as a pre-condition for developing peaceful and friendly relations among nations. The U.N. was created to promote "higher standards of living, full employment and conditions of economic and

social progress and development". The aim of the U.N. was to find solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems and establish international cultural and educational co-operation. The U.N. Charter desired to promote "universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms". The ECOSOC was established to achieve these aims and act as a co-ordinator of the specialized agencies created to promote U.N. activities in this field. But as Mr. H. G. Nicholas has correctly pointed out that there is an inherent absurdity "of an organization of governments dedicating itself to protect human rights when, in all ages and climes, it is governments which have been their principal violators". Nevertheless the ECOSOC activities in other fields such as refugee rehabilitation, and aid to the children through UNICEF has been of immense value to millions. In 1947-48 alone six million European mothers and children were cared for through UNICEF. The work done by the specialized agencies will be discussed in a separate section.

Trusteeship System. During the period after World War II the movement for colonial liberation gained momentum. Thus the picture between 1945 and 1965 has changed completely. So that in the period following the war out of 800 million people living in the colonies more than 600 achieved their independence. Most of these people belonged to Asia and Africa. The U.N. expects the rest of the world will be liberated within near future. The U.N. treats these areas under two systems—the Trusteeship system and the non-self-governing areas.

The Trusteeship system is a direct heritage from the Mandatory system of the League of Nations. But the Charter sets forth the objective of the Trusteeship system of the U.N. on a far more liberal basis. The basic objectives of the system, according to the Charter, are: (*a*) promotion of international peace and security, (*b*) advancement in political, economic, social and educational fields leading to self-government or independence, (*c*) encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedom, and (*d*) equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters of all U.N. members and their nationals.

According to Article 77 of the Charter the Trusteeship system includes all territories held as mandate under the League, territories taken from enemy countries and territories voluntarily placed under the system. Out of 11 U.N. Trust territories all but Somaliland (taken from Italy after World War II) belonged to the category of mandatory territory. The functions of the United Nations with regard to Trusteeship agreements for all areas (except the strategic areas entrusted to the Security Council) including the approval of the terms of the

Trusteeship agreements are exercised by the General Assembly assisted by the Trusteeship Council and by the Secretariat. The General Assembly approves the terms and alterations or amendments to these terms. The Assembly reviews the work of the Trusteeship Council. The Trusteeship Council works under the authority of the Assembly and assists it to carry out its functions with regard to Trusteeship areas. The Trusteeship Council also assists the Security Council with regard to strategic areas placed under the control of the latter.

Trusteeship Council. Article 86 of the Charter established a Trusteeship Council to look after the interests of the people in Trust territories. On the Council are all the U.N. members that hold the Trusteeships and "as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between these Members of the United Nations which administer Trust territories and those which do not". (Article 86).

The powers of the Trusteeship Council as defined by Article 87 and 88 are three-fold. Firstly, it submits questionnaires and accepts reports from administering authorities. Secondly, it accepts petitions, and thirdly, it provides for periodic visits to the respective Trust territories. Since it began its work the Trusteeship Council has successfully increased its right of supervision. There has been, however, a gradual shifting from the original anti-colonialism to an acceptance of "a positive responsibility". The Assembly under whose authority the Council works is, however, influenced by the Afro-Asian states. They exert a growing pressure for anti-colonialism and gradual independence of the Trust territories. Of the eleven Trust territories British Togoland, French Cameroons and Togoland and Italian Somaliland achieved freedom in 1960. Tanganyika and Western Samoa achieved independence by the end of 1961 and the independence of Ruanda Urundi and southern Cameroons followed shortly. Some of the former administering states like Italy no longer remained members of the Council and the non-administering members naturally gained preponderance in the Council. Each territory is held under a Trusteeship Agreement as directed by Article 77 of the Charter. The term is "shall be agreed upon by the States directly concerned". The terms of the Trusteeship agreement vary, but they all conform to Article 76 and the basic objective of the Trusteeship system laid down there. They confer the right of supervision on the U.N. These agreements are to be approved by the General Assembly. The 'strategic trust territory' of Samoa is however under U.S.A. and it is exclud-

ed from other Trusteeship territories under Assembly supervision. U.S.A. has excluded U.N. observers from this territory.

Non-self-governing territories. Chapter XI of the Charter makes a declaration regarding non-self-governing territories. In 1960 some 83 million people ranked as non-self-governing. The Charter imposed "The principle that in the administration of these territories the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount". The Charter also lays obligation on the powers that control them to report on their progress each year to the Secretary-General. The governing countries are required to report not only on the political, social and educational advancement but also on the development of self-government. In case if a territory attains self-government and its name is erased from the list of non-governing territory there is no need for sending any further report to the Assembly. For instance, Puerto Rico was listed as self-governing by U.S.A. and reports from this territory ceased when the Assembly voted to accept its status. The Assembly has insisted that the governing powers should apply the Declaration of Human Rights in these territories. But colonial powers have always regarded the directives of the U.N. as a set of moral precepts and stubbornly resisted to submit any political information. The battle between colonial and anti-colonial members of the U.N. has been fought out mainly in the 'Special Committee' set up by the Assembly on non-self-governing territories. South Africa, for instance, has consistently refused to submit South-West Africa—a territory received as a mandate from the League—to U.N. supervision. In spite of the ruling of the International Court to the effect that the administration of these territories now rests with the U.N., South Africa refused to accept the judgment. This together with her policy of racial segregation has exposed South Africa to the general disapproval of the world.

Trusteeship and Mandates. The U.N. Trusteeship system is an improved version of the Mandatory system of the League. Unlike the mandatory system the Trusteeship system includes not only the ex-enemy territories but also "territories voluntarily placed under the system". The basic objective of the Trusteeship system looks far beyond merely establishing a tutelage over people not yet able to stand by themselves. The basic objective of the Trusteeship is "progressive development towards self-government or independence." But in Article 22 of the Covenant, except for certain ex-provinces of the Turkish empire, such an eventuality is not accepted as the goal. The Trusteeship system is a step forward from the Mandatory system

for it guarantees equal treatment to the nationals of the administered territories in social, economic and commercial matters.

The Trusteeship Council which is under the authority of the General Assembly is entrusted with greater authority in the supervision of administered territories than the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Commission was under the League Council. But excepting the strategic areas all other administered areas are supervised by the Assembly through the Trusteeship Council. The U.N. has right to send missions to look over the Trust territories. This right did not exist under the League mandate system. "The trusteeship system is considerably broader in scope and gives the administration of these territories a much more extensive supervision than under the League."[1]

The International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice, which replaced the Permanent Court of the League days, was established by a statute. This statute became a part of the Charter. There is hardly any difference between the present World Court and its predecessor. The Court meets at the old building at Hague and two at least of the judges of the old Permanent Court were elected to the new one.

The failure of the League had prompted the Yalta Conference to appoint a Committee of Jurists to draft a statute afresh. But the new statute resembles the old one so closely that even the numbering of the Articles is identical. But the members of the U.N. are *ipso facto* parties to the statute of the International Court whereas under the League system membership was not compulsory. A state which is not a member of the U.N. may become a party to the statute on conditions laid down by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Structure. The judges of the International Court should be according to the statute persons of 'high moral character' who possess the qualification required in their respective countries for appointment to the highest judicial office or are juriconsults of recognized competence in international law. The selection should be such as to reflect the main forms of civilization and the principal legal systems of the world. There is an attempt in the statute to reach a compromise between judicial impartiality and national prestige and therefore the system of election is elaborate. The members nominate their candidates, these nominations go to the Assembly and Council and the candidates are elected by an absolute majority in each organ.

1. Coyle, David Cushman: The United Nations, p. 86.

The Court is composed of 15 judges elected for a nine-year term. Judges retire in groups of five every three years. Re-election is permissible. A state which is a party in dispute may demand that one of its nationals should be in the panel of judges. The judges elect their president and vice-president and give decision by a majority vote. Nine judges constitute the quorum. The president casts his vote only in case of a tie.

The jurisdiction of the Court extends only to states which agree to submit to its decision. States may or may not accept the optional clause. If they do so they promise in general to submit certain types of cases to the Court if an opposing state also agrees to the Court's jurisdiction. Thirty-eight states agreed to accept this clause by 1958, but many had done so with reservation. The United States has consented to adhere to this clause but at the same time declared that it should be the sole judge about what matters it will submit. The standard agreements, however, include dispute about treaty interpretations, application of international law, existence about facts that may lead to breach of an obligation and damages payable for a breach of obligation.

According to Article 96, "The General Assembly or the Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question". Other organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies authorized by the General Assembly may make such requests. The advisory opinion is not binding.

The Court has already decided a number of cases. For instance, in the dispute between Iran and Britain over the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company the Court decided that though Iran had signed the optional clause it was within its right in refusing to bring the oil dispute before the Court. In another dispute between France and U.S.A. the Court decided against the claim of U.S.A. citizens to be tried by their Consul in any dispute with the Moroccans. In 1957 Egypt accepted the compulsory jurisdiction of the Court in all legal disputes that might arise out of the Canal Convention of 1888 or other treaty provisions regarding the Suez Canal. In 1960 the Court gave its ruling regarding the right of passage dispute between Portugal and India through Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Court gave Portugal right of sending civilians and goods but not military force or arms.

The Court in spite of its acknowledged merits is less impressive than its predecessor. Some disabilities are due to the provision that only states may be a party to the dispute. Again, though the optional clause makes the decision of the Court binding in certain

matters for the states that sign it yet most states have accepted it with reservation. Such reservations have weakened the Court. Only 34 states so far signed this clause although in case of its predecessor under the League forty-five states had signed the optional clause. The Court, moreover, had demonstrated a tendency towards political rather than legal decisions. The U.N. is not debarred from taking advisory opinion of the Court but the U.N. has availed itself of this opportunity on very few occasions. Another reason for the decline in the importance of the Court is the fact that very few members of the U.N. are interested in maintaining the *status quo* even though they are not interested in war. But the disputes in a changing world hardly admit the need for legal decision. "Indeed if it did get too much involved in what are essentially political quarrels, the Court might run the risk of appearing merely the judicial instrument of the General Assembly."[2]

Specialized Agencies. The Charter of the United Nations provided not only for bringing various specialized agencies established by inter-governmental agreement into relationship with the U.N. but aimed also at encouraging the creation of new specialized agencies by initiating negotiation among members. These specialized agencies are associated with the U.N. So far there are ten such organizations. These organizations are the outcome of functional approach especially in the economic and social field to perform international job and to foster international interest away from political consideration. But unco-ordinated functional approach may hamper the goal of the United Nations to become "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations". Therefore ECOSOC has been entrusted with the task of co-ordinating the functions of the specialized agencies with whom it enters into agreements.

Although the institutions of these specialized agencies developed according to their needs, yet their structure follows a common pattern. They all have a secretariat, a deliberative body and an executive council. The deliberative body represents all members and the executive council is composed of select few. Decisions are taken generally by a majority vote.

The Bank, The Fund and the International Labour Organization. The Bank, the Fund and the International Labour Organization follow a different pattern. In the first two the Governors enjoy votes

---

2. Nicholas, H. G.: The United Nations, p. 147.

For a discussion on the role of the Court under the League see Chapter 7.

in proportion to the contribution of the countries they represent. In the I.L.O. each country sends four representatives, two of the government, one of labour and the other of the employers. Representatives from the same country may not agree on an issue and cast votes opposing or supporting a resolution. Thus the votes from same country may be divided. The I.L.O. was established in 1919 and is inherited by the U.N. from the League. The Annual Conferences of the I.L.O. accept conventions to protect labour and send them to different governments for ratification. Since 1919 it has promoted more than a hundred such conventions and received nearly two thousand ratifications. The I.L.O. also submits reports on different matters concerning labour. The 1957 report of the I.L.O. Director General was, for instance, devoted virtually one automation. Important among its activities in 1959-60 was the establishment of an Institute of Labour at Geneva.

The two financial bodies sprung from Bretton Woods Conference of 1944. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is authorised to issue $10 billion of capital stock of $100 thousand per share. Its shares are held by member states in proportion to their wealth and trade. It is primarily meant to be a lending agency to encourage productive investments. The Bank is insufficiently financed. Its activities are influenced by political consideration and it has been affected by the cold war. Since its inception not a single loan was granted to communist countries and Yugoslavia was granted a loan after her break with the Soviet Union. The International Monetary Fund has a similar structure like the Bank and is financed by the member states.

Agencies on Communication. Three of the specialized agencies are on communication. The International Telecommunication Union (I.T.U.) is carrying forward the work started by International Telegraph Union established in 1865. A Conference of all members meets each five years and elects the Administrative Council of twenty-five. The Administrative Council approves the budget, appoints its Secretary-General, allocates radio frequencies and circulates information. The Universal Postal Union (U.P.U.) grew out of the General Postal Union (1874). It meets every five years and elects an Executive and Liaison Committee. It recommends conventions such as fixing maximum rates for mail. The international postal services include parcel, money orders, subscription to newspapers and magazines. Its headquarter is situated in Berne. Another important organization on communication is the International Civil Aviation Organization (I.C.A.O.). Like many other U.N. specialized agencies

it sprang out of earlier organizations such as International Commission for Air Navigation established at Paris in 1919. Its chief purpose is to promote safety and progress in aviation. It has helped the co-ordination for international air transport. The I.C.A.O. arbitrates disputes over air rights and when in 1952 Pakistan refused India's air communication with Kabul the matter was brought before I.C.A.O. and Pakistan had to allow Indian planes to pass over its territories.

The Food and Agricultural Organization. The F.A.O. is an organization like the Bank and the Fund. It was floated in U.S.A. "as a trial run in United Nations post-war collaboration". All F.A.O. members are not members of the U.N.O. It holds its own conference after every two years and elects its governing body. It is affiliated to the U.N. through an agreement with ECOSOC. The special problem of the F.A.O. is 'Hunger'. It sends technical assistance to different countries to grow more food, to control pests, to increase the yield of forms, fisheries and forests. The F.A.O. has primarily three-fold functions. Firstly, to gather, analyse and distribute information. Secondly, to promote improved methods of production and distribution and lastly to render technical assistance. The F.A.O. activities have brought the United Nations in active contact with millions of men. These activities such as are undertaken under F.A.O. differentiate the U.N. from the League. But measured against the need the activities of the F.A.O. leave much to be desired.

The World Health Organization. The W.H.O. is a specialized agency created by a conference called at New York in July, 1946. Sixty-one nations attended it. The success of the League health services prompted the creation of this organization. But mutual jealousy and suspicion prevented the ratification of its constitution by member states till 1948. But even before the organization came into being the Interim Commission carried on its work and did commendable service in fighting an epidemic of Cholera in Egypt. Its budget is approved in the General Body or Assembly which also elects its Executive of twenty-four members. The Assembly appoints its Director General on the nomination of the Executive. The WHO has undertaken world-wide campaign against widespread diseases such as malaria. In 1959-60 WHO did two emergency jobs in Morocco. First, it aided the government to arrange for the treatment of paralysis with which ten thousand Moroccans were threatened suddenly due to a mineral oil that had been mixed with cooking oil. Secondly, it aided the earthquake victims of Agadir in 1960. In many cases its work overlaps with that of F.A.O.

Scientific Agencies. Among the scientific agencies the World Meteorological Organization (W.M.O.) was created with the purpose of establishing a network of weather stations and a quick exchange of weather information. It has standardized weather observation and reporting. Another latest scientific agency is the inter-governmental Marine Consultative Organization. It was established in 1959. Its purpose is to promote highest standards of navigation and safety at sea. In 1956 a Conference at U.N. headquarters drafted the statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency (I.A.E.A.) which actually came into being in July 1957 with considerable membership. Its purpose is to carry on research in peaceful application of atomic energy. It is not really a specialized agency though it has concluded an agreement with the U.N. It has a General Conference of members and a Board of Governors dominated by atomic powers who control the Agency.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The UNESCO sprang from a conference of the Allied governments in exile in London in April, 1944. Its constitution was drawn up in November, 1945. The UNESCO earns its revenue from direct contribution of its members. The General Conference meets once every two years. The actual day to day work is carried on by an Executive Board of twenty-four members. The preamble of the UNESCO constitution states that "since wars begin in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed." This statement even if it is admitted to be partially true creates a number of difficulties. How should the UNESCO attempt to build up defences of peace? "Certainly UNESCO cannot attain its goal by programmes to eliminate illiteracy, for most wars have been fought among the most literate, the best educated people."[3] The UNESCO has suffered from its inception due to a confusion of aims. The UNESCO, therefore, has too many projects but too little funds to materialise them. The natural outcome is the elimination of many projects and the establishment of the system of priorities.

But in spite of the confusion of aims, lack of funds and co-operation as also existence of obstructions from powerful quarters (e.g., objections raised by patriotic groups in U.S.A.) against UNESCO, it has achieved a great deal in promoting international co-operation.

In fighting illiteracy and spreading education the UNESCO had

---

3. **Schleicher Charles, P.**: Introduction of International Relations, p. 787.

to depend upon a less ambitious programme of guiding member states as to how to go at it. The need for schooling in the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa has given the UNESCO a job which presents enormous difficulties. The task before UNESCO includes education, natural sciences, social sciences, cultural activities, exchange of persons, mass communication, relief services, technical aid.

In 1957 alone the UNESCO adopted three major projects which due to their ambitious planning was sufficient to consume much of the organization's efforts and funds. These projects were (a) extension of primary education throughout Latin America, (b) research on the use of desert land, (c) the promotion of understanding between the oriental and occidental cultures.

In the field of natural science the UNESCO has promoted exchange of views, meetings and conferences. The First World Congress of Ocean Scientists was held at U.N. headquarters under the joint auspices of UNESCO and Committee of Oceanic Research of the International Council of Scientific Union.

The manifold activities of the UNESCO reflect the many-sided life of the human race. Its work ranges from scientific research to mass communication such as standardization of the Braille type. It has been taken the responsibility of the UNRRA by raising funds for Palestine and Korea. It has tried to fortify human mind against that part which tends to encourage war. The critics of UNESCO have pointed out that it suffers, more than any other agency, from the ills that international organizations are heirs to. Its pitfalls have robbed it of its achievements. But in spite of its drawbacks "the advancement by UNESCO", in the words of John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, "of human welfare through education, science and culture promotes international understanding which contributes to peace."[4]

UNCTAD. The United Nations Organization Committee on International Trade was able to evolve in 1963 a formula for sharing of income by all the nations in the international field. The establishment of the UNCTAD (U.N. Conference on Trade and Development) as forum for international consultation was a major step forward. Although the proposal for setting up such an organization was accepted as early as 1943 by the Havana conference some of the vested interests opposed the idea successfully for 16 years.

---

4. Quoted in the United Nations and How it Works by David Cushman Coyle, p. 40.

The need for such an organization for the enlightened self-interest of all the nations cannot be over-emphasised. The gap between the rich and the poor nations has widened in recent years. For instance the rich nations have been adding annually $60 to their per capita income but the poor nations $2. According to one estimate, per capita income of the former has gone up from $150 to $1,100 while that of the latter has from $100 to only $120 between 1850 and 1960. The under-developed and developing countries are sources for raw material which they export to the developed nations; the latter through import or price control can create economic or political uncertainty in former countries. The United States for instance stopped importing Cuban sugar, the main export of that country, as a measure for imposing economic boycott on the Castro regime. Cuba could tide over the crisis only with the help of the socialist countries which increased their trade with Cuba.

Under-developed and developing countries eager to improve their economy are willing to co-operate in any attempt to balance the lopsided development in international trade. But "the rich nations must be prepared to take quite drastic steps to alter their structure of production so as progressively to produce more sophisticated manufacture for export to poor nations and import more of less sophisticated manufactures from the latter if the twin objectives of stepping up the growth rate of all nations and narrowing the gap between the poor and rich nations have to be achieved". The alternative will be expanding economic gap and growing political tension in a world divided between have and have-nots, the ultimate effects of which on world peace will be disastrous.

The UNCTAD was established with the precise aim of narrowing the gap between the rich and poor nations. But the target fixed by the first UNCTAD remained unfulfilled though some are inclined to call the sixties as the U.N. Development Decade (1960-70). The Algiers Charter prepared by 77 developing nations gave greater importance to trade than to aid. The Algiers Charter pointed out that trade relations of under-developed and developing countries with developed nations should be based on terms of equality and there should be no political strings attached to aid given to poor nations by the rich countries.

The Second UNCTAD was held at Delhi on February 1, 1968. Both the President, Mr. Dinesh Singh and the Secretary General, Dr. Raul Prebisch admitted that the UNCTAD II had produced only "modest results", and failed to draw up a programme of action for the second development decade. All that the developing nations were

able to achieve on the major and minor question of preference is a commitment by the developed nations that they agree to the objective of the generalised non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory system of preference. It was a face saving formula and the effect was to send the whole issue back to the special committee.

Despite the failure of UNCTAD-II to achieve the desired for objective it was not barren of solutary results in a certain spheres. In the first place poor nations in spite of conflicting interests in certain matters showed sustained efforts to pull together on major issues. India took advantage of the conference to conclude treaties of trade and mutual cooperation with Yugoslavia and UAR. This is not the least of the gains of the conference. Another is the relatively effortless manner in which concessions have been secured from the East European socialist countries. They promptly offered concessions on trade contract and agreed to co-ordinate their economic plans with those of the developing countries. Their attitudes contrast sharply with grudging Western attitudes.

The U.N. as Peace Maker. The Charter of the United Nations, unlike the Covenant, eschews the use of force under all circumstances except in pursuance of the purposes of the Charter. In the Charter, however, less emphasis has been placed upon disarmament than in the Covenant. The peaceful settlement of disputes and the establishment of Collective Security are taken by the Charter as the basis for international peace and security.

Charter provision for Pacific Settlement. The pacific settlement of dispute provided in the Charter (Chapter VI and additional provision in Chapters I, IV, VIII, XIV and XV) directs that the parties in dispute should first of all seek settlement through enquiry, mediation, conciliation, judicial settlement or other means (Article 33), failing which the Security Council shall call upon the parties to do so. If disputes are not settled by such means the matter should be referred to the Council. The parties in dispute are not obliged to observe any time limit by these provisions (Article 37). A member or a non-member that accepts Charter obligation may bring a dispute to the Council or Assembly. (Article 35). The Security Council may investigate any dispute "likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security". (Article 34). Whether this right endows the Council with a general power of investigation or not is a question on which there has been much controversy between the Western bloc and the Soviet Union. The former is in favour of endowing the Security Council with more power. Under Articles 35, 37 and 38 the Security Council is authorized to bring

about settlement in a dispute likely to endanger peace and security. The Security Council may "recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustments" if the dispute is referred to it by one or both the parties concerned. The Council, so far, has tried to recommend actual terms as well as methods for the settlement of disputes.

Article 35 states that a dispute may be referred to the General Assembly. Article 11 clearly stated that the General Assembly may discuss any dispute referred to it subject to the provision of Article 12. The last mentioned Article debars the Assembly from taking up any dispute which is placed before the Security Council. Article 14 provides that subject to the provisions of Article 12 the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations.

Collective Security. The provisions of the Charter outlined in Chapter VII regarding action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression are supposed to be 'teeth of the United Nations'. The U.N. originally was provided with a better system of Collective Security than the League. But as the giants fell out among themselves the measures did not succeed and the General Assembly's resolution of 'uniting for peace' (November, 1950) proposed to transfer some of the powers of the Security Council to the General Assembly in order to remedy this state of affairs. The underlying idea in the Charter was to entrust the 'Big Five' with powers to enforce measures against any aggressor nation. But unlike the League Covenant, the Charter provisions exclude the permanent members from being subjected to the sanction of the world body.

The Security Council, under Article 39, is authorized to take measures to restore international peace and security if it is threatened. The same Article also provides that the Security Council "shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace or an act of aggression". The Security Council then decides the application of sanctions and its decisions are binding upon its members (Article 25). In two cases that of Palestine (1948) and Korea (1950) the Security Council passed resolution after formal finding of facts about the existence of conditions requiring application of sanctions.

The U.N. sanctions differ from the League system of automatic economic and voluntary military sanction. The concurrent votes of the permanent members and two non-permanent members in the

Council is required to apply sanction. The Security Council is then required to conclude agreements with the members about their degree of readiness to respond to the call of the Security Council. The Big Five must take co-ordinated action in the meanwhile to enforce decision (Articles 42, 106). But division among the permanent members has made Collective actions difficult, nay impossible. When action against North Korea was taken in 1950, the resolution of the Security Council merely recommended to the members that they should take action to assist the South Koreans. But recommendations are not binding. Naturally the U.N. in matters of sanction is placed at par with its predecessor.

The nature and extent of the sanctions has been defined in Articles 41 and 42. In the former the Security Council has been asked to find out measures to enforce its decisions without an application of force. Failing to restore peace by such measures the Security Council "may take such action by air, sea and land force as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security". But the members are not expected to aid these actions beyond the specific quota accepted in special agreement. The Article cannot be effective without such agreement. The application of sanctions moreover needs advance planning and the Charter has provided for the creation of a Military Staff Committee (Article 47) to assist the Security Council. But due to disagreement among powers the Military Staff Committee has remained inactive since 1948. Article 45 also provides that the members should maintain contingents for combined international enforcement action. The Security Council may also take preventive action to prevent an aggravation of the situation and "call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable." (Article 40).

Settlement of Disputes—Disputes solely before the Security Council—Iran. During World War II the Soviet troops along with British and American soldiers were stationed in Iran. On January 19, 1946, Iran complained about Soviet interference in her internal affairs. Both the parties, however, agreed to negotiate. Two months later Iran complained that continued presence of Soviet troops which did not withdraw on March 2, as scheduled, was a threat to peace. The Soviet troops were subsequently withdrawn but the Security Council, strangely enough, refused to remove the complaint from its agenda, in spite of Soviet walk-out as a mark of protest.

Syria-Lebanon. In February, 1946, Syria and Lebanon complained to the Council about the continued presence of the British and French troops in these two countries. The U.S.A. proposed a

resolution expressing confidence in Britain and hoping that these troops would be withdrawn as soon as possible. The proposal was vetoed by U.S.S.R. But its moral effect was not lost. The French evacuated Syria within two months and it was followed a few months later by British evacuation of Lebanon.

Czechoslovakia. The communist revolution in 1948 resulted in a change of government in Czechoslovakia. But the representative of the old government Dr. Jan Papanck complained that this change was engineered by the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union denied this charge and the new government of Czechoslovakia refused to take part in the discussion. The proposals to enquire about the evidence and appoint a Committee for that purpose was 'vetoed' by the Soviet Union on the ground that it would have interfered with the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia.

A second intervention in Czechoslovakia by Soviet troops took place in 1968. On August 21, 1968 the Soviet troops together with the Allied troops of Warsaw Pact countries, viz., Poland, Hungary, East Germany and Bulgaria entered Czech territory and occupied Prague to check the liberal leaders of the Czech communist party, Mr. Dubcek, the Secretary, Mr. Cernik, the Prime Minister and Mr. Svobada, the President from carrying out a programme of liberalization which Kremlin considered to be a challenge to the fundamentals of the Communist faith and which received support from Yugoslavia's Tito and Rumania's Ceausescu.

When the matter was brought before the Security Council on August 22, 1968, the Soviet representative Mr. Jacob Malik opposed the introduction and discussion of the Czech question. He said that such discussion could benefit "certain foreign elements and aggressive force". The Soviet bid to stall Czech crisis debate was, however, rebuffed by the Security Council which over-ruled Malik's objections and decided to discuss the matter. But on August 23, a Soviet veto killed in the United Nations' Security Council a Western sponsored resolution condemning the Soviet Union for its armed intervention in Czechoslovakia and calling for their withdrawal. The resolution obtained 10 affirmative votes and two negative votes—the Soviet Union and Hungary, India, Algeria and Pakistan abstained.

Hyderabad. After independence Hyderabad, unlike other princely states, refused to join either India or Pakistan. Hyderabad complained to the Security Council on August 21, 1949, about a threat of invasion from India and was backed by Pakistan. On September 9, India undertook police action against the state and the Security Council took up the matter on September 20, 1949. India

pointed out that as Hyderabad was not an independent state it had no right to bring the case before the Security Council. Pakistan pleaded the case against India on behalf of Hyderabad. The Security Council discussed the matter but took no further action.

The Berlin Blockade. Berlin was divided into four sectors under U.K., U.S.A., France and U.S.S.R. as per Potsdam agreement. But access to the western sector under the democracies was controlled by Russia. In 1948 a local currency dispute led to the blockade by Russia of the passage to the western sector by land and water. The western powers had to depend upon gigantic air lift for supply to their sector. The western powers brought the matter before the Security Council and complained that the dispute constituted a threat to international peace. The Council failed to arrive at any satisfactory solution. Subsequently, however, the President of the Council received intimation from the democratic powers that restrictions on West Berlin were removed and the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Four powers would meet to consider all outstanding issues including currency problem about Germany.

Trieste. According to the Italian peace treaty after World War II Trieste was internationalized and the Security Council accepted responsibility for its government. In the meanwhile pending the appointment of a Governor Trieste was occupied by joint Anglo-American and French troops in zone 'A' and Yugoslav forces in zone 'B'. In 1948 the Anglo-American powers expressed their desire to revise the treaty and hand over the territory to Italy. This gave rise to serious complications including a Yugoslav threat to occupy the Free territory. In 1953 an Anglo-American plan to hand over Zone 'A' to Italy was announced. Marshal Tito at once threatened to march into Trieste and the Soviet Union proposed the appointment of a Governor according to 1947 treaty. Meanwhile Italy and Yugoslavia having shown willingness to negotiate an amicable settlement was reached by which Italy occupied zone 'A' and Yugoslavia zone 'B' of the disputed land.

Egypt. In 1947 Egypt brought a complaint before the Security Council about the presence of the British troops in her territory. The Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 had given Britain treaty right to maintain troops in the Suez area. But Egypt contended that the Charter of the U.N. had made the agreement invalid and the presence of the British troops constituted a threat to peace. No resolution on this issue could get the required seven votes and the Council left it at that. The Anglo-Egyptian relation continued to deteriorate

and in spite of an agreement concluded in 1954, the Suez nationalization in 1956 led to a direct clash.

Indonesia. Following the liberation of Indonesia from Japanese troops the Indonesian nationalists set up a Republic and declared independence. The Dutch, however, were eager to re-establish their hold over their former colony. In March, 1947, the Linggadjati agreement was signed between Netherlands and Indonesia and the latter agreed to recognize the de facto Republic of Indonesia and consented to the establishment of a United States of Indonesia as a part of 'Netherlands Indonesia Union'. The implementation of this agreement, however, resulted in clash and disorder. The Dutch launched what they called a police action and what Indonesia insisted was a military attack. The matter was brought before the Security Council by the Indian representative and a cease-fire was arranged. Both the parties accepted a good office committee of Australia for Indonesia, Belgium for Netherlands and an additional third member the United States to conduct negotiations for peace. In January, 1948, an eighteen-point settlement programme was accepted.

But the agreement broke down and there was further clash. The Council now took vigorous action and called for cease-fire to both the parties. The Committee of good office was transferred into U.N. Commission and Netherlands was asked to recognize the independence of Indonesia, which she did on December 27, 1949. A part of Indonesia, New Guinea, remained under Dutch control and proved a further source of clash in future. The Afro-Asian states had played an important role in the liberation of Indonesia.

Rhodesia. The policy of apartheid has induced the white settlers of the British colony of Rhodesia in South Africa to make Unilateral Declaration of Independence on November 11, 1965. The U.N. Trusteeship Council passed a resolution urging Great Britain to "employ all necessary measures, including military force" to make Salisbury observe standards of behaviour recognised as civilized; subsequently the General Assembly approved this resolution. It has since fallen upon Britain to take the issue to the United Nations.

Following an abortive meeting between the British Prime Minister Mr. Wilson and Rhodesian Prime Minister Mr. Ian Smith, the U.N. Security Council voted mandatory economic sanctions against Rhodesia on December 16, 1966. The Soviet Union accused Britain in the Security Council meeting of March 20, 1968, of carrying out trade totalling Rs. 10.62 crores in the first six months of 1967 despite U.N. imposed sanction. In May, 1968 the United Nations imposed economic boycott on Rhodesia and the Security Council deplored

the action of states "notably Portugal and South Africa which have been rendering support to the 'rebel regime.'" The Africans criticised the resolution as weak and for the failure of U.N. to use every means including force to bring about the downfall of the Salisbury regime. A second Wilson-Smith meeting aboard the British Warship Fearless in Gibraltar Harbour in October 1968 proved as fruitless as the first one.

Kashmir. Since India's presentation of the Kashmir issue in January, 1948, no agreement has been reached on the issue. Shortly after independence, Kashmir was invaded by armed tribesmen aided by regular Pakistani troops. Kashmir acceded to India. India complained of Pakistan's aggression. The Security Council appointed a Commission to investigate and the resolution of the Commission, which found that Pakistan's denial of employment of regular troops in Kashmir is not true, recommended withdrawal of regular troops and cease-fire. The cease-fire line was fixed in July, 1949.

In April, 1950, the Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon to bring about an agreement between both sides. After his failure he was succeeded by Frank Graham who also was able to achieve very little. In 1952 the Kashmir Constituent Assembly met and declared Kashmir to be a republic. In January, 1952, the Soviet Union accused Anglo-American powers with interference in Kashmir. The Jarring mission appointed in 1957 was sent to find ways and means for a solution. Pakistan's suggestion of temporary U.N. force for Kashmir backed by the western bloc was vetoed by the Soviet Union. The Jarring mission failed to give any new proposal. Graham came to this sub-continent again in 1958 on a fruitless mission.

Throughout this dispute the U.N. under the influence of the western bloc has refused to accept the legality of India's stand. This attitude has influenced the U.N. proceedings throughout. Naturally the U.N. efforts at establishing peace have succeeded only partially. It has been suggested that plebiscite at once could solve the problem. But the plebiscite is bound to revive the age-old rancour of communalism and two-nation theory which it is difficult for a secular state like India to digest. The verdict of Kashmir people as expressed through its elected representatives in the Kashmir Legislature has finally decided the issue and plebiscite is both unnecessary and undesirable. The idea of an independent Kashmir as proposed by Sheikh Abdullah is a ridiculous way of covering an ulterior design that would facilitate foreign hold on Kashmir.

In the first week of August, 1965, Pakistan sent organized groups of infiltrators across the cease-fire line, and at the end of the same

month mounted large-scale attack in the Chhamb-Jaurian area violating the international border in an effort to cut off India's link with Kashmir.

Indian troops went into action in Kashmir and in the Lahore-Sialkot sector to foil Pakistan's designs. The Security Council in its efforts to impose peace adopted a cease-fire resolution on Sept. 22. The cease-fire came into effect on Sept. 23. But Pakistan has violated it several times. Pakistan has not as yet given up the hope of solving the Kashmir question in her favour through the U.N.

Disputes before the General Assembly

The Congo. In June 1960 Congo became independent but five days later the force publique mutinied against its Belgian officers. The Belgian Government flew troops into the country and the Central Government of Congo called for United Nations assistance. There was much disorder in Congo during 1960-61. Patrice Lumumba, the Prime Minister, was murdered. In July the Parliament met under heavy U.N. protection and a compromise government was set up with Katanga still absent. The U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold was killed while flying to Ndola in Northern Rhodesia for peace talks in September, 1961. The U.N. forces faced considerable difficulty in uniting Congo and ending the cessation of Katanga. But all to no purpose because the architect of all these disturbances Mr. Tshombe became the Premier of Congo subsequently. The Soviet Union accused the Anglo-American powers of complicity in the plot to saddle Tshombe to power and refused to bear the expenses of Congo which had created a crisis in the U.N. constitution. U Thant, the present Secretary-General, has been able to overcome it tactfully. Subsequently, however, Tshombe was ousted and General Mobutu became the head of the Congolese Government in 1966. But the Congo issue has shaken faith in the impartiality of the U.N. as an international body.

South Africa. The racial discrimination in South Africa called for protest from India which placed it before the General Assembly in June, 1946. The Assembly insisted that equal treatment should be accorded to Indians in South Africa. But the latter country refused to accept it. South Africa refused to accept the subsequent recommendations of the General Assembly about a round table conference and insisted upon enforcing group acts. The Assembly Good Office Mission reported failure to tone down South Africa's apartheid policy and in 1956 South Africa declared that if the Assembly does not respect the principle of domestic jurisdiction South Africa would main-

tain only a token representative at the meetings of the Assembly. Since India brought her complaint against racial discrimination nearly 30 resolutions including the Norwegian resolution of 1963 were passed to end racial discriminations in South Africa. South Africa also refused to terminate its mandatory rights over South-West Africa in spite of Assembly resolution to this effect in 1966. But South African government still persists in its way and the result is the situation in South Africa is explosive to the extreme. The General Assembly has failed to tone down the situation.

Balkan Peace Treaties. In March, 1949, the question of observance of human rights in Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania was raised before the Assembly. The claims of these states that the matter lay within their domestic jurisdiction was turned down by the International Court whose advice was sought by the Assembly. The Assembly thereupon passed a resolution in 1950 accusing these three governments of "wilful refusal...to fulfil their obligations under the treaties of peace." The U.N. members were asked to present relevant questions to the Secretary-General.

Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria. The question of French domination in Tunisia and Morocco was placed on the Assembly agenda on the request of 13 Afro-Asian states in 1952. The French boycotted the meeting. The Assembly, however, accepted a compromise resolution sponsored by the Latin American states which expressed faith that France would develop free institution in Morocco and that the parties would continue to negotiate. Negotiations, in fact, continued and in 1956 both Tunisia and Morocco achieved independence.

But the neighbouring territory of Algeria remained in an unsettled state under French control. The Assembly at the initiative of the Afro-Asian States included the question of Algeria in the agenda in 1955. It was postponed till the Assembly session of 1956 and eventually in 1957 the Assembly passed a mild resolution hoping for a democratic and just solution in Algeria. Events in Algeria, however, deteriorated till Algeria achieved her independence in 1960 in spite of opposition.

Chinese troops in Burma and U.S.A. Airmen in China. The Assembly in 1955 received complaints from Burma about penetration of Nationalist Chinese troops in Burma. At the initiative of the Assembly a joint Military Committee with Burma, Nationalist China, Thailand and U.S.A. as members arranged for their evacuation. In 1955 as a result of a resolution passed by the Assembly the Secretary-General undertook the task of negotiation with Communist China for

the release of U.S. airmen in China. This negotiation also resulted in the release of Chinese students detained in U.S.A.

Cyprus. Cyprus is an island republic in eastern Mediterranean with a population of 598,000 including 77% Greeks and 18% Turks. The trouble in Cyprus started with the demand raised by the Greeks of Enosis or union with Greece. The Turkist minority demanded portion of Cyprus in reply to the demand for Enosis. Tension and riots were renewed in 1965 and the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution urging all states to refrain from intervention in the affairs of the island. In 1966 the U.N. carried on ceaseless effort through mediation to decide the future status of Cyprus. The situation in Cyprus deteriorated again in November, 1967. Ultimately three Cyprus peace makers, from the U.S.A., United Nations and NATO, brought about an agreement in Cyprus. The agreement provided for withdrawal of Greek and Turkish expeditionary force from Cyprus, U.N. guarantee of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and disarmament of all armed forces and groups in Cyprus except for a 5,000 strong police force. It was further decided that the future of Cyprus would be determined through negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots.

Dispute before the Security Council and Assembly. In 1946 Poland brought forward a resolution which demanded that all diplomatic relation with Spain should be severed. The members of the Council were divided. Later the question was removed from Council agenda and referred to the Assembly which recommended exclusion of Spain from all U.N. agencies and severance of diplomatic relations. But in 1948 session the mood changed and the recommendations failed to secure two-thirds majority. By 1950 the question of severing relations with Spain was opposed by many. In fact this change in the attitude of powers towards Spain is the direct outcome of the 'Cold War'.

Greece. In the post-World War II period Greece was in a devastated condition and the Greek government took the help of British troops to suppress internal rebellion. In 1946 U.S.S.R. requested that the Security Council should take steps against such interference. But no action was taken. The Greek government complained in the same year that the neighbouring communist states are aiding the guerrillas. The majority of a commission appointed to investigate the situation confirmed the complaint. In the meanwhile the Truman doctrine declared the intention of U.S.A. to send military and financial help to Greece and Turkey. The Security Council having failed to arrive at any agreed resolution dropped the matter which

was then taken up by the Assembly. The Assembly appointed an eleven-man committee with which the Soviet bloc refused co-operation. Eventually the Greek civil war ended in a victory for the established government.

Palestine. The Plastine issue was inherited by the U.N. from the League. In 1947 the Assembly at the request of the British government took up the issue and decided to divide the former mandate between Arabs and Jews with an international control over Jerusalem. The Assembly decided to end the British mandate by August, 1948. On May 20, Count Folke Bernadott was appointed U.N. Mediator in Palestine.

The British troops withdrew by May 15, and the state of Israel came into existence. But the Arab states now marched in Israel. The Council issued cease-fire order on May 22, which was effected by the mediator on June 11. But fighting soon broke out and Bernadott himself was killed. He was replaced by Dr. Ralph Bunch. Severe fighting went on in the last three months of 1948 and truce was established in January, 1949. The Assembly directed the Trusteeship Council in December, 1949, to take up the administration of Jerusalem but both Arabs and Jews refused to hand over their parts of the city. The Arab-Jewish tension continues to disturb Middle-Eastern politics even up-to-date.

Arab-Israeli Conflict—1967. On May 23, President Nasser ordered the blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba thus closing the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping as a retaliatory measure against Israel's aggressive designs on the Arabs. Earlier U Thant had ordered the removal of UNEF from the border of Israel-Arab States at Nasser's request. The situation in the area became tense and on 31st May the United States introduced a resolution in the Security Council urging Israel and the Arab countries to comply with Secretary-General U Thant's appeal for restraint in the Middle East.

On June 5, Israel's strategic air force made a surprise attack on Arab countries and waged a full scale war on four points—Gaza, Sinai, Jordan and Syria. The U.N. Security Council unanimously approved a Soviet resolution demanding cease-fire and the same was accepted by Israel and Arab States by June 9, 1968 (a cease-fire appeal earlier had failed). In the General Assembly two proposals were tabled for bringing peace in West Asia. The first one was sponsored by 18 non-aligned nations including India and it called for unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied zones. The second one initiated by 21 Latin American and Caribbean countries also demanded that aggression should be vacated and at the

same time demanded that the Arabs should end their belligerency against Israel. Both the resolutions failed to gain the required two-thirds majority. Ultimately on November 23, 1968 a compromise resolution sponsored by Great Britain was approved by the Assembly and Mr. Garner Jarring was appointed U.N. mediator. The resolution also asked Israeli force to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and called for an end to all belligerency. But all that Mr. Jarring could achieve was to arrange for an exchange of prisoners of war. Meanwhile frequent clashes between Israeli troops and Arabs has kept up the tension in Middle East. On 21st March, 1968 Israel made retaliatory attack on Jordan and when the Security Council condemned its action the Isreali Ambassador Mr. Yusef Teknah warned the World Body that such actions may be repeated. The situation in West Asia to-day is explosive and the frequent clashes between Arab states and Israel may develop again into a full scale war. The U.N. so far has failed to impose a lasting peace. In fact Israel made a number of raids on Arab territories as retaliatory measures against Arab Commando actions despite repeated warning of the Security Council. In December, 1968 Israeli air force destroyed a number of airliners in Beirut airport. The Security Council condemned Israel's aggression again. But such resolutions to be effective must have the co-operation of super-powers. The Soviet peace plan and the French proposal for Four Power Conference is a move on this line. Unless such an understanding is speedily arrived at a second Arab-Israel conflict in the Middle-East is inevitable.

Suez and Hungary. On July 26, 1956, Suez was nationalised by Nasser. Failing negotiation Britain and France brought the matter before Security Council. In the meanwhile Israel attacked Egypt on October 29. Britain and France took advantage of the situation and attacked Egypt. The Assembly was then called in an emergency session and ordered immediate cease-fire. To effect it the Assembly created U.N. Emergency Force out of the contribution of ten nations (including India) none of which were Great Powers. Peace was restored with the help of UNEF. The result of this flare-up did not settle the Arab-Jewish conflict or the dispute between Egypt and the Western Powers. But the U.N. influence and the Soviet threat of intervention precluded the possibility of a major war on this issue. The UNEF or soldiers of peace created on this occasion performed commendable service in restoring order in the Middle East.[5] Almost simultaneously an uprising in Hungary was crushed with the help of *Soviet troops* and the U.N. was a helpless spectator in the event.

5. For detailed discussion see the Chapter on Middle East.

Korea. After World War II Korea was divided between two governments—the North remained under communist rule and the South under a democratic republic. The Korean war is unique in many ways. The government of South Korea had received the approval of the Assembly in December, 1948. It was, therefore, a protege of the U.N. and in the war that broke out between the two Korean states on June 25, 1950, the question of Collective Security and the prestige of U.N. was involved. The absence of the Soviet Union which was boycotting the Security Council during this period on the issue of Communist China's admission to U.N., facilitated the decision of the Security Council now completely under western control, to decide that the action of North Korea 'constitutes a breach of the peace'. The Council stamped the action of President Truman in sending troops to South Korea with legality. The Assembly by a resolution on October 7, 1950, recommended steps to stabilize conditions in Korea. With the entrance of communist volunteer troops from China things took a serious turn and when the armistice was signed on July 27, 1953, the frontier was stabilized at 38th parallel where it started.

Disputes before the International Court. Some of the disputes before the International Court including the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company case and the rights of the United States nationals in Morocco and Portugal's rights of passage against India have been already mentioned. Among other important cases mention should be made of the Corfu Channel case which arose out of the sinking of a British man of war off the Albanian Coast in a mine accident in 1946. The matter was referred by the Council to the Court which ruled that Albania should pay compensation but held that the subsequent minesweeping project undertaken by Great Britain was a violation of Albania's sovereignty. The decision of the International Court in a dispute between Coloumbia and Peru in which the former had granted assylum to a Peruvian revolutionary in 1949 did not help to clear up the issues involved. Subsequently the two countries through a bilateral agreement found a solution of the dispute. In 1951 the Court upheld in the Anglo-Norwegian fisheries case the right of Norway to reserve her adjoining northern coast for the exclusive use of her nationals.

The cases before the International Court did not come from Marxland and in the suits brought before the Court against communist countries the Court has failed to enforce judgment. Moreover, states aspiring for independence have not placed their cases before

the Court which has virtually confined itself to the states having western socio-political outlook.

A peep into the future and a plea for Charter revision. Despite its limitation the U.N. has taken a considerable step along the path of international co-operation. The makers of U.N. Charter assumed under conditions existing in 1945 the possibility of a continuous co-operation of the Great Powers. But when the giants fell out among themselves fulfilment of the hopes that the U.N. aroused at its inception gradually faded away. The advent of cold war has resulted in undermining the faith in U.N. The U.N. can be utilised in future in two ways, to strengthen the alliance of some nations against another or to facilitate the pacific settlement of disputes through debates and discussions. A third alternative—that of promotion of common aim through a concert of powers—is also open to the U.N. To save the U.N. from sharing the fate of the League it is perhaps safe to follow the third alternative. To revive the prestige of the U.N. a working hypothesis for co-existence of all powers is necessary. Then alone the U.N. actions will be backed by all important powers. The U.N. in order to realize the intention of its founders must be based not on competition but on co-operation and co-existence. It must move in "the direction of Parliament for Men and a Federation of the World."

The needs of modern civilization impels every country small or great to avoid clash of arms and to thrash out differences by discussions and debates. If the world is to exist it must follow peaceful methods of settling international disputes. For the alternative to co-existence is co-destruction. The best platform for improving relations among nations is the U.N. which may institutionalize balance of power and become a concert of powers.

The membership of the World Organization may include all states in future and provide opportunity to every one to utilise it for demonstrating their intention of living in peace with their neighbours. The U.N. can admirably serve the purpose of concert of powers. It can reflect the balance of power and put a brake to every attempt to disturb the balance by any one or two powers. Everything, of course, will depend upon how the member states behave in their activities in or outside the U.N. The U.N. Charter has become out of date today. The Charter had provided veto right to the Big Five. But among the 'Big Five' it included Nationalist China; Communist China, even today, is deprived of a seat in the U.N. The resultant effect is to present an unrealistic picture. The aggression of China on India recently shows that her attitude towards neighbouring states

is not helpful for world peace. Yet to allow Formosa to continue to occupy a permanent seat in Security Council is highly unrealistic. President de Gaulle recently has proposed that Formosa should be unseated and Communist China should be allowed to take its place in the Security Council. Again, in the post-World War II period the Afro-Asian bloc in U.N. have made their existence felt. The neutral nations which form a definite bloc as distinct from the Western bloc and the Soviet bloc have no representation in the Security Council.

The Charter, therefore, should be altered to include more members permanent and non-permanent in order that it may reflect the actual power balance in the world today. Some of the middle powers like India and Canada should take their proper place among the permanent members of the Security Council. Mr. Khruschev, the ex-Premier of U.S.S.R., actually suggested the inclusion of India and Indonesia as permanent members of the Security Council. The Secruity Council's actions in that case will be tempered with the cool judgment of countries outside the 'cold war'. Otherwise the U.N. may go the way of the League. The desertion of Indonesia from U.N. bears the truth of this statement. The deliberate inclusion of Malaysia as non-permanent member in the Security Council in spite of the strong protest lodged by Indonesia has resulted in the withdrawal of Indonesia's membership from the U.N. This is the first withdrawal and has established a dangerous precedent.

The permanent members of the Security Council have been given the right of 'veto' to ensure the co-operation of the 'Big Five'. Among the powers that enjoy 'veto' Russia is the only power in the communist bloc. The intensification of the 'Cold War' makes it evident that in future 'veto' will paralyse the actions of the Council. U Thant, the present Secretary-General, has, therefore, proposed that the Charter should be revised and the General Assembly should be given more power to maintain international peace and security. U Thant's proposals aims at curtailing the powers of the Security Council to maintain peace and security as defined in Chapter VII of the Charter. According to Article 12 of the Charter the General Assembly cannot make recommendations on any matter which is before the Security Council for consideration. The General Assembly should be free of the shackles imposed upon it and all states should be allowed to become its members. Thus it will be able to play a more important role in peace making than today. The smaller powers will then have more voice in the conduct of affairs, and the hegemony of the 'Big Five' would decline. But it is difficult to see how the U.N. can flourish without active co-operation from major powers.

The Soviet objection to share the burden of Congo expenses illustrates the point clearly.

The post of the Secretary-General is today all important in U.N. Mr. Khruschev had proposed that instead of one there should be three persons to perform the functions of the executive head of the U.N. Secretariat. Although the suggestion has been turned down for obvious difficulties yet it contained the merit of dividing the power of the most important U.N. Official equitably among all power blocs, the Western bloc, the Soviet bloc and the neutral nations. But any revision of the charter needs the willing co-operation of all major powers which unfortunately is difficult to obtain in a world of conflicting interests.

SUMMARY

Wartime Conference and origin of the U.N. The U. N. owes its origin to the war-time conferences of the Allied powers. The first hint of a new world organization was made in the Atlantic Charter drawn by Churchill and Roosevelt in August, 1941. In the following January, 26 nations subscribed to the General principles of the Charter. The Moscow Declaration on General Security was released on November 1, 1943 after eleven days of negotiation on post-war matters by Hall, Eden and Molotov. The Moscow Declaration admitted the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the sovereign equality of all peace loving states, and open to membership of all such states.

In the summer of 1944 representatives of the governments of U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and China met at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., to draft a Charter of the new organization. The most difficult problem faced by the conference was on the question of Big Power 'veto'. The differences among the major Allied Powers were finally thrashed out at the Yalta Conference in February, 1945, where Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met together for the last time in their war-time conferences. Yalta was no second Munich. Here some concessions were made to Russia to draw her in war against Japan. China was given a permanent seat in the Security Council and Chiang's government received Russia's recognition. The last of the war-time conferences held at Potsdam (July, 1945), was held by Attlee, Truman and Stalin.

In accordance with the Yalta Schedule delegates of 46 governments met at San Francisco. From April, to June, 1945 the 288 delegates including Eden, Molotov and U.S. Secretary of State Stettinus, worked out the final form of the Charter. The first meeting of the General Assembly was held in London on January 10, 1946.

The U.N.O. and the League—A comparative study. The U.N. is in a sense a revival of the League. Both demonstrate that the major precondition of success lies in the agreement of major powers. The U.N. did not come into existence after the war nor was it associated with the Peace treaties like the League. Unlike the League Covenant in the U.N. Charter the major powers have been given predominance over other mem-

bers despite the talk about sovereign equality of all 'peace loving states'.

In many respects the League system was stronger than the system created by the U.N. Charter. Article 16 required the members to apply sanctions against an aggressor. Again, the limit of domestic jurisdiction in the Charter is far more stringent than it was under the League.

The League system was flexible. The Charter fixed the membership of the Security Council. The League Council was expanded to increase the number of members. The General Assembly has no right to alter membership of the Security Council. In the League Council by 1936 the smaller powers became the deciding factor, the U.N. Charter established deliberately the unanimity principle of the permanent members. In the League a decade later out of 8 or 9 significant powers only 4 had permanent seats. The Assembly and the Council enjoyed virtually identical powers with regard to the maintenance of peace under the Covenant. But the League Assembly gradually increased its powers. In the Charter the Council was bestowed with more authority and responsibility for the maintenance of peace and the Great Powers were endowed with veto rights so that no step could be taken without their co-operation.

The Charter wanted to cover the gaps in the League Covenant and chapter VI endowed the Security Council with rights to settle disputes amicably. Its provisions may be compared to Arts. 12–15 of the Covenant. Chapter VII of the Charter authorized the Security Council to apply sanctions if it failed to find out ways and means for peaceful solution of a dispute. The powers given to the Council under the U. N. Charter are wider than any given in the Covenant. None of these two international organizations could fulfil the hopes of its original founders but both have powerfully contributed in reducing international tension.

The Aims, Purposes and Principles of the U.N. The Charter of the U.N. sets forth its aims, objects and principles in 111 Articles. The preamble expresses determination to save the succeeding generations from devastations of the war and reaffirms faith in human rights. The preamble expressed resolve to establish justice and respect for international obligation and to promote social progress and standard of life. The signatories promised to practise tolerance, and eschewed force except for common purpose. They promised to employ the international machinery for promoting the economic and social progress for all peoples.

The First Chapter states that the organization has been created to maintain international peace and to establish friendly relations among nations based upon equal rights and self-determination among peoples. The organization aims at international co-operation in solving problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian nature and in promoting respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

For this purpose the U.N. acted according to certain principles. First, it was based on sovereign equality of nations which undertook to fulfil Charter obligations. Members undertook to settle disputes by peaceful means and to eschew force except for common purpose. Non-members as far as possible would be required to conform to these principles. Matters of domestic jurisdiction (except where they constitute a threat to peace) were excluded from the jurisdiction of the U.N.

Members have right to individual or collective self-defence. They are allowed to make regional arrangement for peace and security.

The U.N. Organization. The membership of the U.N. has been more than doubled since its inception. Total membership at present is 125. According to Article 4 all peace loving states willing to accept Charter obligation may be allowed membership. New members may be admitted by two-thirds majority of the Assembly upon favourable recommendation of the Council. A member may be expelled by the Assembly upon recommendation from the Council. The question of withdrawal though not mentioned has been sharply raised by Indonesia which has given up membership.

General Assembly. The General Assembly is made up of all the nations and each member is allowed only one vote. The Assembly elects its president, vice-presidents and chairmen of the seven standing committees. The seven Main Committees discuss items on the agenda and recommend actions.

The Assembly approves the budget and assesses the share of individual members. The General Assembly may consider questions related to peace and security and to the promotion of prosperity (except matters that are being acted upon by the Security Council). Matters within domestic jurisdiction of states are excluded from its purview. If the Security Council drops a question from its agenda the Assembly may take it up. Colonial questions are sometimes claimed by imperialist Powers as internal affairs but the smaller powers insist that they should be included in the agenda. The U.N. Assembly is gradually assuming more and more power and taking active interest in dependent areas.

The Assembly elects the non-permanent members of the Security Council and members of the Trusteeship Council by two-thirds vote. The Secretary-General is elected by the Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. All U.N. agencies send their report to the Assembly. All matters other than the elections to the Council and Trusteeship body are decided by a simple majority.

The Security Council. The Security Council consists of the 'Big Five', viz., U.S.A., U.K., U.S.S.R., France and Nationalist China and 6 non-permanent members elected by the Assembly. By an amendment of the Charter (Aug. 31, 1965) the number of non-permanent members has been increased to Ten. India has been elected to the Council as a non-permanent member. The Charter intended that the Council should have a military force at its command. The members agreed to obey the decision of the Council. Thus the Security Council has been invested with a sort of legislative power. But the police force has not materialised due to division among powers and except in Korea the U.N. has not used force elsewhere.

In procedural matters decisions are taken by a majority of seven votes. But substantive matters require the concurrent vote of the 'Big Five' plus two more votes of the non-permanent members. These major powers were thus invested with 'veto' rights. The underlying idea was that the success of the international organization will depend upon continued co-operation of the big powers. But the rise of the Afro-Asian group as also the reduction of the power of Nationalist China has presented a completely different picture today than the realities of 1945. Naturally the U.N. does not reflect the power grouping of the world in 1965. Therefore there have been suggestions to abolish the veto altoge-

ther and to extend the membership of the Security Council. The Council may under Chapter VI investigate any dispute or any situation which might lead to international friction. The Council has been given wide power under Chapter VII to recommend the use of force, if peaceful methods of solution fail.

The Secretariat. According to Article 97, "The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the organization may require." In the Charter the members undertook to respect the international character of the responsibility of the Secretary-General and his staff. The Secretariat is organized on a functional basis. In 1954 the Assistant Secretaries-General and directors were replaced by under-secretaries and more power was concentrated in the hands of the Secretary-General. The Secretariat supplies information, carries on research and prepares budget of the U.N. (to be placed before the Assembly). Yet to see the U.N. function nobody would believe that in iota of world's poverty is reflected in World body's ways. The budget increased from $19.3 million in 1946 to $140.4 in 1968, more than half being spent on staff.

Secretary-General. The Secretary-General is the chief executive official of the U.N. and is also invested with important political responsibilities. He is appointed by the General Assembly upon a favourable recommendation of the Security Council. The Secretary-General brings before the notice of the Security Council any matter that in his opinion may threaten peace. The First Secretary-General Mr. Trygve Lie developed his privilege to include direct mediation. He was replaced in 1953 by Mr. Dag Hammarskjoeld who died in a plane crash in 1961. His place has been taken by the present Secretary-General Mr. U. Thant of Burma. The Secretary-General places an annual report before the Assembly and acts as an administrative officer of the Assembly, the Council and Trusteeship Council and ECOSOC.

The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The Economic and Social Council was conceived as a co-ordinator of the activities of the several specialized agencies. It is made up of 18 member nations. These members are elected for three-year terms in a group of six each year. It promotes better standards of life and international co-operation for economic and social welfare. It is served by many commissions and sub-commissions and makes agreement with such specialized agencies as Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.) and World Health Organization (W.H.O.). ECOSOC is authorised to recognize non-governmental organizations which may help its work. These organizations may be given consultative status. They include the Rotary International. International Chamber of Commerce, Salvation army and such other bodies. The ECOSOC reports regularly to the Assembly.

Trusteeship system. The Trusteeship system is a direct heritage from the Mandate system of the League. The U.N. Trusteeship is far more liberal than the League system and is created with the ultimate aim of granting self-government or liberation to the areas under Trusteeship. It includes the mandate territories taken from the enemy countries and territories voluntarily placed under its control. The Trusteeship agreements are approved by the Assembly which supervises the work of the Trusteeship Council. The total membership of the Trusteeship Council is divided between these States which administer Trust territories and

those which do not. The three-fold activities of the Trusteeship Council are to submit questionnaires and accept reports, to accept petitions and to arrange for periodic visits.

Chapter XI of the Charter makes a declaration regarding non-self-governing territories in which it imposed the principle that in the administration of these territories "the interest of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount." The Assembly insisted that the governing powers should apply the Declaration of Human Rights in these territories. The Assembly has set up a Committee for these areas.

The basic objective of the Trusteeship system is progressive development of self-government or independence. Except for certain ex-provinces of the Turkish empire the mandate system never accepted such a goal. The Permanent Mandates Commission was under the League, the Trusteeship Council, except for strategic areas is under the Assembly. The Trusteeship system is in many other respects a step forward.

The International Court of Justice. The International Court of Justice was created by a new statute which resembles its League model so closely that even the numbering of the Articles is identical. But the members of the U.N. are **ipso facto** parties to the statute whereas under the League membership was not compulsory. The Court is composed of 15 Judges selected by the Assembly and Council from persons who possess the qualification required in their respective countries for holding highest Judicial Office or reputed Jurisconsults. The Judges are appointed for 9-year terms and retire in groups of 5 every 3 years. The jurisdiction of the Court extends only to a state which agrees to submit to its decision. States may or may not accept the optional clause. If they do so they promise in general to submit certain types of disputes to the Court if an opposing state also agrees to the Court's jurisdiction. The Court may also render advisory opinion to the Council or Assembly on request. The Court has already decided in a number of disputes such as Anglo-Iranian oil dispute, the dispute of the right of American citizens in Morocco, etc. But it has not been able to achieve the high standard set by its predecessor.

Specialized Agencies. The Specialized agencies are the outcome of functional approach especially in the economic and social field to foster internationalism. They all have a secretariat, a deliberative body and an executive. They are co-ordinated by ECOSOC.

The Bank, the Fund and the I.L.O. follow a different pattern. In the first two the governors enjoys votes in proportion to the contribution of the countries they represent. In the last each country sends four representatives, two of the government, one of labour and the other of employees. The I.L.O. is inherited by the U.N. from the League. It promotes the interest of labour mainly through the conventions recommended to different governments for acceptance. The two financial bodies—the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (with $10 billion capital from member states) and the International Monetary Fund—sprung from Brettonwood Conference of 1944. These two are lending agencies for productive investment and have been very much affected by the 'Cold War'.

Agencies on Communication. Three of the Specialized agencies are on communication. The International Tele-Communication Union (I.T.U.)

is carrying forward the work of International Telegraph Union established in 1885. The Universal Postal Union (U.P.U.) grew out of the General Postal Union (1874) and recommends conventions regarding international postal communication. The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) promotes safety and progress in aviation.

The Food and Agricultural Organization (F.A.O.). The F.A.O. is an economic organization with its biannual conference and elected governing body. It is affiliated to the U.N. through ECOSOC. All F.A.O. members are not members of the U.N. Its three-fold activities are, first, to gather information, secondly, to promote improved methods of production and distribution, and lastly, to render technical assistance.

The World Health Organization grew out of a Conference in New York in 1946. Its constitution was ratified in 1948 by member states. The Assembly appoints its Director-General on the nomination of the Executive. It carries on world-wide campaign against disease.

Scientific agencies. The World Meteorological Organization (W.M.O.) was created for the purpose of establishing a network of weather stations and exchange of weather information. To promote highest standards of navigation and safety at sea the Inter-governmental Marine Consultative Organization was established in 1959. In 1956 the International Atomic Energy Agency (I.A.E.A.) was established with the purpose of peaceful application of atomic energy.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (U.N.E.S.C.O.). Sprung from a Conference of the Allied governments in exile in 1944 at London. A General Conference meeting every two years elects an Executive of 24 to carry on its work. The preamble of UNESCO constitution states that "since war begins in the minds of men it is in the minds of men that defences of peace must be constructed." It has too many projects but little fund. It suffers from a confusion of aims. In fighting illiteracy the UNESCO has guided member states as to how to go at it. Its task includes education, natural sciences, social sciences, cultural activities, exchange of persons, mass communication, relief services, technical aid.

In 1957 alone the UNESCO promoted extension of primary education in Latin America, research on the use of desert land and closer cultural contact between the East and the West. It also calls conferences like the World Congress of Ocean Scientists. It has many sided activities and in short it may be asserted that it has tried to fortify human mind against war.

UNCTAD. The UNCTAD was established in 1963 to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations. The rich nations have been adding $60 to their per capita income annually but the corresponding figure for poor nations is only $2. Again per capita income of the former has gone up from $100 to $1,100 while that of the latter from $100 to only $120 between 1850 and 1960. The under-developed countries have become dependent to the developed nations and are suppliers of their raw materials. Enlightened self-interest, however, demands that the rich nations should share their income with the poor nations. Otherwise expanding economic gap and growing political tension in a World divided between haves and have-nots would disturb world peace. The pattern of international trade so far, however, has followed a lopsided deve-

lopment despite the fact that the sixties has been called as the U.N. Development Decade (1960-70).The Algiers Charter of 77 nations, therefore, demanded that international trade should be based on terms of equality and no strings should be attached to aids. The Second UNCTAD held at New Delhi for six weeks (February, 1968), however, produced a modest result as admitted by both the President Mr. Dinesh Singh and the Secretary-General Dr. Raul Prebisch. The Conference accepted a face saving formula in which the developed nations admitted that they agree to the objective of the generalized, non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory system of reference. Yet the conference at least demonstrated the solidarity of the developing nations and the willingness of the socialist countries to make concessions. India took advantage of the conference to conclude treaties of trade co-operation with Yugoslavia and UAR.

U.N. as Peace Maker. The Charter of the United Nations, unlike the Covenant, eschews the use of force under all circumstances except in pursuance of the purposes of the Charter. In the Charter, however, less emphasis has been placed upon disarmament than in the Covenant. The peaceful settlement of disputes and the establishment of Collective Security are taken by the Charter as the basis for international peace and security.

The U.N. has not been able to fulfil the hopes of its original founders. But it has tried to tone down international tension by trying to settle international disputes either by pacific settlement or in some cases by application of Collective Security.

Of the twenty-three cases considered by the General Assembly and the Security Council, eight—Hyderabad, Indonesia, Kashmir, Palestine, Greece, Korea, Congo and Suez—resulted from the application of force by contending parties. In the case of Korea Collective Security measures were taken and in Congo the U.N. forces ended the separation of Katanga from the Central Government. Although it must be admitted that the results sadly disappointed all peace-loving people due to the installation of Tshombe the secessionist leader as the Premier of Congo. In Suez invasion the failure of the Anglo-French adventure was largely due to opposition outside U.N. The U.N., however, played a commendable role in establishing order in this area and the U.N. emergency force organized on this occasion provided a precedent for such action in future as the Congo events gave rise to future trouble. In the Palestine case sanction was threatened but was never applied while in Rhodesia sanction proved fruitless.

In almost more than half of the cases including Trieste, Czechoslovakia (where in 1948 the Communists seized power, and in 1968 Soviet troops intervened to check liberalization, and a Soviet veto killed U.N. attempt to handle the situation), Hungary (where in 1956 an unsuccessful revolt was crushed with the help of Soviet troops), Anglo-Egyptian dispute of 1947, the Balkan peace treaties and South Africa the influence of the United Nations was negligible. In Congo it bungled matters and in Iran, Syria, Berlin and Morocco its influence was nominal. In the case of Indonesia the U.N. played a very important role in bringing about her independence. In Cyprus U.N. acted as one of the mediators, the other two being U.S.A. and NATO. In Burma the U.N. helped the withdrawal of Nationalist Chinese troops. In Palestine and Greece,

however, the U.N. became a spectator. In the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1967 the U.N. was able to impose cease-fire but failed to lay the foundation of a lasting peace. The application of armed forces in Korea for Collective Security saved the South Korean republic. But as Charles P. Schliecher puts it, "If one conceives of successful collective security as police action rather than war, United Nations' action in Korea was a failure."

The Future. The U.N. has been the victim of the 'Cold War'. The failure of the Great Powers to reach agreement among themselves has resulted in the weakness of U.N. action. The U.N. can be utilised in future to strengthen the alliance of some nations against another or to facilitate pacific settlement through debates and discussions. A third alternative—that of promotion of common aim through a concert of powers—is also open to the U.N. To save U.N. from the fate of the League it is perhaps safe to follow the third alternative. The U.N. can reflect the balance of power and serve as a brake on those that attempt to upset it. Everything, however, depends upon the members.

Plea for Charter revision. The U.N. Charter has become out-of-date today. The exclusion of Afro-Asian countries like India and the inclusion of Nationalist China as permanent members presents an unrealistic picture in the Security Council. President De Gaulle recently has pleaded for the inclusion of Communist China in the U.N. as a permanent member of the Council. It is difficult to see how that will strengthen the cause of peace specially in view of the aggressive policy of China towards India. In any case the Security Council should be expanded to reflect the actual power balance in the world today.

The veto right of the 'Big Five' given in the Charter could have worked well if the giants held together. But whether its abolition will help to strengthen the U.N. is also a debatable point. In any case Secretary-General U Thant has proposed that the powers of the Assembly to maintain international peace should be increased and some of the powers given to the Council should be curtailed. Another suggestion was thrown by Mr. Khruschev, the ex-Soviet Premier, about creating a body of three to carry on the activities of the Secretary-General. These various suggestions show that there is a need for the revision of the Charter which may enhance the prestige of the U.N.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE

1. Coyle David Cushman : The United Nations and How it Works.
2. Maclaurin, John : The United Nations and Power Politics.
3. Nicholas, H. G. : The United Nations as a Political Institution.
4. Potter, P. B. : An Introduction to the Study of International Organization.
5. Schleicher Charles, P. : Introduction to International Relations.
6. Everyman's United Nations (Published by the United Nations Department of Public Information).

Chapter 13

Cold War and Military Alliances

The Origin of the 'Cold'. The relation between what Fredrick Schuman calls 'Marxland' and 'Freeland' has been far from cordial and even hostile since the end of World War II. This is due according to some to the division of the world into two camps—one led by the Soviet Union and another by the U.S.A. This bi-polar interpretation of world politics fails to take into consideration the existence of neutral nations like India, Indonesia, Egypt and other States which have disassociated themselves from joining in any one of the camps mentioned above. Moreover, the division in Marxland, for instance the difference between Russia and China, and in the Freeland, for instance between France and U.S.A., are left out of consideration by those who accept the bi-polar approach. The bi-polar approach has gained ground, today, because of the all embracing character of a total war. The development of modern technology and the discovery of 'A' and 'H' bomb has virtually excluded the scope of neutrality in case if the two giants U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. enter into armed conflict in future. The destructive and devastating character of a modern warfare has left very little scope for neutrality because determination of each party to win the war may lead them to violate the national sovereignty of other states. But in the meanwhile the rivalry of giants has left scope for even small states like Yugoslavia to manoeuvre their position and maintain neutrality. Moreover, the monopoly of the secrets of 'Atomic Power' is no longer confined to U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. They no longer command absolute command in their own camp. De Gaulle in France and Mao in China have not only acquired the 'A' bomb but also are determined to be the makers of their own policy. The existence of the neutral nations in which most of the Afro-Asian states belong

has served as check on the rivalry between the giants.

What is Cold War? The 'Cold War' is kept alive by the rivalry of Soviet bloc and Western bloc to gain the hegemony of the world. The western bloc looks upon the communist countries as totalitarian states and the neutrals as misguided. The communist countries on the other hand consider the capitalist states as seeking to exploit the underdeveloped countries for profit and frantically trying to maintain its hold over areas producing raw materials. Their mutually opposing views have produced rivalry in the post-World War II period. This has not led to actual war, but has produced local undeclared wars on a limited scale.

The familiar portrait of the Cold War for mastery of the globe, however, has not prevented contact between the west and the communist world. 'The diplomacy of co-existence' as Mr. Schuman puts it and the rise of the neutral nations in Afro-Asian countries has increasingly acted as a brake upon the rivalry generated by the competition of giants. But the 'cold war' is still kept alive by the fear of the capitalist world about the ultimate motive of Soviet expansion and desire to attack the capitalist countries. From the point of view of the communist countries the opposite is true, i.e., it is the imperialists who intend to destroy 'Marxland' and sooner or later they intend to strike. Both the 'Worlds' are today desirous of peace because the alternative to co-existence in the 'Atomic age' is co-destruction. Therefore, the 'cold war' goes on through the illusion from which both the capitalist and the communist worlds suffer. The 'cold war' is different from shooting war. Friedmann aptly defines it in the following statement—"In short there is some reason to believe that the 'cold war' is not a necessary preparatory phase for a 'hot war', but a new technique of warfare."[1]

Different phases of the Cold War: post-Versailles era. In the post-Versailles era Europe looked down upon Bolshevik Russia as an outcaste. This was largely due to the fear of the spread of the ideology of the Bolshevik revolution in neighbouring countries. Trotsky and some of his followers believed in 'Permanent revolution', but it was eschewed by the Soviet Communist Party. Western contact with Bolshevik Russia was at first hostile and resulted in the interventionist war. The establishment of trade relations with Britain in 1921 and the invitation accorded to Russia in the Genoa Conference in 1922 resulted in a slow but gradual re-establishment of relations bet-

1. Friedmann, W.: An Introduction to World Politics, p. 215.

ween Russia and the west. By the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922 Germany and Russia established diplomatic relation and thus the two vanquished powers broke their diplomatic isolation. Recognition to the Bolsheviks came subsequently and U.S.A. accorded diplomatic cognizance to U.S.S.R. as late as 1933.

From Collective Security to alliance with Nazi Germany. During the next few years beginning from the decision to join the League in 1934 to 1939 the Soviet Union followed a policy of strengthening Collective Security. This phase is associated with the name of Maxim Litvinov whose efforts to work out the League system earned praise even from rank critics of U.S.S.R. But the rise of Dictators and the policy of appeasement pursued by the Anglo-French powers resulted in the collapse of Collective Security. The Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), the Anschluss of Austria with Germany, the Abyssinian conquest of Italy and finally the Munich tragedy brought the possibility of a World War II nearer. The aim of the British and French policy makers to divert German aggression towards the east prompted the Soviet Union to seek safety by looking for her own national interest. An underestimation of the Soviet military might and a fear of encouraging Soviet expansion prompted the west to neglect the opportunity of building up a grand alliance with Russia against Nazi Germany. Anglo-French guarantee to the Poles removed all possibility of isolating Russia in any future struggle. But the Poles were unwilling to allow Soviet troops to protect them against Hitler and the western countries were unwilling to allow Russia freehand in the Baltic region. So the project of Russian alliance did not materialise and Russia concluded non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany to gain breathing space for a future and inevitable struggle.

It was followed by a period of collaboration with Nazi Germany which so far angered the western powers that even in 1940 they were thinking of aiding Finland against Russian aggression. The German invasion of Poland was followed by the occupation of a portion of that country by the Soviet Union. From 1939 to 1941, i.e., till the German invasion of U.S.S.R., important commercial and trade agreements were concluded by Russia and Germany. This created much bitterness among western democracies.

Wartime collaboration. Even when the western Powers and the Soviet Union were forced to fight the Axis aggression their relation though cordial was marked by an undercurrent of mutual distrust and jealousy. The delay in opening the second front, for instance, for obvious difficulties made the Soviet Union suspicious of Anglo-American motive. The Anglo-American secrecy over the 'A' Bomb

and their refusal to invite the Polish provisional government to San Francisco were considered by Russia as unfriendly acts. The west on the other hand became critical about Russian policy towards peoples living in the territories occupied by the Soviet troops. The West also complained that Russia had gained considerable territory by declaring war against Japan in the last moment. The emergence of Russia and U.S.A. as giants in the post-World War II period caused rivalry between the two. Both now acquired global interest and responsibilities and thus the clash of interest between the two was inevitable.

Post-World War II. This clash of interest manifested itself in the immediate post-World War II period specially over the fate of Germany and Japan. Germany was divided into zones of occupation by Allied powers. In Western Germany occupied by Anglo-French and American troops the democratic government of Dr. Konrad Adenauer came into being, while in East Germany, i.e., in the Soviet Zone of occupation the socialist unity party formed the government. The conversion of Eastern Germany into a communist state increased the tension between the East and the West. In Japan the American occupation forces under General MacArthur converted the country into a bulwark against communism. Thus the Soviet Union which exerted no influence in Japan became a bitter critic of American policy. All these changed the relation of the Wartime Allies—the western democracies and the U.S.S.R. There was of course no question of direct action, but slowly and gradually it developed into a 'Cold War'. The signal was first given by Churchill in his Fulton speech in March, 1946. Churchill predicted the inevitability of a 'Third World War' and pleaded for preparedness of Western democracies against Russia and the countries under her influence—the iron curtain countries—as Churchill preferred to call it. The relations between the west and the communist world now hardened.

The nature of this conflict from ideological standpoint has been variously called as a struggle between two opposite camps of 'Democracy' and 'Dictatorship', of 'Freeland' and 'Marxland', of 'Imperialism' and 'People's Democracy', of 'Free enterprise' and 'Socialism'. Western countries complained of the international character of the Marxist ideology and alleged that the communist movements outside U.S.S.R. have been deliberately used for furthering the interest of Soviet foreign policy. The activities of the communist parties and Communist Information Bureau or Cominform, re-established in 1947, the western statesmen complained, undermined the political system of non-communist countries. The national integrity and secu-

rity of the democracies was threatened according to western statesmen by the possibility of Soviet expansion. U.S.A. became a champion of the western state system. Looking at the problem from the point of view of the communist bloc the western democracies had attempted to nip the 'Bolshevik Revolution' in the bud by carrying on interventionist War. In the Munich agreement the Soviet Union was excluded and the policy of appeasement was partially the outcome of a desire to divert German aggression eastward. The Soviet Union also could not forget that the delay in opening the second front had caused much suffering to her. The creation of American military base at Japan and the division of Germany into two parts was, according to the Soviet Union, the outcome of a desire on the part of democracies to create new bases for a future conflict with U.S.S.R. The economic aid in the form of Marshal Plan and Point Four programme are designed also to this end. The inner-contradiction of capitalism—its urge for markets—inevitably leads to war. In the post-World War II period there has been deliberate attempt on the part of democracies under the leadership of U.S.A. to consolidate all the anti-communist forces against U.S.S.R. Both the camps, therefore, suffered from the illusion that one is determined to destroy another and this provided the background for the origin of the 'Cold War'.

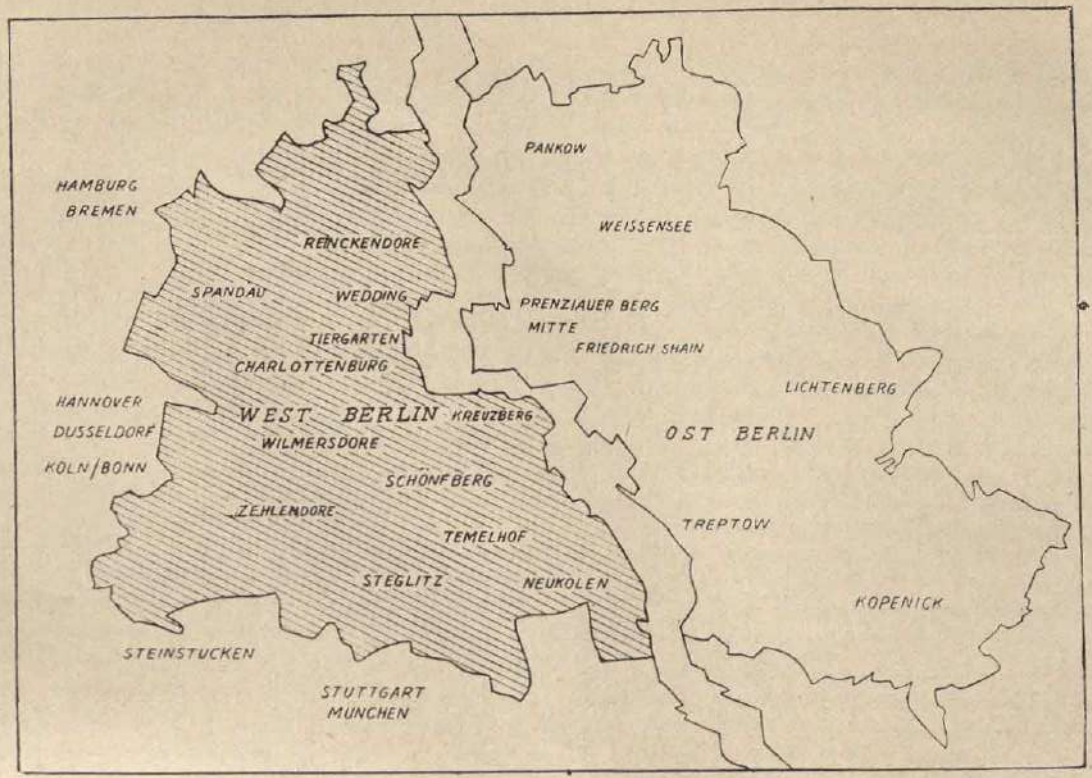
Offensive and Counter-Offensive. The first victim of the 'Cold War' was the United Nations Organization. As soon as the giants fell out the 'Big Five' failed to reach agreement. The Soviet Union is the only state from the communist bloc in the Security Council and naturally her votes went against the decisions of the western bloc. In other words the Soviet 'veto' prevented the actions that the western countries desired to take on many questions. The Greek question, the Trieste issue and the question of admission of new members (each bloc refusing membership to states from the other bloc) created much difference. It paralysed U.N. action and by the end of 1946 it became clear that the U.N. will not be able to carry the responsibility conferred upon it by the Charter. The establishment of people's democracies in Eastern European countries brought within the Russian sphere of influence nearly 120 million people. The Soviet Union denounced the western powers as war mongers. It became clear that the U.S.S.R. completely distrusted the west. The U.S.S.R. was accusing the western powers of an attempt to encircle her to counteract which she entered into alliance with the people's democracies and strengthened her defences in Europe. The peace treaties with defeated powers proved to be a difficult problem due to the differences between U.S.S.R. and the capitalist democra-

cies. By 1947 treaties were signed with Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania. But on the issue of peace settlement with Germany and Austria no agreement could be reached. The determination of the United States to retain control over Japan and the scant respect paid by General MacArthur, the supreme commander in Japan, to the views of the Allied Council caused further friction. Again, the civil war in China between the communists and kuomintang became an important issue of conflict between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.

The western powers tried to answer communist move by their measures of strengthening democracies politically, economically and militarily. The U.S.A. in the post-World War II period became the champion of such a policy and by 1949 organised the political unity of the continental powers through the Council of Europe. The economic recovery of Europe was helped by the U.N.R.R.A. in which U.S.A. made the largest contribution. The integration of western zones in Germany was started by the middle of 1946. The Marshal aid plan was announced in June, 1947 and mutual defence pacts like the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were materialised. This power conflict is world wide but the western offensive has taken root more in Europe than anywhere else. Moreover, in Europe France under De Gaulle has created a third force. Therefore, instead of a united front against the communist countries the western democracies are divided among themselves. The same is true about 'Marxland' where U.S.S.R. and Communist China are finding agreement on a common policy more and more difficut. But these manifestations were of a later growth.

The Truman Doctrine. The first significant western offensive to counteract the expansion of Soviet communism is the Truman Doctrine which came in 1947. The western democracies suspected Russian move in the Black Sea area. The Russian denouncement of the Turkish non-aggression treaty caused the suspicion about Russian design on the Straits. In Greece the insurrection against a restored monarchy organized by the communists caused anxiety. Greece complained to the Security Council in December, 1946 that Yugoslavia and Bulgaria actively aided the communist guerrillas. The Soviet and Polish delegates challenged this allegation and the U.N. failed to take any action.

Britain which was responsible for the liberation of Greece from Nazi rule in 1944 and was rendering aid so long to the royalists was not in a position to protect Turkey and Greece any more. President Truman, therefore, decided to shoulder the burden of saving these two areas for the so-called 'Free World', and assume the responsibi-



Berlin—a divided city

lity of the British burden. In a recommendation to the Congress he asked for a grant of $400 million for Turkey and Greece. The President's message pointed out that 'it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures'. The Truman Doctrine was the first important step in the policy of containment. It sharpened the clash with Moscow and showed that U.S.A. has replaced Britain in post-World War II period as the leader of the democratic camp. American aid to Greece resulted in the establishment of status quo and the defeat of communist forces and Greece was saved for the democracies. In April 1967 a coup in Greece resulted in the establishment of military dictatorship. Even King Constantine had to leave the country. Turkey too was strengthened against any possible pressure from U.S.S.R. The United States declared its intention of suppressing all attempts to change political status quo. In other words the U.S.A. desired to become world's policeman.

The Truman Doctrine aimed at closing all avenues for negotiated settlement with Russia and was announced to declare before the world that the U.S.A. would contain Russia politically and restrain her wherever the Soviets sought to advance. The Doctrine also struck at the root of the world body because the U.N. had no future if there was no possibiiity of settling any conflict with the Soviet Union. The Doctrine by-passed the United Nations. To save Greece from aggression the co-operation of the United Nations could have been sought and ECOSOC could have aided the Greeks to recoup economically. Nor was it impossible to send advisers and experts directly to train the Greek army instead of undertaking a commitment to translate the policy of containment into practice. The Truman Doctrine came on the eve of the Moscow conference of Foreign Ministers. It acted as a bombshell on the possibility of peaceful negotiations on various outstanding differences between the two super powers. Russia war-torn and ravaged was not really in a position to undertake the possibility of head-on clash with the Western powers in March 1947. If she was eager to gain hold on the straits for self-defence she was following the traditional policy of a land-locked power for warm water and her aspirations were as legal as that of U.S.A. which considered Panama canal as her life line. Neither was there any possibility of an immediate Russian expansion and even the Kennan thesis denied such an eventuality. Yet the United States assumed the military guardianship of the straits fully conscious that in 1947 it had the monopoly of 'A' Bomb. It was not a declaration of War

legally but in fact it denied the possibility of any settlement with Russia and set a limit to the expansion of Communism.

The Marshal Plan. A second step, in the economic field, was taken to save the European continent from the ever growing influence of communist ideology and pressure. The American aid to war-torn Europe was so long received through UNRRA. But with the development of the cold war U.S.A. became eager to send help to democracies. On 5 June, 1947, General George Marshall in his address at the Harvard University spoke in general terms about Europe's need for help to rebuild her economy. He said "that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." The Marshall aid plan apparently was meant for all the European communities and in the first conference held at Paris on June 27, Russia and other communist states were invited to attend. But the underlying aim of the Marshal Plan was to save Europe from communism. As Truman wrote later, "speed was essential, because the west now faced the increasing pressure of communist imperialism". It was a plan actually meant to fight communism, naturally, the Communist states did not attend the second conference called by Britain and France to discuss the Marshal Plan programme. In the words of Mr. G. C. Smith, "To believe that American aid would be forthcoming for countries which remained communist was to misunderstand the significance of the Marshal Plan". It was the American policy of containment in the economic field. The Marshal Plan and Truman Doctrine ended U.S.A.'s isolationism. Britain, France and fourteen other European nations accepted the plan. U.S.A. set up an Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) under the Foreign Assistance Act. Mr. Paul Hauffman was appointed administrator of the European Recovery Programme. To help countries outside Europe a 'Point Four Programme' was created for underdeveloped countries in 1949. Pakistan and Nationalist China received aid through this programme.

By the end of 1947 the two worlds became victims of the cold war. This continued till the death of Stalin in March, 1953. The diplomacy of co-existence inaugurated by Mr. Khruschev helped to reduce it. The U-2 incident and the events of Cuba had served to increase the tension but it subsided subsequently. But American action in South Vietnam and the bombing of North Vietnam by America has again intensified cold war in the most sensitive spot of Asia today.

Military Alliances. The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty

Organization (NATO) is fundamentally the outcome of fear psychology. The establishment of communist hold over Eastern Europe and the possibility of further expansion of Soviet communism produced the Western response in the NATO. It was felt by the policy makers in U.S.A. that war-torn Europe is not in a position to act as a deterrent on the Russian shadow over the continent. President Truman, therefore, declared on March 17, 1948 that the "determination of the free countries of Europe to protect themselves will be matched by an equal determination on our part to help them to do so." Thus the extension of Russian influence in Europe was considered a sufficient justification on the part of U.S.A. to champion the cause of democracies in Europe. There were other reasons which prompted the United States to uphold the military alliances formed in post-World War II period. The Americans entertain deep aversion about communism. NATO is largely the outcome of this deep antipathy. It was felt in the United States that the revolution in the technique of warfare after the World War II makes it essential that Europe should profit from the scientific advances made in U.S.A. in armaments to build strong defence against a possible advance in future of the USSR. European deficiencies in man power and material should be made up by liberal aids from U.S.A. Moreover in case of a future conflict between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. the old policy of isolation would not be of much help. The only alternative was to follow a policy of containment and of building up alliances. Thus immediately after the end of World War II Europe reverted to a perilous balance of power policy at the promptings of U.S.A. policy makers. The western Powers had lost faith in the system of collective security provided by the U.N.

Measures for strengthening the western alliance was taken as early as 1947 when Britain signed the Treaty of Dunkirk. This treaty was an alliance directed against possible German resurgence. In 1948 by the Treaty of Brussels this alliance was extended to include the 'Benelux' countries (Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg). Even on this occasion Germany was considered to be the most likely source of danger but the Soviet Union was now included as constituting a threat to democracies. But the alarm of a possible Soviet threat became widespread by the time the treaty received ratification. Canada and U.S.A. had in the meanwhile agreed on principle to promote 'Collective Security' through regional alliance. The Vandenburg resolution passed on June 11, 1948 in U.S. Senate enabled the administration to carry on talks on regional alliance and defence pacts. Ultimately the North Atlantic Treaty was signed on March

18, 1949. The original signatories are Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States.

The most important clause of the Treaty is embodied in Article 5 by which members agreed that in the event of an armed attack on one or more of them it shall be considered as an attack on all of them and members shall take steps individually or collectively to restore peace and security. "Any such armed action and all measures taken thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council". The Treaty makes action possible until the Security Council takes measures necessary to maintain international peace and security (Article 15 of U.N. Charter). But in fact the Treaty owes its existence to the assumption that the Security Council will be unable to act effectively due to the existence of the 'Big Five' veto. Though the treaty is eloquent on 'democracy', 'individual liberty' and 'rule of law', the inclusion of Portugal in the Treaty organization involved an ideological sacrifice to strategic consideration. Strategic consideration also prompted U.S.A. to sign a Mutual Aid agreement with Spain in 1954. But the inclusion of the sole remaining member of the fascist dictatorship would have involved a moral sacrifice which was opposed by left wing western European parties. Moreover the periodic claim placed by Spain on Gibralter also made Britain opposed to her inclusion in NATO. Greece and Turkey became members in 1952 and West Germany was included in NATO in 1954. The former two are not Atlantic Powers but they are considered as vital bastions against Russian advances in the Mediterranean.

Other articles call for elimination of dispute among the signatories (Article 1) and provide 'economic collaboration' between any or all of them (Article 2). But the last aspect of the activity of NATO has not been developed. Moreover, any reduction of tariff would not receive encouragement either from the Commonwealth or U.S.A. The evolution of the Common market has also stood in the way of econmic collaboration of all Atlantic communities. The Treaty provided in Article 9 its structure. It established a Council in which all Powers are represented. The Council consisted of Foreign Ministers. The Council was authorized to set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary. There is a Military Committee in which the chiefs of the staff of member states are represented. It has a permanent staff headed by the Secretary-General in its headquarters at Paris. At present there are four commands, viz., European command, Atlantic Ocean command, Channel command, the Canada-United States plan-

ning group. The post of Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR) has been occupied by such outstanding Commanders as General Eisenhower, General Ridgway, General Gruenther and General Norstad.

The NATO was created with threefold purpose of acting as a deterrent on the Soviet Union by providing Europe with an umbrella of security and thus enabling the democracies to go ahead with their programme of economic and military development. It was intended to forge unity between U.S.A. and her allies in Europe, and to create an organization with the common purpose of defence. The unity of purpose in the NATO necessitated the inclusion of West Germany and its army inside NATO forces. The NATO by building up military, naval and air-bases (nearly 130) has strengthened the defences of Europe. But it was soon felt that only conventional arms would be insufficient to the NATO force. In order to make them an effective fighting machinery it was essential to invest them with 'Nuclear weapons'. The NATO powers have decided in January 1969, to create a naval arm of the NATO forces. By establishing naval facilities from Latakia westward the Soviet Union has turned the southern flank of NATO. NATO naval force is intended to counteract Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean. France under General De Gaulle was, however, reluctant to borrow 'Nuclear Weapons'. She was eager to possess it. She has successfully carried on tests in 'A' and 'H' Bomb and is unwilling to tolerate U.S.A. patronization in the affairs. The forging of alliance between France and West Germany has weakened U.S.A. leadership in Europe and has created a 'third force' in the continent.

Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The NATO was not as isolated project. In fact the policy of containment demanded a global strategy. Therefore, similar military alliances were built up in other important strategic areas. The defence of Middle East and its oil resources is vital from the standpoint of western democracies.

At first the defence of Middle East hold over Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, of Great Britain. Britain with her hold over Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, Jordan, Libya and other important areas in the Middle East was in a position to discharge this task. But the post-World War II period saw the weakening of Britain's position in the Middle East. More significant factor in the post-war period is the tremendous growth of Arab nationalism. Britain's association with Palestine made her a special object of attack on the Arab-Jewish issue. The responsibility of defending the Middle East under the situation could not be shouldered by Britain single-handed. The backwardness of the Arab

people, their lack of technical skill and the resurgence of Arab nationalism combined together to enhance the problem of defending western interest in the Middle East.

The importance of Middle East in the global conflict, however, was enhanced due to the revolution in the technique of warfare. The Middle East may easily serve as a base for striking at the life line of Russia's communication in case of a future war. The United States, therefore, planned a new approach to the problem of Middle East defence. This is known as 'northern tier' strategy. This strategy consisted in bringing together Turkey and Pakistan, the two countries which flanked the area, and creating a defence system in an area away from the influence of the Arab League which is anti-western in its outlook. Turkey a member of the NATO and a European Power was committed to the defence of Middle East. She was now linked with Pakistan which had already decided to receive military and economic aid from USA and support the western bloc. In April, 1954 Turkey signed a pact of mutual defence with Pakistan.

Iraq during this period was following a pro-western policy and was jealous of the growing influence of Egypt under Nasser. She eagerly sought and received U.S. aid for defence. The geographical and strategical position of Iraq made her admirably suited as the base of a Middle Eastern defence and a link between Turkey and Pakistan which were widely separated. Moreover, being an Arab country it was specially advantageous to bring her in a scheme for the defence of Middle East. In February, 1955 Turkey and Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact. Britain joined the Baghdad Treaty organization and Pakistan acceded to it. But strangely enough U.S.A. did not join the Baghdad Pact. The Pact it was hoped would eventually embrace Afghanistan and Persia, and thus fulfil the 'northern tier' strategy. But the bitter relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan prevented the latter state from joining the Baghdad Pact. The Anglo-Iranian relations improved in August 1954 and Persia eventually joined the alliance in September, 1955. But her weakness made her a liability rather than an asset to the organization.

The Pact provided for a Council of Foreign Ministers who met at intervals. In the very first meeting it became clear that the progress in the military defence was bound to be slow and more energy should be devoted for making the Pact a useful via media for western economic aid. Though the United States had not joined the organization she showed her willingness to give economic aid and send representatives to attend the meetings of the economic committee.

The Baghdad Pact caused alarm in the Arab countries. It

sought to dislodge Nasser from Arab leadership. Failing to win over Egypt to its fold the Pact now proved to be a threat to the Arab national movement specially to the revolutionary government of Egypt. The Soviet Union naturally denounced the Pact. From an altogether different viewpoint Israel from the start denounced United States aid to Iraq. India, too, expressed her disapproval of the U.S.A. aid to Pakistan. But the western powers felt happy over their northern tier strategy. Their self-satisfaction did not last for a long time. Because in 1958 Iraq went out of the Pact as a result of the fall of monarchy in Iraq on July 14, 1958 and the establishment of a republican government under General Kassem. The U.S.A. which had not joined the Pact so long found it difficult now to hold aloof. Henceforth the Organization was called Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The United States became a full-fledged member of the CENTO to keep alive her policy of containment in the Middle East.

The Anzus Pact. The rapid advance of communist ideology in South-East Asia became a source of anxiety to the United States specially due to the endless mission undertaken by Communist China in this area. By 1950 China had established her hold over Tibet and by 1956 brought North Korea and North Vietnam into her sphere of influence. The Chinese penetration was all the more dangerous due to the existence of nearly 10 million Chinese living in different parts of South-East Asia.

The United States pursued here the policy of containment. But it was not possible to establish an organization like NATO. The military alliance build up in this area had to depend for its effective application upon U.S.A. satellites in this region. The Nationalists in Formosa continued to receive U.S.A. patronization and Japan now became a bastion of America in the south-east. On September 8, 1951 America signed a security treaty with Japan recognizing that Japan "has the right to enter into collective security arrangements".

But the possibility of a revival of Japan and the threat of communist expansion alarmed Philippines, Australia and New Zealand. In the meanwhile progress of communist arms in Indo-China had increased the possibility of communist expansion. Australia and New Zealand now made it clear that their approval of the American treaty with Japan depended upon an agreement for the defence of their territories by U.S.A. These countries were members of the British Commonwealth but Britain's relative weakness prompted Australia and New Zealand to seek U.S.A. protection. U.S.A. policy makers though reluctant at this period to accept any new commit-

ment in this area had to accept the proposal of signing defence Pact with these two countries. On August 30, 1951 U.S.A. had signed a mutual defence pact with the Philippines Republic and it was followed by a tripartite agreement with Australia and New Zealand on September 1, 1951.

This Pact of Security between U.S.A. on the one side and Australia and New Zealand on the other was to remain in force indefinitely. The provisions of the treaty directed the parties to develop by self-help and mutual aid their capacity to resist armed attack. The signatories agreed to consult each other in case of any such attack in the Pacific area. Measures against armed attack will cease as soon as the Security Council has taken steps to prevent aggression. The Security Council must be kept informed about all such attacks and measures taken against it. Thus the right and obligation of the parties under UN Charter is maintained. A Council of Foreign Ministers or their deputies was created to implement the provisions of the Anzus Pact.

South East Asia Treaty Organization (*SEATO*). When Eisenhower became President in 1952 as a result of the victory of the Republican party, the situation in South-East Asia had definitely deteriorated due to inability of the French to maintain their position in Indo-China against the communist forces of Ho Chi Minh. The Korean situation also came to a stalemate at 38° parallel. The situation required re-evaluation. The Eisenhower administration started by breathing fire in foreign policy. Prime Minister Churchill visited America in 1953 and advised the setting up of Collective Security Organization. In 1954 the U.S.A. acquiesced in it, without becoming a party to the partition of Indo-China at the Geneva Conference.

The developments outlined above prompted U.S.A. to set up an organization for defending democracies in South-East Asia. A conference was, therefore, called at Manila in which eight western and Asian governments sent their representatives and on September 8, 1954 they signed South-East Security Pact. The signatories were U.S.A., U.K., France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and Philippines. Neutral Asian countries including India refused to attend the conference. The Treaty area embraced the general area of South-East Asia, including also the entire territories of the Asian parties and the general area of the South-West Pacific excluding the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. Thus Formosa and Hongkong were not included in the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty. Cambodia, Laos and South-Vietnam were included in the area to be defended. The United States by a sepa-

rate declaration gave the understanding of defending the area not only from communist aggression but also to mutual consultation in case of other aggression or armed attack.

The Parties recognized the sovereign equality of all the member states and reiterated their faith in the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter of the United Nations. The signatories further expressed their desire to strive for sef-determination and independence of all the countries whose people are able to undertake its responsibilities. The parties agreed to settle international dispute by peaceful means. But at the same time the signatories expressed their determination to promote separately and jointly by mutual aid collective security, to resist armed attack and counteract subversive activity against their territorial integrity and political stability.

The Treaty also provided for co-operation in the economic field. The parties agreed to help each other by technical assistance designed to promote economic progress and social well-being. The signatories agreed also to further individual and collective efforts of governments toward these ends.

Under the Treaty obligation armed attack against any one party would be resisted by all. Therefore, the Treaty arranged for mutual consultation in such an eventuality. For that purpose, therefore, a Council consisting of representatives of all the parties was established. "The Council shall provide", according to Article 5 of the Treaty, "for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the Treaty area from time to time require." Nothing in the Treaty affected the treaty obligations of any of the parties under the U.N. Charter. Nor does the Treaty in any way affect the responsibility of the U.N. with regard to the maintenance of international peace.

The South-East Asia Treaty organization established its headquarter at Bangkok. The Treaty was bitterly denounced by the neutrals including India. The exclusion of India, Indonesia, Burma and other neutral nations reduced the effectiveness of the organization to win over Asian countries. In spite of the respect paid by SEATO to U.N. it was obvious to any casual observer that it was an alliance of pro-western powers. The western powers because of their association with colonies were not able to win the adhesion of the newly liberated people in Asia. Afro-Asian countries looked upon it as an attempt to extend 'cold war' in South-East Asia. The Bandung Conference of April of Afro-Asian nations voiced their protest at the attempt of colonial powers to interfere in Afro-Asian affairs. The provisions of the SEATO were so designed as to enable USA and

her allies to interfere in any change of government in Asian countries which they disliked. Therefore it was extremely reactionary in character.

Warsaw Pact and Unified Command Accord. The response of Soviet Russia to the western attempt at military alliance against communism was the conclusion of Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1955. The signatories to this Pact are U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. The signatories decided to set up a unified command of 'Armed Forces'. Albania and Rumania however cut themselves at a drift from Warsaw Pact. The general questions relating to the strengthening of the defence capacity and the organization of the 'Armed Forces' "are to be examined by the political and consultative communities". Marshal Konev of the Soviet Union was appointed the commander-in-chief of the United Armed Forces. The deputies to the commander-in-chief are to be appointed from participating countries. The headquarters is to be located in Moscow.

The 'Contracting Parties' strove for the creation of a system of collective security in Europe based on the participation of all European states, irrespective of their social or state structure in the interest of insuring peace in Europe. The Pact came into existence in response to the new situation created by the formation of Western European Union with a remilitarized Western Germany which is also included in NATO. The situation thus produced a threat to security and a danger to war and necessitated efforts for the preservation of peace. The signatories claimed the aims and principles of U.N. Charter as their guide and promised friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance based upon sovereignty and independence of nations and non-interference in internal affairs.

The 'Contracting Parties' undertook to settle international dispute by peaceful means in accordance with UN Charter and co-operate with each other not only for insuring peace but on all important international problems. In case of an armed attack on one or several members others agreed to come to the assistance of states which are objects of such aggression in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter. Such measures will stop as soon as the Security Council takes steps necessary for the re-establishment of peace and security. The 'Contracting Parties' will also take other measures to insure defence against possible aggression. Article 7 made it clear that the signatories were precluded from entering into any other kind of alliance.

With the object of consultation the Treaty set up a political Con-

sultative Committee consisting of the representative of all the participating states. The Committee may set up any auxiliary organs if necessary. The 'Contracting Parties' also agreed to develop economic and cultural ties between them. The Treaty is to remain in force for twenty years. The Parties undertook not to enter any coalition or unions or not to enter into any agreements whose aims are contrary to the terms of the Treaty. In 1956 and 1968 Soviet and Allied troops intervened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia respectively to check counter-revolution and maintain the solidarity of Warsaw Pact powers. The other super national institution with which Russia wanted to forge unity in Eastern European countries is the COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance).

Effects of the Cold War and Military Alliances. The rivalry between giants has produced endless friction. The alternative to world-wide collective security has produced world-wide chain of alliances and counter-alliances. The intensification of the 'Cold War' politics has enhanced the problem and difficulty of all the countries directly or indirectly whether or not they are a party to it.

The dream of creating 'one world' with all peoples living in peace under the protection of one international system of collective security has faded. The power conflict has affected the U.N.O. adversely. The United Nations is the first casualty of the 'Cold-War'. It has been reduced to a simple forum of world opinion. In fact, the U.N. today is not even a representative body. The 'Cold War' has prevented some of the states from becoming member of the world body and at least in one case that of Indonesia to give up its membership. Another familiar instance of the effect of cold war on the UN is the representation of Formosa government as the representative of China. The effects of the 'Cold War' have made the position of the United Nations similar to that of the League of Nations after 1930.

The competition among giants has resulted in more freedom of action of the small and middle powers. The influence of neutrals mostly Afro-Asian states has been increasingly applied for furthering the cause of peace. The tension among great powers therefore caused endless conflict but has not resulted in global war. The influence of world opinion reflected in the UN has prevented either U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. to take actions short of war. Thus so far like the Cuba crisis of 1962 tensions have not produced any major conflict.

But the disadvantages of cold war out-weigh any advantage that has resulted from it in international conflict. The military alliances like NATO, SEATO, Warsaw Pact and other such alliances have created a sort of 'Pactomania' (to borrow a phrase from 'New York

Times'). It has resulted in competition for armaments—conventional and nuclear. In the world, today, approximately 40 crores of Dollars are spent daily for armaments. Nearly eighty-five per cent of this sum is shouldered by U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China, France, Germany (East and West), Britain and Russia. Thirty-five per cent of the total expenditure of the world on armament is made in U.S.A. Thus both the camps are armed to the teeth. Any local quarrel or even misunderstanding may start the nuclear war and a war of guided missiles. Such a war would bring about the destruction of the whole world.

There is another important aspect to this problem. The diversion of human labour and resources for manufacturing destructive weapons has adversely affected economic development of the world. The advanced countries of the world, today, are exploiting backward areas for their own interest. The underdeveloped countries which suffer from hunger and disease cannot solve their urgent problems owing not only to their backwardness but also due to the deliberate policy pursued by the advanced countries. Some of the underdeveloped countries like Pakistan have joined the system of alliances and are forced to adopt an economy detrimental to the cause of peace and prosperity. The Western industrially advanced countries are capable today, if they divert their resources for economic development, to feed the world. The cost of a British battleship, for instance, is sufficient to build a first rate hospital. Thus the cost of armaments is paid out of economy in other and more essential needs of mankind. If civilization is to survive, such competition should give way to co-operation. The system of Collective Security and the methods of pacific settlement should be strengthened and the war of nerves should be stopped in the interest of world peace.

SUMMARY

Post-World War II period is marked by tension between 'Marxland' and 'Freeland'. This is due according to some to the division of the world into two camps—one led by Russia and another by U.S.A. The bi-polar approach gains ground because of the all-embracing character of modern warfare. But the bi-polar theory leaves out of account the new neutrals. The 'Cold War' is the outcome of two illusions. One of the Western nations who firmly believe that Russia and her allies are determined to establish communist states all over the world. The other is suspicion of U.S.S.R. about the ultimate aim of world capitalism to destroy communism and communist states. It flows from fear and suspicion entertained by both the capitalist and the communist world. It is not a new phase in hot war but an altogether new technique of warfare.

The different stages of the Cold War. The capitalist countries dis-

played their hostility to Soviet Union by sending interventionist armies to crush the Bolshevik state as soon as it was born. Recognition to Russia was slow in coming and U.S.A. extended formal recognition as late as 1933. From 1934 to 1939 U.S.S.R. tried to work out the Collective Security system of the League through her representative Litvinov. But it failed due to the aggression of Fascist powers, Italy and Germany and the policy of appeasement so consistently followed by Anglo-French powers. One of the main motives of this policy was the desire on the part of democracies to divert German aggression east-ward. After the Munich tragedy Russia changed her policy and signed a pact of non-aggression with Germany in 1939, and thus gained a most valuable breathing space. But German invasion of Russia in 1941 resulted again in a collaboration of U.S.S.R. with democracies. The delay in opening the second front and such other incidents created suspicion even during this period. In the post-World War II period Russia and U.S.A. assumed global responsibilities and soon the giants fell out. Germany and Japan provided the focal point for quarrel. The result was the creation of West Germany under democratic government and East-Germany under communist rule. Japan went completely under American heels. In March, 1946, Churchill in his Fulton lecture predicted the inevitability of a Third World War and described the countries under communist rule as countries behind 'iron curtain'. The ideological aspect of the struggle has been variously described as one between 'Democracy' vs. 'Dictatorship'; Free enterprise vs. Socialism; Marxland vs. Freeland; Imperialism vs. People's Democracy.

Offensive and Counter-Offensive. Russian moves in U.N. have resulted in frequent use of veto. The establishment of people's democracies in Eastern Europe has brought nearly 120 million people under Russian sphere of influence. The U.S.S.R. accused the western democracies as guilty of attempts to encircle her by military alliances, western powers tried to counteract Russian moves by strengthening democracies politically, economically and militarily. U.S.A. became a champion of such a policy. Japan became a base of U.S.A. in the Far-East. Nationalist China was given U.S.A. support in its struggle against communists. The Council of Europe was organized. The integration of western zones in Germany started in 1946.

Truman Doctrine. But the first significant Western move is the Truman Doctrine which came in 1947. The western powers suspected Russian moves against Turkey and in Black Sea area. In Greece the communist guerrillas, according to the complaint of the Greek government of restored monarchy, received aid from neighbouring communist states, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria. Britain which was so long propping up the royalist regime now gave place to U.S.A. which by the Truman Doctrine assumed the responsibility of supporting 'free peoples' against aggression. U.S.A. aid enabled royalists to put down the communists. In April, 1967 a military dictatorship has been established in Greece.

The United States undertook the responsibility of a world's policeman and sealed the future of U.N. by declaring that negotiated settlement with Russia was not possible.

Marshall Plan. On June 5, 1947 General George Marshall speaking at Harvard University said that "the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist the return of normal economic health in the

world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace." It was meant to fight communism; naturally the communist states did not participate in the plan. Britain and fourteen other states formed the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) to receive the aid. The existence of the neutral nations and the diplomacy of co-existence acted as a brake upon the intensification of the 'Cold War'.

Military Alliances—NATO and CENTO. The North Atlantic Treaty signed on March 18, 1949, was the outcome of a desire of the western Powers to check Russian advances in the west. The signatories were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Britain, USA, and subsequently Greece and Turkey. The most important clause of the Treaty is its Article 5 by which the parties declare that they will regard an attack on one of them as an attack on all. The Treaty makes action possible unless the Security Council takes necessary action to maintain international peace and security (Article 51 U.N. Charter). The Treaty is eloquent on 'democracy' but the inclusion of Portugal means a sacrifice of ideological to strategic consideration. U.S.A. pressure to include Spain has been so far resisted. Spain is the last surviving partner of the Axis dictatorships. Her inclusion would be resisted by left wing parties of western democracies. Greece and Turkey are not Anti-communists; their inclusion was due to a desire to turn them into bastions against Russian advance into the Mediterranean.

The Treaty provided in Article 9 for a Council consisting of all powers. There is a Military Committee of chiefs of staff and Secretary General as the head of a Permanent staff with headquarters at Paris. There are four commands, viz., European command, Atlantic Ocean command, Channel command, U.S.A.-Canada planning group. The post of Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR) has been occupied by such distinguished commanders as General Eisenhower. The dissension in NATO due to French desire for nuclear weapons has developed in recent times. The remilitarization of West Germany and the building of military, naval and air bases has strengthened the striking power of NATO. A naval wing of the NATO to counter Soviet naval infiltration has been created.

CENTO. But NATO was not an isolated project. The policy of containment demanded a global strategy. The importance of Middle East in case of a future war led to what is known as northern tier strategy. This strategy consisted in bringing together Turkey and Pakistan the two countries which flanked the area signed in April, 1954 a pact of mutual defence. The geographical and strategical position of Iraq—a pro-western power—admirbly suited as the base of a Middle Eastern defence and a link between Turkey and Pakistan which were widely separated. In February, 1955 Turkey and Iraq signed the Baghdad Pact. Britain joined the Baghdad Treaty organization and Pakistan acceded to it. But U.S.A. did not become a party to it directly. The Pact envisaged a Council of Foreign Ministers. It was evident from the beginning that the Pact should be made a useful via media for western economic aid. In 1958 Iraq went out of the Pact due to the fall of monarchy and establishment of a revolutionary government in Iraq under General Kassem. The United States now became a full-fledged member of the Treaty Organization which was henceforth called Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

The Anzus Pact. The rapid advance of communist ideology in South-East Asia and the rise of Communist China made the U.S.A. eager to follow a policy of containment in this region. But the realization of such a policy depended to a large extent upon U.S.A. satellites in this region. In 1951 U.S.A. signed with Japan a security pact recognizing that Japan has the right to enter into collective security arrangements. But the possibility of a revival of Japan and the threat of communist expansion alarmed Philippine, Australia and New Zealand. U.S.A. though reluctant during this period to accept any new commitment had to sign a pact of mutual defence with Australia and New Zealand. This is known as the Anzus Pact. The signatories agreed to consult each other in case of any armed aggression in the Pacific area. The right and obligation of the signatories under the U.N. Charter was maintained and a Council of Foreign Ministers or their deputies was created to implement the provisions of the Pact.

SEATO. The rapid advance of Ho Chi Minh in Indo-China resulted in Geneva Conference of 1954 and the partition of that country in which America acquiesced without becoming a party. The Korean war also came to a stalemate at 38° parallel. The situation in South-East Asia convinced American policy makers the need for an organisation to check further expansion of communism. A conference was, therefore, called at Manila and on September 8, 1954 a pact was signed by the representatives assembled here. The signatories were U.K., U.S.A., France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and Philippines. The Treaty Zone included extensive areas in South-East Asia and South-West Pacific but not Hongkong and Formosa. The parties recognized sovereign equality and the purpose and principles of U.N. But at the same time they expressed their determination to resist armed attack and counteract subversive activities. The Treaty also provided for co-operation in the economic field. The Treaty provided for a Council consisting of all the parties. This Council provides for consultation for military or any other planning. The obligations of the parties under U.N. Charter were not affected by this Treaty. The Treaty was denounced by the neutrals including India. It was looked upon as an attempt of colonial powers to maintain their hold in Asia. The Afro-Asian states disliked the attempt to extend cold war in South-East Asia. The Treaty provided for interference in any change of government in Asian countries by U.S.A. and her allies. Therefore it was reactionary in character.

Warsaw Pact and Unified Command Accord. The response of Soviet Union to the western attempt at military alliance was the conclusion of Warsaw Pact on May 14, 1955. The signatoies to this Pact are U.S.S.R., Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Est-Germany, Poland, Rumania and Czechoslovakia. Albania and Rumania have at present cut themselves adrift from Warsaw Pact. The signatories decided to set up a unified command of 'Armed Forces'. Marshal Konev of the U.S.S.R. was appointed the commander-in-chief. It strove for the Collective Security of all European states irrespective of their social or state structure. The signatories proclaimed the principles of the United Nations, of sovereign equality of nations and non-interference in internal affairs. In case of an armed attack members agreed to assist states which are objects of such aggression in accordance with Article 51 of the U.N. Charter. Such measures will stop as soon as Security Council takes steps to re-establish peace.

A political consultative committee consisting of all members was set up. The Treaty is to remain in force for twenty years. In 1956 and 1968 Russian and Warsaw Pact troops intervened in Hungary and Czechoslovakia to bring them back to the communist fold. The other super-national organ through which Russia binds its allies is the COMECON.

Effects of the Cold War. The intensification of the 'Cold War' has enhanced the difficulty of all countries whether or not involved in it. The UNO is the first casualty of the 'Cold War' which has reduced it to a mere forum of world opinion. 'Cold War' has prevented membership of some countries to UNO; and at least in one case to give up membership. The exclusion of Communist China is another instance of the effects of Cold War on the U.N. No doubt competition among giants has helped the growth of influence of new neutrals but this advantage has been more than counterbalanced by the formation of military alliances like the NATO, CENTO, SEATO, Anzus and Warsaw Pact.

It has resulted in competition in armaments—both conventional and nuclear. Nearly 8 countries spend 85 per cent of the armament expenditure of the world today amounting to 40 crores of Dollars a day. Any local war or misunderstanding may develop into a nuclear war and bring about the destruction of the world.

The diversion of world's economic resources for armament production has retarded the economic well-being of underdeveloped countries. The Western industrially advanced countries are capable, today, to feed the backward communities if they divert their resources for economic development. If civilization is to survive nations should give up armaments competition and accept co-existence as the only alternative to co-destruction.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Crowley, D. : The Background to Current Affairs.
2. Friedmann, W. : An Introduction to World Politics.
3. Fleming, D. F. : Cold War and its Origins.
4. Schuman : International Politics.
5. Smith, Gordon Connell : Pattern of the Post-War World.
6. Schleicher Charles, P. : International Relations, Co-operation and Conflict.

Chapter 14

Europe in the Post-War World

Germany—defeat and partition. In May, 1945 Hitler's Germany lay prostrate and defeated awaiting the hard terms of a victorious enemy. In the Yalta Conference the partition of Germany was not envisaged. The objective of occupation was a joint policy of demilitarization, decartelization and democratization. In the Potsdam declaration of August, 1945 the Council of Foreign Ministers were directed to prepare "a peace settlement of Germany when a government adequate for the purpose is established." An Allied Control Council met in Berlin on June 15, 1945. During this period Germany was divided into four Zones. The Soviet Zone extended from Oder-Neissee line to the Elbe; the British zone was in the north-west; the American in the south and the French subsequently demanded and received control over a zone in the south-west. The Allied Control Commission was to follow a joint policy, and the chairmanship of the Commission each month should rotate by turn among the military governors of each zone. Whole of Germany was to be treated as a single economic unit. In the meanwhile the occupation did not result in any social revolution save in the Soviet zone. Elsewhere the programme of denazification, demilitarization and decartelization was not carried out. The junkers and industrialists of Germany rapidly recovered their position. A formulation of a joint policy was found increasingly difficult and conference after conference throughout 1946 and 1947 failed to reach any workable agreement. Gradually it became apparent that Soviet and Western blocs were unable to pull together. In the Western bloc democratic institutions began to take shape and in the Soviet Zone communsit institutions flourished. The 'Cold War' resulted in the division of Germany.

U.S.A. now insisted upon a policy of unifying the three western

zones. The western powers complained about Russian policy of exacting reparation from defeated Germany. Another difficulty of unifying Germany and treating her as a single economic unit was the French demand of treating Germany with severity. The French insisted upon a share of German coal and steel production and occupation of Ruhr and Rhineland. To accommodate the French an International Authority for Ruhr was established. As far back as January, 1947 U.S.A. and Britain had reached agreement to merge their area into 'Bizonia'. The agreement with the French regarding a 'tri-zonal' unification was reached a year later. It resulted in the full unification of the three zones into what is known as West Germany. The State or Lander Parliaments were authorized now to call a constituent assembly. This assembly was called in September, 1948. A central government on federal lines was created. In the elections the Christian Democrats led by conservative Konrad Adenauer formed the government of the German Federal Republic.

In East Germany elections resulted in the formation of a People's Democratic Republic. In the Soviet Zone the Social Democratic party under Otto Grotewohl and the communist party under the leadership of Wilhelm Paeik and Walter Ulbricht effected a merger in April, 1946. Henceforth the Marxist party in East Germany came to be known as the Socialist Unity Party or SED. The SED won the largest majority in East Germany and formed the government.

The East-West conflict reached its climax in the year 1948. U.S.A. desired to win all Germany or at least West Germany and use it as a counterweight against Soviet bid for supremacy in Europe. Russia acted on the fear of a revival of an armed Germany under the patronage of the west. If Germany could not be neutralized at least East Germany should be brought under the protection of U.S.S.R. Both the super powers failing to use force resorted to political and diplomatic manoeuvring which resulted in the partition of Germany into two. The Allied Control Council stopped functioning from March, 1948 because of want of accord between the Soviet Union and western powers. In June, 1948 the western powers introduced a new currency in 'Triozonia' in spite of Soviet protest. The East German authorities now blocked all traffic between East and West Berlin. The western powers replied by maintaining supply through a massive air-lift. This was kept going for nearly a year until the Soviet blockade was lifted. But by this time the breach between East and West was complete. The result was the emergence of two Germanies.

BERLIN—A DIVIDED CITY

The Berlin Blockade. For more than twenty years Berlin has been one of the most dangerous centres of tension in the World. Since Berlin was split off into East and West Berlin it has become a focus of latent war danger. The causes for the division of Berlin must be sought in deep distrust which the Western powers felt about the Soviet Union in the years following World War II. The U.S.S.R. also distrusted her War time allies and both were driven by hard necessity to check the other from dominating Germany. The result was the division of Germany into two halves, and the division of Berlin into East and West Berlin. The Belin blockade of 1948 was occasioned by the introduction of a new currency in the Western Zone on 20 June, 1948 and extended to West Berlin few days later. This was a decisive step towards the final division of Berlin. The Soviet authorities protested and declared that this was a clear violation of the Potsdam Agreement of treating Germany as a single economic unit. To prevent a flow of devolved currency across the open frontier from the Eastern Zone and West Berlin a blockade of all traffic was imposed by the Soviet authorities. This blockade prevented the West Berliners from getting supply either through railroad, or waterways or roads. On June 28 the Allies began the famous air lift to Berlin and achieved a grand success in keeping up the necessary supply. When direct negotiation to solve the Berlin problem failed the matter was brought before the U.N. Security Council. Four big powers including U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain and France being directly involved in the Berlin question the small powers tried to find out a solution through adjustment and mediation. But the U.N. attempt to solve the Berlin problem was unsuccessful owing to the failure of Russia and the Western powers to reach an agreed settlement.

Meanwhile the blockade and air lift continued at Berlin. During this period in a record day 13,000 tonnes were delivered but the average delivery through air lift was 5,500 tons. The blockade was lifted ultimately as a result of a talk between U.S.A. representaive Philip Jessup of U.N. with his Russian counterpart Yakov Malik in March, 1949.

But Berlin remained a centre of tension. The East and the West both valued it as a vital frontier. It was a symbol of the cold war. In 1954 West Germany joined NATO. With this move the state frontier through Germany became a front line between powerful military blocs. In 1958 following the decision to equip the West German Bundeswehr with atomic weapons the situation in Germany and Berlin worsened still further. In 1961, President Kennedy sum-

med up the reasons for U.S.A. concern about West Berlin in the following words. "For West Berlin lying exposed 110 miles inside East Germany, surrounded by Soviet troops and close to Soviet supply lines, has many roles. It is more than a show case of liberty, a symbol, an island of freedom in a communist sea." To prevent an easy access from West to East the Government of Democratic Republic constructed a Wall along the frontier of the divided city. The GDR constructed this Wall to prevent the enticement of Doctors, engineers and skilled workers from GDR to West Germany. As a result of a long negotiation between the two Governments the pass Agreement was concluded on 17th December, 1963. This enabled a million West Berliners to spend the Christmas holidays with their relatives in the GDR capital. Yet tension around Berlin did not decrease. As a result of cold war politics both the East and the West Berliners live in the atmosphere of a frontier city. The GDR and U.S.S.R. stand up for West Berlin being given the status of a neutral free city. A Free city of West Berlin would be an independent political entity with its own constitution in the internal affairs of which no other country would be permitted to interfere. Thus from the standpoint of international law important guarantees would be provided against any attempt to annex West Berlin by cold war means. But this proposal was not acceptable to the West owing to its fear of losing West Berlin. On March 5, 1969 in spite of Soviet objection and obstruction Gustov Heineman's election to G.F.R. Presidency was held in West Berlin. Voluntary reunification of the two Germanies will solve the Berlin problems, but this does not seem a realistic expectation at least for the foreseeable future.

The Federal Republic of West Germany. The Federal Republic of West Germany after its establishment in 1949 was headed by Dr. Konrad Adenauer, the leader of the Christian Democratic Party. Adenauer, strongly supported close co-operation with western democracies and rapproachement with the French. The Social Democratic Party of Dr. Kurt Schumacher offered a formidable opposition. The SDP favoured Adenauer policy in so far as it favoured German unification but opposed its policy of rapproachement with the west and demanded the restoration of German frontier of 1937. After Schumacher's death the leadership of the party was assumed by Erich Ollenhauer. The party also opposed Germany's joining of European Defence Community on the ground that it would hinder German unification.

But Dr. Adenauer would have lacked in statesmanship had he not taken advantage of American insistence on rearmament and paid

the price by conceding to the French demand of assenting to the Schuman Plan, and the Pleven plan. The former plan resulted in making Germany a member of the European Coal and Steel Community and the latter proposed that German army should become a unit of the 'European Army'. It became apparent that without German participation the organization of the European defence would be an impossibility. By 1952 Germany signed several 'contractual agreements' which paved the path for Germany to join the 'European Defence Community'—with a general staff, a commissariat, a Council of Ministers, an Assembly and a Court of Justice. But Britain refused to come in the E.D.C. and naturally it did not receive French ratification in spite of the threat of 'agonising reappraisal' of American pol cy by Mr. Dulles, the U.S.A. Secretary of State.

German Rearmament. The rejection of E.D.C. as a result of French reluctance caused alarm in Britain because she was aware of the American insistence that U.S.A. aid in Europe should depend upon the willingness of European states to contribute to the continental defence. Britain now proposed the formation of the Western European Union. Washington supported London, and France, under the leadership of Premier Mendes, accepted the prosposal. The Western European Union is an enlargement of the Brussels Treaty Council by the admission of Germany and Italy and an Assembly made up of parliamentary delegations to voice public opinion in the member countries. National contributions in WEU army will be so interdependent as to make it impossible for them to function effectively as independent units. Virtually the WEU army constitutes the air and military contribution of European nations to NATO. The connection is established through the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe (SACEUR). Germany was now admitted to NATO. The projected 12 German divisions constituted a formidable force in the Western army. The occupation forces were converted into security troops and a peace treaty was concluded separately with Germany. Germany agreed not to manufacture in future atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons. If she is to adhere to this provision then the revival of the German forces would be of no use in a future war. Mr. Schuman has, therefore, pointed out that "Ten Hydrogen bombs, properly placed, could annihiltae all of West Germany and all of its inhabitants. Given these facts the new Bundesheer, (*i.e.*, German army) could play no role against U.S.S.R."[1] U.S.A. policy makers, therefore, invested the NATO Forces with Atomic weapons. Thus

1. Schuman, Fredrick,: Op. cit., p. 491.

within a space of nearly twenty years Europe is facing the prospect of a German army armed to the teeth under the shield of NATO. But this time its arms are not directed against France and Britain. It is a direct threat to the Soviet Union and in alliance with democracies. Another feature of this resurgence is the diplomatic revolution effected in Europe through a rapproachement of France and West Germany.

De Gaulle and Adenauer decided to outgrow U.S.A. influence in the economic and military field. Adenauer was replaced by the famous Minister of Economics Ludwig Erhard as the Chancellor of the West German Federal Republic, and in December, 1966 Erhard was replaced by Kurt Georg Kiesinger as the Chancellor. Despite governmental changes, there is little prospect of any change in the policy of building up Franco-German alliance in Europe.

The Adenauer administration resulted in a remarkable recovery in the economic field. The war had shattered her economy yet by 1950 Germany reached 1936 level of production. This economic recovery is partly attributed to U.S.A. Dollar loan and partly to Ludwig Erhard and Fritz Schaeffer, the Finance Minister. In 1952 though German recovery was remarkable it still fell far short of the needs of German people. In 1953 Adenauer administration faced the test of election. The Christian Democratic party gained a clear majority in the Bunderstag. The Social Democrats who were in favour of negotiation with the East disliked the policy of rearmament. But the decision of Germany to join the Western Union resulted in the restoration of full sovereignty to West Germany. In the referendum held on October 23, 1955 the Saarlanders decided in favour of reunion with West Germany which was finally accomplished in January, 1957. The election to the Bunderstag in 1957 resulted in resounding victory for the Christian Democratic Party. The West German Federal Republic is, today, the most industrialized country of Europe. Its alliance with France has resulted in the creation of the 'Third force'.

In 1961 the Christian Democratic Party gained 242 seats out of a total of 499 in the Bunderstag. Adenauer was re-elected Chancellor. He promised to retire before the next election and kept his word.

The Hallstein doctrine. The Hallstein doctrine is so named after former secretary of state Walter Hallstein of the Bonn Foreign office. This dogma is directed to boycott the G.D.R. in the international arena and to prevent its consolidation. In order to carry out the commandments of this doctrine sanctions are directed against those states which dare to take up normal state relations with the G.D.R. At first the West German Government used this policy only in the area of diplomatic relations but later it has also been expanded to trade and cul-

tural relations. The West German Government claims that it is the successor to the German Reich and its sole successor. In this posture Bonn has a large measure of support from Britain, United States and France. The Soviet Union on the other hand holds that there are two Germanies with equivalent legal status. The Soviet Union has therefore exchanged ambassadors with both West and East Germany. The West German Government, therefore, breaks its own dogma in some socialist countries where it has been maintaining official trade representations for some time along with the embassies of the G.D.R. Again the federal Republic has extended trade relations with Communist China but has not as yet recognized Peking. To explain away its position Chancellor Adenauer said in September, 1955—"The establishment of Diplomatic relations with the Government of Soviet Union does not imply and change in the legal position of the federal Government as regards its competence to represent the German people in international affairs and as regards the political condition of these German territories which are at present outside its effective jurisdiction." But the adamant attitude of Adenauer was toned down when Keisinger became the chancellor. In June 1968, the West Germany chancellor declared that he has asked Mr. Willy Stop, Prime Minister of East Germany, in a letter to appoint representative for talks without political conditions. But the happenings in Prague affected the Ostpolitik, the policy of seeking detente with the East adversely. Domestic and foreign policy of West Germany has caused much frustration among the youths specially the student community who indulge in violent political demonstrations. These demonstrations are largely directed against the neo-Nazis, the NDP and attempted revival of militarism.

The strange theory worked out by the Bonn Government that the GDR does not exist and that accordingly third states need take no notice of it is only one part of the West German claim to exclusiveness. As the claim is built upon the empty assertion that "the present political relations on the territory of the former German Reich have not injured its territorial unity" and that "the unity of the formation of the State on the basis of the ownership of December 31, 1937 should be observed." It is at the same time a contribution to the revenchist policy of West Germany. In reference to this claim of exclusiveness the West German Government also makes territorial claims on Poland and the Soviet Union and in reference to this pseudolegally trimmed claim it speculates on a forced annexation of the GDR in its sphere of rule.

West Germany allied itself with De Gaullist France and concluded

in 1963 a treaty of alliance which omitted to mention anything about restrictions imposed upon Germany as regards nuclear weapons. France and West Germany are the manistay of the Common Market. Naturally this Franco-German alliance has created the possibility of a third force in Europe. But French decision to have an independent policy and French insistence to remove NATO forces from France were not to the liking of West Germany. Moreover the French President established cordial relations with the Socialist countries and extended recognition to Peking. France is in favour of a peaceful settlement of the German problem and favours de-escalation in South East Asia. Bonn's desire to gain nuclear weapons is definitely against French interest. West Germany therefore seeks closer relation with U.S.A. It is induced to do this by the NATO forward strategy and the economic co-operation with United States. West Germany today is valued as purchaser of U.S. war materials. But contradictions between the U.S. monopolist attempt to control the West German market and the interest of German industrialists have developed sharply in recent years. Again West German colonial ambition is apparent from the aid given by Bonn to Portugal and sympathy shown to the South African racists. West German investment in South Africa in 1966 stood at 366 million marks. Saigon, Seoul and Israel received assistance from West Germany. The danger of West German revanchism is apparent from the course taken by the Bonn Government for the revision of the German frontiers which resulted from World War II and from the feverish striving of the West German authorities to gain control of the nuclear weapons.

East Germany under Communist rule. East Germany elected Wilhelm Peak as the President of German Democratic Republic and Otto Grotewohl as its Premier. At present Walter Ulbriecht is the Minister-President of East Germany and Willy Stop has been elected as premier. On March 25, 1954 Moscow granted full sovereignty to East Germany and by January, 1956 East Germany became a signatory of the Warsaw Pact. East Germany with a population of only 18 million as compared with the population of 48 million in West Germany is predominantly agricultural. Germany East of Elbe is industrially poor. Naturally it has not been able to claim the phenomenal advance which industrially advanced West Germany can claim. But though at a diminished scale the industrialization of G.D.R. has proceeded apace. East Germany has established itself as tenth among the world's industrial states. This is no mean achievement over a period of 15 years from an industrial start with only four obsolete blast furnaces compared with 100 operating in West Germany in 1950.

The existence of two Germanies has resulted in the flow of refugees from both the sides. In 1959 about 40,000 refugees went from the West to the East. East Germany's population fell over 3 million between 1950 to 1961. To check the flow in 1961 West Berlin was sealed off from the East. East Germany remained poor as compared with the West and therefore many were attracted to leave it in search of higher standard of living.

Yet the progress made by G.D.R. in industry in post-World War II era is phenomenal. The production and consumption of power are an infalliable measure of the economic power and strength of an industrial country. To-day the G.D.R. with an installed power generation of approximately 10,000 megawatts is one of the world's leading power producing countries. The chemical industry has been given priority development in the G.D.R. from the very beginning. Whereas during the past few years approximately 5.7 thousand million marks were invested in the chemical industry, 17.6 thousand million marks will be available up to 1970. In 1945 the G.D.R. had no metallurgical basis. To-day it has ten blast and eleven low-shaft furnaces, apart from the four blast furnaces at the Max foundry near Saulfeld. Engineering accounts for about one-third of total industrial production of G.D.R. and the G.D.R. takes fifth place in the world among the exporters of office machines. Before the war there had been only one maritime shipyard. To-day large modern shipyards are operating along the Baltic coast specializing in the construction of certain types of vessels whose buyers also include major ship building countries such as Norway, Sweden and Holland in addition to the U.S.S.R.

The G.D.R. which was constituted on October 13, 1949 in the Soviet Zone advocated a policy of peace, national unity and understanding, Co-operation with the Soviet Union is one of the cardinal principles of G.D.R.'s foreign policy. The G.D.R. has joined the Warsaw pact and is connected with the COMECON. One of its first foreign political actions in July 1950, was the signature with Poland of the treaty on the demarcation of the Polish-G.D.R. frontier. So that Article 9 of the Potsdam Agreement was confirmed by a German guarantee. The West German government however were against such a settlement and challenged the right of the G.D.R. to conclude such an agreement. Yet this was the demarcation line agreed upon by the Great powers. The signature of this agreement demonstrated the intention of G.D.R. not to evade the responsibility or the consequences for Germany of the World War II.

The G.D.R. has repeatedly put forward plans for rapprochement

and peaceful solution of the German problem. The G.D.R. gave proposals for German Unity and getting a peace treaty signed. It demanded a constituent Assembly in which both the Germanies are given equal representation for this purpose and withdrawal of all occupation forces. The West German Government on the other hand demanded international supervision of the election restoration of the 1937 frontier, revocation of the Law on safeguarding peace, release of all political prisoners. Both mutually rejected each other's proposal and the question when brought before U.N. Assembly in November 1951 could not be resolved. In spite of the Hallestine doctrine the G.D.R. has established relations with non-communist countries. The G.D.R. is participating to a constantly growing extent in the international division of labour. The co-ordination of long-range plans between the council for Mutual Economic Aid is resulting in the specialisation of production in the individual countries. One of the major projects of the council for Mutual Economic Aid is the "Friendship" oil pipeline through which Soviet petroleum flows to Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the G.D.R. East Germany together with other Warsaw treaty countries including U.S.S.R. sent interventionist army in Czechoslovakia in August, 1968.

Giving effective economic assistance to the young nation states which have recently become independent in the development of their own independent economy constitutes a particular concern of the G.D.R. During the years 1955 to 1963 foreign trade turnovers with those countries increased by 260 per cent. The G.D.R. government is striving to establish commercial relations guaranteed by regular long-term bilateral agreements and it supports all measures intended to eliminate existing trade barriers.

The G.D.R. has supported the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Vietnam, and other peoples. It has lent its support to the U.N. stand against the racists of South Africa and is in favour of disarmament. G.D.R.'s policy of peace and co-operation should receive due recognition from the Government of India which has not as yet extended recognition to East Germany.

The German Problem. A reunification of Germany is possible either through a third world war or through diplomacy. The possibility of a third world war would mean the annihilation of Germany and, therefore, for the present Germany remains divided. The East is allied with the Soviet Union and the West with the Western powers. The reunification of Germany will ultimately depend upon the ability of the German leaders to capitalize the rivalry of the East and West. Germany could be best served by the development of a policy similar

to that pursued by Fredrick the great and Bismarck. German leaders must be able to bargain with the super powers.

All talks of German unity in the meanwhile stumbled on the insistence of the United States to supervise all-German election for unification. The Soviet counter-proposals, on the other hand, demand that Germany should not be allowed to join in any alliance against any World War II Allies and German election to a Constituent Assembly for reunification should be supervised by an all-German (including communist) government. If such a proposal is accepted all occupation forces should be withdrawn. These proposals were rejected by the west. Thus both the sides proved unwilling to accept the point of view of the other and in the meantime Germany remains divided. "Western insistence on German rearmament and alliance with the West, and Soviet insistence on German 'neutrality' as the price of unity, precluded any East-West bargain for German unification."[2] The Soviet could not simply retreat by leaving a weak East Germany to be devoured easily by an armed West Germany. Russia, therefore, proposed in 1954 the withdrawal of all occupying forces. But the western powers looked upon such a proposal as an attempt to weaken Western defences. The 'Western peace plan' of 1959 contained many concessions to the Russian view. But it did not accept the Soviet view that the two Germanies—East and West—taken together constitute all Germany. It was therefore rejected by the Soviet Union. Thus Germany's unification still remains an unsolved problem.

Out of hard necessity both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. eagerly hold on Germany and Germany still remains divided. The only price to be paid for a lasting, peaceable and democratic settlement of the German question is renunciation of the use of force and of the policy pursued by some nations of bartering away German unity for the sake of cold war politics. Renunciation of nuclear weapons by German states would be specially voluable in getting nearer to effective collective security, freezing atomic armaments and setting up an atom-free zone in Central Europe as has been suggested by Poland. A non-aggression pact between the Warsaw Treaty states and the NATO States would diminish the danger of war and give the nations new hope. A peace settlement would be very valuable to the nations of Europe if it resulted in Germany being free of atomic weapons. But they must also realise that negotiations on Germany can never be held without the Germans, so that a condition for them must be recognition of both German States. The Great powers can encourage rapprochement and understanding between the two German states by championing disarmament and military neutrality of the two German states.

2. Schuman: International Relations, p. 494.

France in the post-War period. France after German occupation was ruled by the Vichy government headed by Marshal Petain, Laval and Darlan. But Free France continued to fight on the Allied side under General Charles de Gaulle whose leadership did not go unchallenged. General Darlan (who joined the Allies in the end of 1942) and General Henri Giraud at one time or another claimed the leadership but in the end De Gaulle won power and became the head of the French provisional government. Yet after the liberation of France and her adoption of the constitution of the Fourth Republic, De Gaulle, "who had hoped for a strengthened executive",[3] was disappointed and resigned.

Among the parties that came into prominence in the post-war period mention must be made of the communist party which became the largest single party in the French Chamber of Deputies. The Rally of the French People or R.F.P. or the De Gaullist party played more and more the role of third force between the left and right. The U.R.P. (Movement Republicane Populaire) is a party born during resistance to the Nazis and the socialists came next in importance. In the first election the socialists, communists and U.R.P. controlled nearly 80 per cent of the votes. But the desire to exclude the communists made the formation of a stable government quite difficult. After the election of 1951 (the second post-war election) France had the same difficulty and the French government remained in flux under the pressure of a multi-party system. In 1954 under Mendes-France this was checked for nine months only. In the 1956 elections there was a definite gain of the communists. Meanwhile French foreign policy dilemma was influencing her domestic policy. The exhaustion of France in the World War II, her fear of a German revival and Soviet expansion in Europe, her inability to cope with the colonial revolts in Indo-China and North Africa all combined together to produce not only foreign policy riddles but also changes in the internal policy. In May, 1958 the situation took a dramatic turn. The army leaders in Algeria fearing that the French government under M. Pnerre Pflimlin would grant independence to Algeria suddenly took all authority in their own hand and demanded that General De Gaulle should be placed in power. France was now threatened with civil war to avoid which De Gaulle was accepted as Premier with emergency power for six months. He drafted a new constitution in which the power of the executive was strengthened at the cost of the legislature. It was put to referendum in October, 1958, and received

3. **Hurtmann, Fredrick, H.:** The Relations of Nations, p. 542.

approval both in France and in her colonies. Thus the Fourth Republic came to an end and De Gaulle became the head of the Fifth Republic which now came into existence. After solving the problem of Algeria successfully De Gaulle again appealed to the French people through a second referendum in 1962 for a further increase of the Presidential power. In this he again received overwhelming support from the French people. Thus General Charles De Gaulle established in France after many years a strong government. In the French general election held in March, 1967 the Gaullist retained their command of the National Assembly by a hair-breadth but in the next election which followed after a violent student unrest in May De Gaulle secured a comfortable majority. After the election M. Pompidou gave way to M. Mourice Coure de Marville as Prime Minister.

But no sooner had France emerged from the social storm she was hit by another crisis. In November France found herself in the throes of currency crisis. Franc was saved by credit from other countries, and De Gaulle set his face against any further devaluation of the Franc. Following, however, a defeat in a referendum for Senate reform President De Gaulle resigned on April 27, 1969.

French Foreign Policy. In the post-war period French foreign policy was riddled with dilemma. These dilemmas were a natural offshoot of the French desire to re-establish hold over her colonies in Asia and Africa and the French inability to do so was due to her weakness, military and economic, which was a direct result of the exhaustion of France in post-World War II period. France had to depend upon U.S.A. aid but she was unwilling to allow a German revival and re-armament which U.S.A. desired. "The French", according to Hartmann, "were even divided in their estimates as to where the real danger of aggression in Europe lay. They were of two minds as to whether to fear the already armed Russians more than the about-to-be-armed Germans."[4] France proposed but finally rejected the E.D.C. She was, however, forced due to U.S.A. pressure to accept the proposal of W.E.U. French acceptance of W.E.U. paved the path of remilitarization of Germany. Within a short time West Germany was admitted to NATO membership and granted full sovereignty.

France was no longer a Great Power and there was a possibility that a revived Germany might claim the leadership of Europe. The French, therefore, brought forward a number of proposals for European integration. The French also took advantage of the Marshall aid and participated in the organisation for European Economic Co-

4. Hartmann, Fredrick, H.: Op. cit., p. 545.

operation (OEEC). The Schuman plan led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community. Finally, came the French proposal for a custom union of 'six', *viz.*, the Benelux countries, Italy, West Germany and France in a Common market. This would check the possibility of a German domination in Europe and in spite of the remilitarization of West Germany and the re-establishment of German industrial might would benefit France. All these organisations being controlled by Super-national agencies with French veto could help a French-led Europe to re-assert its voice among the Great Powers.

Revolt in French Colonies. In the meanwhile the acceleration of national liberation movements in Asia and Africa jeopardised French colonial hold in Indo-China, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and in other parts of her empire. In Indo-China the French attempt to hold on against the rising tide of Vietminh military offensive under the leadership of the communist leader Ho-Chi-Minh resulted in a long series of military catastrophes. The disaster mounted to a climax on May 7, 1954 when the French stronghold of Dien Bien Phu fell to the communist assault. The French Premier Mendes-France who came to power on June 19, 1954 now decided to end the costly colonial war. He convinced the French Chamber of Deputies that the drain on France must be stopped if she desires to recover her power in Europe. He fixed a deadline of thirty days to resolve the Indo-China problem, and thus set for himself a most difficult task. His policy was frowned upon by Washington which refused to accept the loss of Indo-China. The Geneva Conference of July, 1954 divided Indo-China at the 17th parallel. The North was placed under Ho-Chi-Minh and the South was placed under the French controlled Bao Dai government. Agreements regarding exchange of prisoners and the appointment of an international commission comprising of India, Poland and Canada to supervise the execution of the provisions was arrived at. The Geneva agreement restored French prestige to a considerable extent.

In 1954 the French also agreed to a peaceful restoration of the French Colonies of Mahe, Pondicherry and Chandarnagore to the Government of India. Morocco, a French protectorate by the Treaty of Fez (1922), demanded complete independence from French control in post-World War II period. To suppress the movement with a strong hand the French government in 1953 removed Sultan Muhammad V who was extremely popular with his subjects. This incensed the nationalists who demanded his restoration. In Tunisia where the French protectorate was established by the treaties of 1881 and 1883, the nationalist movement under Habib Bourguiba and his Neo-Dastur party became strongly anti-French. In 1952 eleven Afro-

Asian States brought the Tunisian problem to the notice first of the Council and then of the UN Assembly. France, however, claimed it to be a domestic problem and claimed that the U.N. had no right to take up the matter. In this dispute there was a split between the anti-colonial nations of Asia and Africa and the colonial powers. Each year the discussion was raised before the Assembly but the UN did nothing to help Morocco and Tunisia but for expressing a pious belief that the French would ultimately promote self-government in these colonies. Ultimately the sharpening of the liberation movement in these colonies forced the French government to restore Muhammad V to the throne in 1955. In the next year France recognized the independence of both Tunisia and Morocco through negotiations.

The neighbouring state of Algeria, however, remained in a state of rebellion against French control. But before the events at Algeria had reached a climax, the French in alliance with Britain indulged in the Suez adventure which resulted in complete debacle. Following the nationalization of Suez (July 26, 1956) by Nasser and failure of all attempts at negotiation with Nasser the Anglo-French powers brought the matter before the Security Council. On October 29, however, Israel invaded Egypt and on the next day both Israel and Egypt were served with Anglo-French ultimatum to evacuate the Canal zone. On 5th November, French and British paratroops landed in Egypt although the Israel and Arab troops had already accepted truce terms. But this advenutre resulted in the victory of the vanquished due to Soviet threats to Anglo-French Powers, and the intervention of UN. This ended in a serious fall of the French prestige in the Middle East.

The Algerian problem was hanging fire for a long time due to the determined armed insurrection of the Algerian people led by the F.L.N. against French rule. The French colons or the French master race who had settled in Algeria were equally determined to prevent the attempt of the Algerians to achieve self-government and carried on terroristic activities through its secret organization called the O.A.S. Matters ultimately came to a head when in May, 1958 as a result of an army revolt in Algeria, the Fourth Republic came to an end and the Fifth Republic with De Gaulle as the President came into being. De Gaulle, however, disappointed his followers when he proposed referendum for deciding the fate of Algeria. An opposition staged by army generals in Algeria against his policy was suppressed with strong hands. De Gaulle granted independence to

Algeria when its people expressed their desire in favour of it through a referendum in 1962.

The Reorientation of the French Foreign Policy by De Gaulle

There was a complete reorientation of the French foreign policy under General De Gaulle. He established in France a strong government for the first time in post-World War II period. After bringing the strife in Algeria to a successful end he further increased the power of the French President through a referendum in 1962. He brought France out of chaos and disorder. He established a stabilized currency in France.

De Gaulle decided to raise France to her former status of greatness and visualised a Europe free from the tutelage of U.S.A. The challenge of the French Franc to Dollar is a concrete manifestation of the new policy of creating a 'Third force' in Europe.

General Charles De Gaulle was equally determined on his accession to power to invest France with independent control of the 'A' and 'H' Bomb. The French explosion of the 'A' Bomb in Sahara caused much discontent in the Arab world. The first 'H. Bomb explosion of the French in Fangataufa Lagoon on August 24, 1968 expressed French determinations to gain full control of nuclear arms. France looked down upon Britain for her dependence upon U.S.A. De Gaulle was sceptical about Britain which had become dependent upon U.S.A. support and had reached an understanding about nuclear weapons with U.S.A. in the Bahama Conference. About Anglo-American nuclear club he expressed his opinion in the following caustic remark. "In the Bahamas", said De Gaulle, "Britain has given to the Americans what she had of the poor nuclear force. She could have given it to Europe. She has thus made her choice." De Gaulle acquired an independent nuclear capability, weakened ties with Britain and the United States. He took a series of steps which seriously endangered the effectiveness of the French alliance. France no longer sought close co-operation with NATO and the French fleet was no longer a part of the NATO naval forces. De Gaulle refused to allow the United States to have bases for missiles and atomic weapons. The French also failed to supply their share of the NATO troops. French insistence has forced the NATO command to remove its forces from France. France thus has made a definite bid to eliminate American influence in French politics.

De Gaulle aimed at a revival of French prestige to enable France to predominate in the councils of the west. Her relations with Britain were allowed to suffer. The most successful of Europe's

unification ventures is the European Common Market which has eliminated trade barrier among 'six' (Benelux countries, France, Italy and West Germany). It envisages a closer co-operation and co-ordination of fiscal policy. As a counter-weight Britain and other European countries including Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, and Portugal organised a European Free Trade Area. It was a defensive measure against the inner 'six'. Yet Britain moved to join the Common Market. It was due to French objection that the British move was frustrated in 1963. De Gaulle refused admission to Britain in spite of the insistence of U.S.A. French voice in the European Common Market is predominant and France refused to admit Britain in that organisation. For Britain it was a blow which she hardly expected from France. British reaction to this refusal was expressed by Mr. Duncan Sandys when he commented that "This is a very dark day, as dark for Europe as it is for Britain". In May, 1967 Britain applied for European Common Market membership for the second time. The British application was again rejected on French insistence. De Gaulle said in December, 1967, that in rejecting British application France was in fact saving the Common Market from a period of paralysis.

In fact, De Gaulle affected a diplomatic revolution by reversing the French policy of building up anti-German alliance in Europe. Instead De Gaulle now chose a policy of close co-operation with West Germany to produce a European 'Third force'. On January 22, 1963 De Gaulle signed a treaty of friendship with Adenauer. This treaty of friendship and co-operation resulted in close co-operation between France and West Germany in diplomacy, defence, education and culture. De Gaulle thus reversed the policy so far followed in Franco-German relationship. It has caused anxiety in Britain and has constrained the American policy makers. Not only has French relation with Anglo-American Powers suffered, the Soviet Union also harbour fear of a revived Germany. But the success of this policy is yet to be tested. Adenauer's retirement might have affected it but all anticipation of a change of attitude in West Germany after Adenauer has been falsified because his successors are toeing the policy of close co-operation with France. The question is whether in future De Gaulle's policy would be defended by his successors and whether, even if they desired, they could maintain it. In the meanwhile the French policy under De Gaulle has resulted to a large extent in the elimination of U.S.A. patronage in non-communist Europe. Outside Europe De Gaulle is not prepared to toe the American policy of recognizing the Formosa government. He extended

recognition to communist China in February 1964. In a recent statement De Gaulle has pointed out that one of the main reasons of the weakness of U.N. is the elimination of Communist China from U.N. He has, therefore, advocated the cause of including Communist China instead of Nationalist China in U.N. France disagreed from the U.S.A. policy of escalation in Vietnam. Her interest in South-East Asia has been revived in recent times. Even in the American Continent De Gaulle pleaded for the rights of the French Canadians. Whatever may be the reasons behind this bid for European leadership by De Gaulle, it has brought rich dividends to France and has created breach in the western camp.

Attempts at European political Integration. The end of the World War I had seen the birth of the League system of collective security. The Covenant of the League provided for collective security specially in Article 10 and 16. But the distrust of the League had led to the birth of such regional arrangements for security as the Little Entente, the Balkan Entente, the Locarno Pact and a number of other regional treaties and alliances. A similar development outside the United Nations was precluded by a realistic recognition in the Charter of the need for such regional arrangements. The Charter clearly recognized the right of the members to self-defence though at the same time demanded that any measure taken for individual and collective self-defence should be at once reported to the Security Council (Article 51). Chapter VIII of the Charter along with the modifications above mentioned contains the provisions for 'Regional Arrangements' provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent "with the purposes and principles of the United Nations". In 1945 these provisions provided for bringing together a host of rapidly growing regional organisations. But with the advent of the 'Cold War' the original dream of settling all disputes among members within U.N. organisation faded. The clauses for regional arrangements gave opportunity to members to give semblance of legality to their attempt to build up separate security arrangements and military alliance away from the Collective Security of the U.N. Economic and political alliances also came into being to strengthen regional security.

In Western European countries following World War II, practical men of affairs tried to build up political union. Such attempts were bolstered up by the United States and were also consistent with the policy of containment. It was directed against the possibility of Soviet advances in Europe. None of the West European powers is large enough to make adequate use of automation. European

powers also lacked atomic weapons in the period following World War II or adequate strategic airforce. Another cause which powerfully contributed to the movement for European unity is the desire to outgrow American influence in Europe. The Americans no doubt strongly supported the unity of non-communist Europe yet there has developed a 'Third force' in the continent away from the patronage of U.S.A. This has contributed to a division in the democratic camp. The desire to end the age old Franco-German rivalry and to create a Western European unity on the basis of Franco-German co-operation served as another powerful motive for integration in Europe.

Brussels Treaty. Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg were eager for such movements for integration. This is largely due to their small size and limited resources. Under modern conditions they realized the difficulty of facing the multiple problems that confronted them. This served as the motive for the formation of a close economic and customs union among these countries by a treaty signed in London in 1944. The treaty to form the Benelux union was signed by their exiled governments. Later on the Benelux countries concluded the Brussels Treaty on March 17, 1948 with Great Britain and France. The Brussels Treaty was signed for collaboration among the signatories to resist any armed invasion in Europe.

At the head of the organisation created by this treaty was the Permanent Consultative Council consisting of the Foreign Ministers of the five member states. The signatories also established Defence Committees and a group of sub-committees to deal with economic, cultural and social matters. The parties promised to help each other in case of an attack on any one of the members. A Permanent Secretariat was also established. The military aspect of the Brussels Treaty organisation was absorbed in NATO. Therefore, its functions were confined to cultural matters. When, therefore, the Western Union was created on May 5, 1955 by enlarging the Brussels Treaty organisation it was expanded to include the representatives of Italy and Germany. To make it more democratic an Assembly consisting of representatives of the member states was also created. The WEU was connected with the NATO through the SACEUR and the WEU army represented the contribution of WEU members to NATO. But it has a separate Secretariat and a Standing Armament Committee and various other Committees.

The Council of Europe. Another but an allied development in the movement for Western European unity is the Council of Europe. In the post-World War II period many organisations sprang up to promote one or another form of union. In 1946 Winston Churchill

dramatically took the initiative in bringing several of these together. As a result in May, 1948, 'a Congress of Europe' was convened at Hague. The Congress called upon European Powers to take action in order to give concrete shape to the European movement. As a result conferences were held and a statute was agreed upon and signed on May 5, 1949 by ten European Powers including the signatories of Brussels Treaty (Benelux countries, U.K., and France), Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Ireland and Italy. Four additional countries—Greece, Turkey, Iceland and West Germany—were subsequently admitted to membership. Saarland became an associated member. The membership was confined to parliamentary democracies. Any state may terminate membership by serving a notice of withdrawal.

The Council sits at Strassburg. It has three principal organs: the Committee of Ministers, the Consultative Assembly and a Secretariat. The Committee of Ministers consists of the Foreign Ministers of the member states or their deputies. They meet about three times a year. The Committee is the most important organ of the Council of Europe. Its decisions are not, however, binding upon its members.

The Assembly has 132 members. The method of sending representatives is left to the parties. The method followed in England is to send an all party delegation. Many other countries have also followed this method subsequently. The statute fixed the ratio of membership. At present Italy, France, Britain and West Germany each have eighteen representatives; the other powers have fewer ranging from 7 to Belgium and Holland to 3 for Iceland and Luxembourg. The Council of Europe is supposed to confine itself to economic and social matters. Problems of defence are specially excluded from its agenda. The agenda of the Assembly was originally decided by the Committee of Ministers. Subsequently the Assembly regained its independence. The Assembly may recommend measures by a two-thirds majority to the Committee of Ministers. These recommendations are not binding and many of them have been rejected. There has been, therefore, constant clash between the two organs of the Council of Europe.

In the Consultative Assembly a substantial majority supported a closer union in an European federation. But this has been opposed by the Scandinavian countries and Britain. The Council of Europe has proved to be a disappointment. "It is certainly difficult to point", says Crowley, "to anything of importance it has accomplished".[5] It has proved to be a good debating society and common meeting ground

5. Crowley, D.: The Background to Current Affairs, p. 204.

for parliamentarians of different countries. It cannot even claim the right of being called a representative body of the European people because its members are chosen not by the people directly but by the governments of the member states. It is, however, a forum of different shades of opinion and provides for the development of the habit of consultation.

European Defence Community. The plan of creating the European Defence Community is the French response to the insistence of the United States for German rearmament. The suggestion first originated with a speech of Winston Churchill before the Consultative Assembly in August, 1950. It was taken up by Premier Rene Pleven and came to be known as the Pleven plan. The plan is an expression of the French opinion that, if Germans were to bear arms again, they must do so only as a part of a European Army. The troops in such an army should wear common uniform and were to be placed under a common European command. The troops were to be so integrated and intermingled that no one national army could be withdrawn and operated separately. The EDC in its military aspect was to be linked with NATO. In its economic aspect it was linked with the European Coal and Steel Community. Thus the possibility of any independent German action was precluded. Above all the control of the whole rested with the member states acting through the Council of Europe.

After lengthy discussions and negotiations the draft treaty of EDC was signed on May 27, 1952 and submitted to several governments for ratification. But the EDC proposals which had many good points to recommend itself did not receive the necessary ratification. Before the treaty received ratification there was definite sign of a change of Russian policy due to the death of Stalin. Moreover, Britain which had never favoured a closer union with European movement seemed unwilling to join it. Among other reasons the restriction on withdrawal of troops for commitments elsewhere evoked opposition in Britain. British opposition resulted in French disinclination about accepting the EDC proposals which had originated from her. There were other reasons for the rejection of EDC by the French. With a temporary abatement of the Russian fear the prospect of a revival of German army was discouraged. The reasons for the French rejection of EDC may also be ascribed to a change in the detail. It was found, for instance, impossible to follow the French proposal of creating mult-national divisions due to language difficulty. The NATO command demanded single-nation divisions. The fear of a German revival now became a real one. The French, therefore, were unwilling to accept EDC in spite of the threat held out by Foster Dulles about

'agonizing reappraisal' of American policy in Europe. On August 30, 1954 Premier Mendes France decided to put the issue before the French National Assembly and it was rejected by a majority vote.

The Western European Union (W.E.U.). The rejection of the EDC by the French who had originally initiated the proposal was a serious blow at European unity. U.S.A. held out the threat of "going it alone with Germany". Meanwhile, Britain, France, West Germany and U.S.A. met in London in a conference. Already Britain had announced her intention to station troops in Europe and America was encouraging the idea of rapid German rearmament. In the London Conference of October, 1954, at the British initiative a set of proposals containing a new formula for Western European Unity was put forward. These proposals foresaw the end of the occupation of Germany, provided for German rearmament and pleaded that NATO membership should be conferred on Germany. The French point of view about safeguards against German rearmament was provided by the supervision of arms control imposed in the treaty. These proposals put forward by Eden brought into existence Western European Union. It received support from Mendes France. The whole arrangement under these proposals was to be co-ordinated by the Brussels Treaty Council. The Brussels Treaty Council will be enlarged to include Italy and Germany. In addition a WEU Assembly composed of parliamentary delegation of member states has been created. The Assembly will serve the purpose of reflecting public opinion of member-states. The members were allowed to withdraw their forces for meeting overseas commitments.

The contribution of members of WEU to the European army represents the national contingents of different states in the NATO force. The connection between NATO and WEU is maintained through the NATO post of the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. "This complex set of agreements charged the Brussels Council with setting the maximum defence forces of each member state, and made the NATO Council responsible for setting the minimum contribution (which were, of course, not to exceed the maximum)."[6]

The Supreme Allied Commander of NATO forces in Europe was authorized to deploy the WEU forces according to the arrangements reached with the state concerned. But once the arrangement has been made the army could not be moved without his approval. As a further measure of security against a possible revival of German militarism it was stipulated in the treaty that Germany was not to de-

6. Hartman Fredrick, Relations of Nations, pp. 553-554.

velop the atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons nor to manufacture long range missiles, large naval vessels and strategic bombers. Ostensibly this was done in order that these might not fall in Russian hands in the event of a war, but in fact, it was a face saving device to prevent German militarism. West Germany agreed to raise 12 divisions but so far the German people did not show any willingness to share the military burden. West Germany consented the stationing of foreign troops in the Republic to defend "the free world". But the Federal Republic so far has paid with great reluctance only a part of the cost.

SUMMARY

Germany—Defeat and Partition. The objective of Allied occupation in Germany was a joint policy of denazification, demilitarization and democratization. Germany was divided into four zones—The Soviet Zone extended from Oder-Neisse line to the Elbe; The British Zone was in the north-west; The Americans in the south and the French in the south-west. An Allied Control Commission was established to formulate a common policy and Germany was treated as one economic unit. In the Soviet zone a social revolution was carried out but elsewhere the old junkers and industrialists, who were the backbone of the Nazi regime, rapidly recovered their position. Gradually the influence of the 'Cold war' resulted in the bifurcation of Germany into two. East Germany remained under Soviet influence. By 1949 the three zones of Western powers were integrated into the Federal Republic of West Germany.

The East-West conflict came to a climax with the introduction of a new currency in January, 1948 by the Western powers. The Soviet Union finding that the Western powers were not prepared to heed protests introduced the blockade of Berlin. The blockade lasted for nearly a year while the Western powers kept up the supply to West Berlin by airlift. The breach between East and West Germany was complete.

The U.N. failed to resolve the 1948 crisis which ended only after Jessop-Malik talk in 1949. In 1958 the Berlin crisis matured again following Western decision to equip West Germans with nuclear arms. The East German Government now constructed a wall to divide the city. The pass agreement ot 1963, however, enabled many to cross the frontier to visit friends and relations. U.S.S.R. and G.D.R. proposal to declare West Berlin a free city has been rejected by the West.

The Federal Republic of Germany. The FDR after its establishment in 1949 was headed by Dr. Adenauer, the leader of the Christian Democratic party. It had a strong opposition in the Social Democratic party of Schumacher. Adenauer favoured rapprochement with the West and joined ECSC and agreed to join EDC. But British refusal to join EDC led to French refusal to accept it in spite of the threat of 'agonizing re-appraisal' of American policy by Dulles. Britain now proposed Western European Union which is an enlargement of the Brussels Treaty Council by the admission of Germany and Italy. The link between WEU army and NATO was established through SACEUR. Germany was now admitted to NATO and was allowed to sign a separate peace treaty. As a

check on the possible revival of German militarism Germany was prohibited ABC weapons (Atomic, bacteriological and chemical).

Adenauer and De Gaulle have struck up an alliance to form a 'Third Force'. The result is a division in WEU and a development of continentalism away from American influence. Recently Adenauer has been replaced by Ludwig Erhard as Chancellor but there has been no change in policy.

The remarkable recovery of West Germany is attributed partly to American Dollar and partly to Ludwig Erhard and Fritz Schaeffer, the Finance Minister. The 1953 election resulted in a victory for the Christian Democratic Party or CDP and in 1957 Saarlanders joined West Germany through referendum. The 1957 and 1961 elections also resulted in the victory for CDP. Within a short space West Germany under CDP became the most industrialized state in Europe, and its alliance with France has created the 'Third Force' in the continent. In December, 1966, Kiesinger replaced Erhard.

The Hallestine doctrine was formulated to boycott the GDR in international arena and sanctions are directed against states that dare to normalize relations with the GDR. The West supported Bonn but the U.S.S.R. recognizes two German states. The West German Government, however, has relations with socialist countries. But it claims to be the sole representative of Germany. In reference to this claim of exclusiveness the West German Government also speculates as the heir of the Third Reich to regain the territories on the basis of the ownership of 31 December, 1937. The French-German alliance in the Common Market created the possibility of a 'third force' in Europe. But the insistence of De Gaulle to follow an independent policy away from NATO strategy and the recent currency crisis in France in 1968 reveal contradiction in the Franco-German alliance. West Germany there seeks closer cooperation with U.S.A. Here again U.S. attempt to control West German market has created fissure in U.S.-West German relations. The colonial ambitions of West Germany and her desire to control nuclear arms clearly demonstrates the danger of a revival of German revanchism.

East Germany. The Socialist Unity Party created as a result of the alliance of social democrats and communists in East Germany won the election in the People's Democratic Republic. Wilhelm Peek became its President and Otto Grotewohl the Premier. (At present Walter Ulbriecht is the Premier). East Germany gained full sovereignty in 1954 and joined Warsaw Pact in 1956. It has a population of nearly 18 million. Though its achievements are not spectacular yet industrialization has proceeded apace and at present it occupies tenth place among the industrialized nations. Flow of refugees from East to West and vice versa is the natural outcome of partition.

The progress made by GDR in industry is phenomenal. It is now the world's leading power-producing country. In chemical and metallurgical industry it has achieved remarkable progress. The GDR takes fifth place in the world among the exporters of office machines. The GDR is member of the Warsaw treaty pact and COMECON—for German unification East Germany proposed the meeting of a constituent Assembly with equal representatives for this purpose, and withdrawal of all foreign troops. West Germany had a counter proposal for international super-

vision of the election and restoration of the 1937 frontier. Both mutually rejected each other's proposal and the U.N. also failed to resolve the problem. In spite of the Hallestine doctrine the GDR has established relations with non-communist countries. GDR as a member of the COMECON has received benefits from its long range policy of cooperation. As a member of the Warsaw pact the GDR sent interventionist troops to Czechoslovakia in August, 1968 together with the Soviet Union and other members of the pact. The GDR has supported U.N. stand against the racist of South Africa and is in favour of disarmament. As the GDR is eager to establish commercial and diplomatic relations with other countries there is hardly any reason for withholding such recognition specially by neutralist countries like India.

The German problem of reunification can be solved either by war or by diplomacy. But a third World War would result in the destruction of Germany. So the only way by which Germany can be united is to take advantage of the rivalry of the super-powers. In the menwhile all talks on German unification have stumbled on American insistence to supervise elections for unification and Soviet insistence on neutralization of Germany, withdrawal of troops and supervision of election for unification by an all German (including communist) Government. Renunciation of the use of force and cold war politics by all nations with regard to Germany as also recognition of both the Germanies is an essential pre-condition for German unification.

France in the post-war period. Liberated France accepted Fourth Republic and its constitution disappointed De Gaulle, the leader of 'Free France,' who resigned. French politics under the pressure of multi-party system produced instability at home and abroad. In May, 1958 as a result of a revolt in Algeria De Gaulle again came to power. The Fourth Republic now gave way to the Fifth under a stronger executive. In 1962 De Gaulle further enhanced the power of the President through a referendum in 1962. In 1967 two General elections were held one in March and the other in May. In both the elections Gaullists won majority France faced a currency crisis in 1968. He saved France from devaluation by taking foreign credit.

French Foreign Policy during this period was riddled with dilemma which was the natural outcome of her inability to keep the colonies under control and her conflicting desire to check remilitarization of Germany and at the same time strive for European defence against Soviet advances. France proposed but finally rejected EDC. Under U.S.A. pressure, however, she accepted WEU which remilitarized Germany and conferred NATO membership on her. France in the post-war period strove for European integration due to her desire to exercise a decisive voice in international affairs through an integrated Europe. The OEEC and ECSC and finally the Common Market is the outcome of these efforts.

The national liberation movements in French colonies in Asia and Africa provided the source of French weakness. In 1954 Indo-China due to a series of military catastrophes (including the fall of Dienbien Phu) was partitioned in the Geneva Conference into two. One under the communist party led by Ho Chi Minh and another under the Bao Dai, the French portegee. In the same year the French colonies in India were united with India by peaceful transfer of power. Morocco and Tunisia

achieved independence in 1956. But Algeria remained in a state of rebellion causing much drainage in men and money. France and Britain attempted in 1956 to force Egypt to relinquish Suez nationalization by an armed invasion. But the opposition of U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. and Afro-Asian states acting through UNO forced them to admit failure in spite of military victory. When De Gaulle was saddled to power through rebellion of Army Generals they expected him to support the aim of the French colons of keeping Algeria under French control. But when they found him to be moving in the opposite direction they revolted only to be crushed quickly. Algeria gained its independence through a referendum in 1962.

Reorientation of French Foreign Policy. De Gaulle aimed at raising France to her former greatness and he now directed his energy at creating a 'Third force' in non-communist Europe. De Gaulle desired and at last secured 'A' and 'H' Bombs for France. He weakened ties with Britain and U.S.A. He no longer sought co-operation with NATO. He refused admission of Britain to the Common Market in 1963 and again in 1967 in spite of U.S.A.'s insistence. He effected a diplomatic revolution by seeking closer co-operation with West Germany by a treaty of friendship (January, 1963). This policy has resulted in the creation of a 'Third force' in non-communist Europe.

Attempts at European Political Unification. Regional organisations are the response to inadequacies in universal organisation. The Charter of the United Nations admits the need for such regional organisations. Article 51 and its subsequent interpretations opened the way for such alliances.

The dream of a United States of Europe is as old as the Roman Empire, but with advent of the 'Cold War' practical consideration has led to the creation of Western European Union as against the communist zone in the European continent. The weakness of post-war Europe to resist any possible Soviet attack in future induced America to take a hand in effecting such a union. The First attempt at such a union came from Benelux countries (Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg) whose exiled governments had signed a treaty of mutual cooperation in 1944. On March 17, 1948 Britain and France agreed to join hands with them and signed the Brussels Treaty for collaboration to resist an armed invasion. The military aspect of the Brussels Treaty organisation was taken up by NATO. Its Consultative Council of the Foreign Ministers of member states was virtually a defunct organisation until it was expanded to include Italy and Germany to serve the purpose of creating WEU in 1955.

But the most significant attempt at the political unification of Europe was the creation of the Council of Europe by the Congress of Europe convened at Hague in May, 1948. It included the signatories of the Brussels Treaty, the Scandinavian countries and Italy. Four additional countries—Greece, Turkey, Iceland and West Germany—were subsequently admitted to membership. The Council of Europe sits at Strassburg. It has three principal organs—the Committee of Ministers, the Consultative Assembly and a Secretariat. The Assembly has 132 members. It has power to recommend measures to the Committee of Ministers. There has been constant clash between the two organs. The Committee of Ministers may recommend measures to the home government. The Coun-

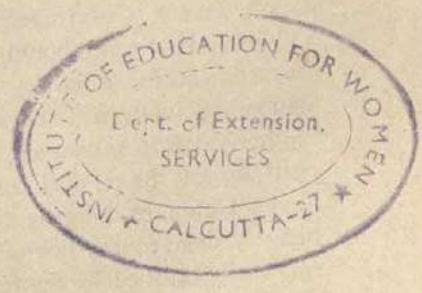
cil of Europe has hardly achieved anything of importance except providing a common meeting ground of parliamentarians of different countries.

Another attempt to forge European unity by reconciling French fear of German militarism with American insistence on German participation in NATO led to the proposal for a European Defence Community (EDC). It proposed to create an European army with common uniform and under one commander. Before EDC could be ratified the French National Assembly rejected it in 1954. The British refusal to accept it, the abatement of the Russian danger due to the death of Stalin and the difficulty of creating a multi-national army as desired by France led to this rejection.

The British now proposed the Western European Union (WEU) as a substitute for EDC. The idea of a unified European army was replaced by favouring national armies committed to NATO. The whole arrangement was to be co-ordinated by the Brussels Treaty Council now enlarged to include Italy and Germany. In addition a WEU Assembly composed of the parliamentary delegation of member-states has been created. It ended Allied occupation of Germany, provided for German rearmament and conferred NATO membership on Germany. The supervision of arms control provided for safeguards against German revival. The connection between WEU and NATO is established through the Supreme Commander of NATO forces in Europe.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE :—

1. **Crowley, D.** : The Background to Current Affairs.
2. **Friedmann, W.** : An Introduction to World Politics.
3. **Hartmann, Fredrick, H.** : The Relations of Nations.
4. **Panikkar, K. M.** : Regionalism and Security.
5. **Smith Gordan Connell** : Pattern of the Post-World War.
6. **Schleicher Charles, P.** : International Relations, Co-operation and Conflict.
7. **Schleicher Charles, P.** : Introduction to International Relations.



Chapter 15

The Eastern European Countries and the Soviet Union

In the post World War II era most of the countries in Eastern Europe fell under the influence of Soviet Communism. The rapid march of Soviet Communism in Eastern Europe and East Germany had taken the "Free World" by surprise. In 1945 King Michael of Rumania was induced to appoint a communist prime minister and it did not take much time for the communist party of Rumania to serve the King with a coup de grace. In Poland a Soviet type democracy was established though in the Yalta conference it was agreed that in all liberated countries of Europe the allied powers would assist the people "to create democratic institutions of their own choice". Both the Soviet Union and the Western powers had different conceptions about democracy. In Poland at least the Soviet Union could hardly afford the establishment of anti-communist Government. Moreover it is often forgotten that during Hitler's invasion of the Soviet territory the upper class in Eastern Europe had cooperated with the Nazis and helped Hitler's army to be swelled by millions of their peasants. At Yalta too an agreement was entered in which it was agreed that the exiled Polish Government at London and the Soviet influenced Lublin Government should be represented in the formation of a future Government for Poland. The Exiled Polish Government had lent sympathetic ears to Nazi propaganda about slaughter of Polish officers in the Katyu forests (ten miles from Smolensk) by Russia. Again, partisans of the Polish exiled Government sought to discredit the Soviet Union by alleging that in August, 1945 the Soviets had deliberately delayed the liberation of Warsaw where an untimely uprising was easily crushed by the Nazis. But it has been proved beyond doubt by the events of the War that this delay of Soviet army to liberate

Warsaw was caused by the unexpected resistance of the German troops near Warsaw. In Poland after liberation a coalition Government was formed, and Mikolajczysk joined it as the leader of the Polish peasant party. But Mikolajczysk and his followers soon created conditions under which they found that they could only oppose the communists by and with the aid of underground fighters. Finally in 1947 election the Government earned a huge majority and Mikolajczsk sought shelter outside Poland.

By 1947 all the Eastern Europe saw the rise of people's democracies the only exception being Czechoslovakia whose Government was converted to Soviet pattern in 1948. President Benes had signed a treaty of alliance with Moscow. The Soviet army had liberated Prague according to war time agreement at Tehran and Yalta. In Czechoslovakia itself the expulsion of the Sudetan Germans and Nazi collaborators as also the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis had left large properties ownerless. These properties were nationalized. This increased the strength of the Communists. Yet after 1945 three non-Marxist parties formed a coalition government in Czechoslovakia with the communists. It worked well for some time. But the Truman and Marshal plan demonstrated to the communists the determination of the West to step up the cold war and encourage assaults on the left forces in all parts of the globe. Again, there were signs in Czechoslovakia about the possibility of an attempt to oust the communists from coalition in the forthcoming election. In 1948, power conflict had become so acute that the Czech communists could hardly afford a defeat which would mean a Soviet set back at a decisive moment in the cold war. In February, 1948 to protest against replacement of some high police officials in Prague by pro-communist officials the non-socialist ministers of the cabinet resigned. They could not carry even the socialists to their viewpoint. So that the Ministry of Premier Gottwald continued and state power was finally mastered by the communists.

Soviet aims in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union had suffered immeasurable losses during the Nazi aggression. It was but natural, therefore, for the Soviet leaders to think that to save Russia from future foreign invasion the gates of aggression in Eastern Europe should be closed. Security rather than expansion prompted the Soviet Union to control Eastern Europe. Her desire for security again induced the Soviet Union to effect land reforms in Eastern Europe. The fascist elements in Europe were greatly helped by the landlord element. The Prussian junkers were mostly Nazi supporters. Their backbone was broken by land reform throughout Eastern Europe. Moreover the

war had created conditions ripe for nationalization of large industry and Banking. Again foreign investors in Eastern Europe found to their dismay that nationalization was carried out without distinction. So long the West had treated Eastern Europe as a supplier of raw material, and a buyer of western products. Not only was the process stopped the market was lost.

From Tito to Dubcek. In Yugoslavia Murshal Tito and his army of 800,000 men had acquired immense prestige during the war by their single handed struggle unaided for a long time either by the West or U.S.S.R. against Nazi aggressors. After it was proved beyond doubt that Mihailovich Chetnik was a Nazi collaborator Tito started receiving aid from the Allied powers. Yugoslav programme for rapid industrialization in the post-war period was cold-shouldered by Moscow. Russia also threw cold water on Yugoslav project of making Albania a satellite or creating a Yugoslav-Bulgarian federation. Russia desired close co-ordination among Eastern European countries and discouraged the idea of a Balkan federation. Yugoslav nationalism looked at Soviet internationalism as a stumbling block in the realisation of its cherished dream about greater and better Yugoslavia. On June 28, 1948, the Cominform expelled Yugoslav leaders. But the rank and file of the Yugoslav communist party did not rise in revolt and Soviet attempt to bring the leaders of CPY to book failed in its objective. When Khruschev denounced Stalinist methods he also reversed the Stalinist policy towards Yugoslavia and in 1955 he visited Yugoslavia to renew friendly relations with that country. Under the new leadership in the Soviet Union the Cominform was dissolved in April 1956. Friendly relation with Yugoslavia was renewed by another visit of Khruschev in 1956. But relations with Yugoslavia and the Soviet block were strained in 1956 owing to the intervention of the Soviet troops in Budapest in November. Again Tito's claim to neutrality and refusal to accept the infallibility of Soviet Union especially in Czechoslovakia (1948) resulted in a deterioration of Soviet-Yugoslav relation.

Tito had not only challenged Russian domination he kept himself outside the Warsaw Pact and COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Co-operation) created in 1955. The first was created for military co-ordination and the second for mutual economic aid. Russian relations with Eastern European countries henceforth became more liberal. Yet Russian concessions towards Tito evoked much opposition from China. The Chinese believed that behind Khruchev's de-Stalinization campaign was a tendency towards revisionism and the wrong turning he had taken in 1956 would lead to the doom of

Marxism. Thus rapprochement with Tito lead to rapture with China. But in 1968 when Soviet and Warsaw pact troops intervened in Czechoslovakia both Tito and Mao protested. As a result Tito was not invited to attend the Polish party congress in November, 1968. The other two parties excluded were the Albanian and the Chinese party. But the apprehension of a Soviet invasion in Yugoslavia following the Czech incident (August 21, 1968) has been completely belied.

The Hungarian Scene in 1956. Hungary showed signs of restlessness in the wake of de-Stalinization. The intensification of the cold war following Korean War and passions of nationalist revolt contributed to Hungarian revolt. In the years between 1949—1953 opposition to official policy dictated from Moscow was strangled. The Soviet Union had already achieved stability as a great power on the eve of the events that touched off winds of revolution in Eastern Europe. But while the USSR was seeking relaxation in cold war and was advancing several proposals for German unification, the USA state department under the guidance of Dulles had decided that "The only way to stop a head-on-collision with the Soviet Union is to break it up from within". The West therefore fanned anti-Soviet and ultra-nationalist feelings in Eastern Europe.

Hungarian reactionaries themselves entertained irredentists motive towards Transylvania and were encouraged by the West. All these factors produced the dramatic events of 1956 and to trace their gradual development it is essential to analyse the causes of the fall of Imre Nagy's Ministry in 1955. The Nagy administration under the influence of the Malenkov-Khruschev de-Stalinization era achieved a great deal of liberalization and progress. But the fall of Malenkov and the opposition of the old guard Stalinist Rakosi resulted in the fall of his ministry. When after his fall Rakosi tried to harness public opinion in Hungary to the chariot wheel of his outmoded ideas he was overthrown. As a result, violent demonstration against Stalinist leadership and other consequences that followed brought in its train Nagy to power. Meanwhile the cold war around Germany had intensified and the prospects of an armed Germany within NATO Alliance had stiffened Soviet attitude. Escalation of American policy in the Far-East around Quemoy and Matsu further endangered the prospect of world peace. The Dulles policy of massive retaliation and American refusal to accept *status quo* in East Europe as also the avowed intention of the West to liberate Eastern Europe increased Soviet anxiety.

The Soviet troops which were brought in to suppress the violent

demonstration and anti-Communist riots in Hungary on October 21 to 23, were asked to withdraw on October 29. On October 30 Nagy broadened his cabinet to include representatives of older parties. On 29 October, 1956 Israel had invaded Egypt. The events in Hungary were swiftly followed by the Anglo-French ultimatum to UAR and Israel in the Suez and this ultimatum was used as a pretext for Anglo-French intervention in Suez on November 5, 1956. The Soviet Union at once reversed its policy towards Hungary and took action to assert it authority. Early on November 4, Russians entered Budapest. Nagy was overthrown and Janes Kadar, the First Secretary of the Communist party, was installed in power.

The Role of the United Nations. The Hungarian crisis of 1956 soon became an international question and was brought before the Security Council by joint Anglo-French and American effort. It is surprising that even while the Anglo-French powers were plotting the violation of UN Charter in the Middle-East they brought forward a resolution in the Security Council with the connivance of the United States which had some inkling of Suez invasion.[1] The Security Council resolution sponsored by the three powers invoked the Charter provisions under chapter VI dealing with settlement of dispute. But the Hungarian Government claimed that as the affair fell entirely under the domestic jurisdiction of Hungary the Council had no right to intervene. This contention was supported by Mr. Sobolov, the Soviet representative to the Council. Matters, however, moved very rapidly in Hungary following the declaration of Imre Nagy on October 31, that he had opened negotiations with the Soviet Union for the withdrawal of Soviet troops and disassociation with the Warsaw Pact. But on November 2, the Security Council was again convened to consider the appeal from Imre Nagy for Soviet intervention in Hungary. Nagy reported that the Soviet troops were re-entering his country. The Security Council adopted a US sponsored resolution in which the Soviet Union was asked to withdraw its troops from Hungary without delay.

Despite the UN resolution Soviet troops occupied Hungary on November 4. The Kadar Government was formed by and with the help of the Soviet army. The Security Council was at once conven-

---

[1]See David Horowitz—From Yalta to Vietnam, pp. 289-290. It would be erronous to think that the United States was ignorant of Anglo-French plan for Suez invasion because as has been pointed out by Mr David Horowitz the CIA informed the white house at least one day in advance about the coming events (Cook—CIA, p. 553, quoted by Horowitz).

ed in an emergency session. Nagy had taken refuge in Yugoslav embassy. The Council again accepted a US sponsored resolution condemning Soviet action and urging the Soviet Union to refrain from military intervention in Hungary. As the resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union the Security Council failed to take any action and the matter was referred to the General Assembly which under the US sponsored Unite for Peace resolution had acquired the right to consider such questions.

The General Assembly adopted nearly fourteen resolutions relating to different aspects of the Hungarian problem including Soviet intervention and violation of the Charter, investigation and relief. The General Assembly condemned the action of the Soviet Union for sending troops in Hungary. A Special Committee was appointed by the General Assembly on January 7, 1957 consisting of six members including Austria, Ceylon, Tunisia, Denmark and Uruguay. The Committee in its report categorically stated that the establishment of the Kadar Government was made possible solely due to the military intervention of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union rejected the report as fabricated and Hungary and the Warsaw pact countries considered the UN action as direct violation of sovereign rights of nations. But even neutral nations like India, which at the early stage considered that the Hungarian episode was a "Civil conflict", came to regard it as a national uprising which failed to gain success owing to the intervention of the Soviet Union. India desired above all to institute a proper investigation and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Hungary.

On June 16, 1958, a communique broadcast in Moscow announced that Imre Nagy and three of his associates has been sentenced to death at Budapest trial for complicity in 1956 uprising. The U.N. General Assembly deplored this action as a further proof of USSR's disregard of General Assembly's resolution on Hungary (December 12, 1960).

The UN was a spectator in the Hungarian crisis of 1956 and failed to take any action against a super-power. Russia and the communist states alleged that the events in Hungary were the outcome of a conspiracy of Western powers who simultaneously arranged for Suez invasion. In the latter case the UN could impose peace owing to agreement between two super powers but in the case of Hungary such agreement was lacking. The UN, like the League before it, could act only if there is a Big power agreement.

Spring in October. In the wake of de-Stalinization Eastern European countries saw a beginning for liberalization—'Spring in

October'—as it was called in Poland. The Polish party desired to regain its autonomy lost during the Stalinist era and to rehabilitate some of its leaders who were liquidated earlier. All now turned their head towards Gomulka who in 1947 had gone very far in advocating an exclusively Polish way. Meanwhile growing discontent against the Polish Government burst forth after June 28, 1956 at Poznan. It appeared that Poland would soon experience a violent change which the Polish Communist party, divided and shaken by differences among Stalinists and anti-Stalinists, was not in a position to prevent. Fortunately the party now accepted the new thesis forwarded by Gomulka who pleaded for Polish sovereignty and for rapid democratization. To avoid further disruption Gomulka was elected party secretary in October, 1956 and the crisis passed away without violence. But in the beginning of the year 1968 the Polish situation took a turn for the worst. Early in March students and intellectuals, fired with enthusiasm by the Czech example, were demanding freedom and democracy within the socialist system. With the outbreak of violent clashes between students and the police the situation appeared to have got out of hand but an explanation was found in official bungling. The Polish episode proved little more than a troubled interlude. But the ageing President Mr. Edward Ochab requested to be relieved of his post on grounds of health and Marshal Marian Spychalski was elected in his place on April 11, 1968. Ochab's plea of deteriorating health could certainly be genuine (he is almost blind) but his request to be relieved of his post at this particular juncture is significant. It resulted, according to some, from shake and purge of the Polish party. The fifth party congress was held in November, 1968 and Mr. Gomulka was re-elected Secretary. Meanwhile in August, Poland sent its troops together with the Warsaw Pact Powers to Czechoslovakia.

From Julins Fucik to Ludvik Svobada. Czechoslovakia managed to be in the forefront of World from the fifteenth century when Jan Hus rebelled against Catholic hierarchy to our own times when Julins Fucik defined death in Nazi prison. In 1948 a communist government was saddled with power. Since the end of 1967 Czechoslovakia saw the emergence of a wave of regenerative process in the country. To translate this regenerative process into practice and to restore the confidence of the masses in the Party and the Government the planery session of the Communist Party elected in January, 1968 Alexander Dubcek as the Secretary. It was the beginning of a process of liberalization away from the "democratic centralism" of the Stalinist era. On March 22, 1968 President Antonin Novotny, one of the last stal-

warts of the Stalinist era, resigned, climaxing an unprecedented public campaign demanding that he step down. In his place Mr. Ludvik Svoboda was elected President. "For us", stated a declaration of the Czech party in June, 1968, "democracy is as inseparable from socialism as socialism is from democracy".

As a result a tremendous gulf, though not unbridgable, developed between Dubcek leadership and the Soviet Union as also other Warsaw pact countries. A two day talk, between leaders of the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany in Warsaw, in the middle of July, on the Czech situation resulted in the Warsaw Communique and in the 5 Party Letter to Czechoslovakia and the letters in reply to them. It revealed differences on a wide range of subjects. It was followed by a meeting between Soviet party leaders and the leaders of the Czech Communist party on 25th July, 1968. That the effect was not according to the expectation of the Soviet leaders was apparent when on July 28, Pravda warned the Czech Communists by the significant words 'time does not wait'. Pravda also declared that the danger to communism in Czechkoslovakia had increased. Meanwhile President Svoboda in a nation-wide talk, after the four days historical dialogue with Soviet leaders at Cierna, stated, "We will not leave the path we have started out. We shall continue along the road".

In the Bralislava summit meeting of the Warsaw bloc the Czech reformist leaders and their hostile critics buried their differences at least publicly. It is now clear that the Bratislava meeting could not bridge the gulf but merely glossed over differences which erupted in volcanic form on August 21, 1968 when Kremlin together with allied Eastern European countries staged an armed intervention in Czechoslovakia.

The considerations that prompted Moscow to intervene in Czechoslovakia were many. What hurt and alarmed Mosow was a genuine doubt about Czechoslovakia's military ability to keep the South-Western part of the Communist frontier with West secure. The tremendous striking power of the NATO forces and the rejuvenation of the military might of West Germany gave the Warsaw pact powers anxiety for security. Secondly the rapid changes in Czechoslovakia initiated by Dubcek leadership coupled with open declaration of men like General Prechlik for equal voice in Warsaw pact organisation convinced the Soviet Union of a danger to communism in Czechoslovakia. Thirdly, the example set by the Czechs was a dagnerous precedence for the future.

The Soviet Union and four Eastern European countries, *viz.*,

Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and East Germany sent troops to Prague on August 21, 1968. All the important State functionaries of Czechoslovakia including Alexander Dubcek. President Svoboda and Prime Minister Oldrich Cernik were taken into custody and sent to Moscow. On August 22, a massive demonstration took place in Prague against Soviet intervention and an one hour general strike spread throughout the country. On August 22, the Security Council met to consider the situation arising out of the intervention of the Soviet Union and four Eastern European countries in Czeschoslovakia.

The Role of the U.N. A meeting of the U.N. was called at the joint request of Britain, Canada, the United States, France, Denmark and Paraguay. The Soviet bid to stall Czech crisis debate was rebuffed by a majority of the Council members. The resolution condemning the Soviet Union and its Warsaw pact allies for armed intervention of Czechoslovakia was introduced by Danish ambassador Otto Borch. In its operative party the resolution demanded that the political independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia must be fully respected. The resolution called upon the intervening Communist countries to take no action or violence or reprisal that could result in further suffering or loss of life and to withdraw their forces forthwith. The resolution called upon all U.N. members to exercise their diplomatic influence on the Soviet Union and its allies with a view of bringing about prompt implementation of the resolution. On August 23, a Russian veto killed the Security Council resolution. The resolution obtained 10 affirmative votes and two negative votes—of the Soviet Union and Hungary. India, Algeria, and Pakistan abstained.

India's stand. The principal reason for India's abstention was the unwillingness of the sponsors to remove "the Judgment of condemnation". India's abstention though not so stated was also presumable on the basis that just as India had not "condemned" the United States' bombing in North Vietnam or the U.S.A. intervention in the Dominican Republic it need not do so here. India recorded her sympathy for Czechoslovakia and insisted that foreign forces should be withdrawn immediately from the Czech soil. The reason behind India's stand is quite clear. India believes in co-existence and is pledged to the inviolability of solemn pacts. It should not be forgotten that Czechoslovakia is a member of the Warsaw Pact and cannot violate it except at its own peril and that was exactly what had happened. Again, India was careful not to strengthen Peking's hand against Moscow.

Reaction in Socialist countries outside Warsaw Pact. Peking Radio charged the Soviet Union and the Warsaw pact nations for invading Czechoslovakia and said that "The Soviet revisionists brutal-

ly committed the worst crime against the people of Czechoslovakia", Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro in a radio-television address said that while the military action of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw pact allies was a "flagrant violation" of Czech sovereignty, it was "politically" right. Bucharest demanded an immediate end of military intervention in Czechoslovakia. Marshal Tito had warned the world about the danger of a World War III the day before the military intervention in Czechoslovakia had taken place. Yugoslavia had sent its support to the new Czech leadership. Subsequently Tito condemned the military intervention in Czechoslovakia and warned, that Yugoslavia, if threatened by any foreign interventionist force, was fully prepared to meet the threat. No country was more alarmed than Yugoslavia at Russia's claim to intervene in any socialist country.

The effects of the intervention. Meanwhile more occupation troops were flown to Prague on August 25, and the number, according to one estimate was put at about 500,000. In Moscow a summit meeting of the Czechoslovak leaders and the leaders of the Soviet Union and the four Eastern European allies was held. Alexander Dubcek, President Ludvik Svoboda, and Prime Minister Oldrich Cernik agreed in Kremlin talks to pay a heavy political price to rid Czechoslovakia of Soviet Bloc occupation forces. The terms of the agreement and the subsequent treaty signed between Russia and Czechoslovakia in October provided for withdrawal of all but 70,000 Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. During ratification proceedings on October 18, Premier Oldrich Cernik told the Czechoslovak Parliament that though Red Army troops would be there to thwart the revanchist aspirations of West Germany militarists the border between the two countries would "continue to be guarded solely by the Czechoslovak Army". The events in Czechoslovakia disturbed the relation between the East and the West. The NATO powers were profoundly disturbed largely owing to their own failure in gaining the information about Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia before it actually took place. The NATO powers, however, warned the Soviet Union against the recurrence of any such action to upset the balance of power in Europe. About the effect of the August events in Czechoslovakia Mr. E. B. Brooke wrote from Vienna on September 12, that "Czechoslovakia itself has suffered setback in development that will probably take years to offset. There has been no mass exodus of population as there was from Hungary...and it is doubtless untrue that the Czechoslovak premier was so unwise as to suggest that 'the best brains leave the country'. This report can quite

safely be laid to the inventive minds of West Germany's "Springer newspapers."[1]

The effects of Soviet intervention on Bonn are various. There is increased fear because West Germany now has Soviet Units along the entire length of her eastern borders. There is a frustration because any further idea of developing contacts in trade and politics with the Czechoslovaks has been checked.

Relations between Communist states. During World War II the countries of Eastern Europe were liberated from fascist domination by the armed forces of the Soviet Union whose influence became supreme in these countries most of which now followed Soviet road to communism. The first event which drew the attention of the world to the question of relation between communist countries was the expulsion of Yugoslavia from the Socialist family. But in spite of Tito in the entire region of Eastern Europe Stalin's power was unsurpassed. Khruschev tried to liberalize the relation. He visited Yugoslavia in 1955 with Bulganin and during his second visit on June 20, 1956 published a declaration containing the formulae which were to become the basis of the doctrines of diversity in international communism—what Wladyslaw Gomulka has called the different roads. Mao 'the blossoming of a hundred flowers' and Togliatti pobycentrism. The declaration states that:

"Believing that the path of Socialist development differs in various countries and conditions, that the multiplicity of forms of socialist development tends to strengthen socialism and proceeding from the fact that any tendency to impose one's opinion on the ways and forms of socialist development is alien to both, the two parties have agreed that their co-operation shall be based on free will and equality, friendly criticism and comradely exchange of opinion on controversial question". As far as Yugoslavia is concerned she was able by this declaration to claim complete equality with the Soviet union and pledges of equally complete non-interference. Yugoslavia remained outside the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON. Russo-Yugoslav relations had wide repercussions. Tito had wrung from the CPSU the right of a socialist country to follow its own road to socialism. On the other hand the Chinese Communist detected behind Khruschev's policy of de-Stalinization campaign tendency to allow revisionism to percolate in the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. By 1958 they concluded that the wrong turn taken by Khruschev in 1956 was irreversible and the gap between the Soviet and the Chinese view-

1. See New Times, October, 1968.

point became irreconcilable.* Among the people's democracies in Eastern Europe Albania followed the Chinese lead. Hoxa, the leader of the Communist party of Albania, purged it of pro-Soviet members in 1960 in which year the Cuban party and the three Asian parties of North Korea, North Vietnam and Indonesia took neutralist stand in the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute. Since then the three Asian parties have generally followed the Chinese lead.

The Rumanian Workers party, whose break with the COMECON dates from February, 1963 owing to the Rumanian refusal to submit to the demands which were made on them in view of the future 'international socialist division of labour', took a neutralist stand in the Sino-Soviet dispute. Rumania was backed by three important sources. viz., the Western democracies, China and Yugoslavia. Rumania subscribed to the Chinese stand in holding that without the maintenance of Leninist-Stalinist dictatorship of the prolateriat the communist state was doomed, but at the same time the Rumanian leaders accepted the Russian viewpoint of co-existence and co-operation with the West in foreign policy. The difference between Russia and Rumania during the 1967 Arab-Israel conflict and on the question of the intervention in Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and her allies became apparent. Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, Rumania's communist party chief and President, is no Dubcek but there is a similarity in the catalytic role the two have played in loosening the rigours of communism.

Many in the West anticipated a Soviet intervention in Rumania following the events in Czechoslovakia. No country, however, was more alarmed than Yugoslavia about the prospect of a Soviet intervention. But all these proved to be a false alarm. The attitude of the Soviet Union and its allies with regard to the question of intervention was defined by Gomulka in an article on the Czechoslovak events.[1] According to Gomulka, "socialist enthics and the principles of internationalism cannot be reduced to sitting back with folded arms when the socialist system is being abolished in a fraternal country". There may be different roads to socialism, but where the basis of socialism is challenged the fraternel parties would not be mere spectators to counter-revolutionary activities of the enemies of socialism. The Bratislava meeting of five communist parties held on August 3, 1968 had defined the same principle when it stated that "Historical experience has convinced the fraternal parties that it is

*For Sino-Soviet Relations see the Chapter on Far-East.

1. See New Times, No. 42, October 23, 1968.

possible to advance along the road of socialism and communism only if the general laws governing the building of socialist society are strictly and consistently observed, and, above all, if the leading role of the working class and its vanguard the Communist party is strengthened". The same idea was asserted by Pravda six weeks after the intervention in Czechoslovakia. In short there may be different roads to socialism, but if there be a threat to socialist order the fraternal parties had a right to intervene. Theoretically at least there was no threat to socialist order in Yugoslavia and Rumania according to the members of 'the Socialist Commonwealth' and their internal situation did not call for intervention as in Czechoslovakia. It may, however, be asserted that for practical geo-political reasons no such intervention took place. On June 3, 1969 a World Conference of 75 Communist parties met in Kremlin. In address Mr. Brezhnev indulged in bitter attack on China which was opposed to this Conference—the first in a decade to thrash out differences in the Communist movement. Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia came under fire of criticism from the Australian delegation.

SUMMARY

In the post-World War II era almost all of Eastern Europe fell under Soviet influence. At Yalta it was agreed that in all liberated countries of Europe the people would be assisted to create democratic institutions of their own choice. But both the Soviet Union and the Western powers had different conceptions of democracy. Moreover U.S.S.R. could hardly afford an unfriendly government in these countries which in World War II served as the launching pad for Nazi aggression.

In Poland the Soviet oriented Lublin Government and the exiled Polish Government fought for recognition. The latter had demonstrated its anti-Soviet bias by lending sympathetitc ears to Nazi propaganda about slaughter of Polish officers by Russia at Kalyn Forest (near Somelensk) and wrongly blamed the Soviet Union for delaying the liberation of Warsaw. Yet in coalition Government in the post-war period Mikolajczysk, chief of the peasant party, was taken in. But he found his position too hot owing to his connection with underground anti-communist fighters and fled the country. By 1947 all of Eastern Europe except Czechoslovakia saw the rise of people's democracies. In 1948 power conflict had become so acute that a set back in Czechoslovakia would have proved a serious threat to the Communist world. Naturally the Communist held the power firmly and Czechoslovakia also turned a people's democracy. The upper strata of the Eastern European countries had willingly allowed the Nazi aggressors to use the resources of their country which was made the launching pad for an invasion on U.S.S.R. Naturally to eliminate such possibility in future prompted Russia in post-World War II era to help the establishment of people's democracies friendly to the U.S.S.R. The expropriation of the propertied class and

industrialization of the agricultural economy of this region caused dismay among the supporters of the Western democracies.

From Tito to Dubcek. The first country to break away from Soviet influence was Yugoslavia which found in Soviet internationalism a barrier to realise its cherished dream of a greater and better Yugoslavia. Marshal Tito was expelled by Cominform in 1948. In 1955, however, Khrushchev made amends of the acts of Stalin. Since then Yugoslovia has taken a neutral stand and criticized Soviet action in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Tito kept himself outside the Warsaw Pact and COMECON (1955).

The Hungarian Scene (1956). The Hungarian revolt of 1956 which followed in the wake of de-Stalinization was partly the outcome of irredentism and nationalism of the Hungarians. But by and large it was the product of the attempt of old guard leadership specially of Rakosi to cling to power. It was encouraged by the Dulles policy of breaking up the Soviet Union from within. On October 21, Premier Nagy who himself was brought to power as a result of violent demonstration against old leadership called in Soviet troops to suppress anti-communist riots. But on 29 October, the Soviet troops were withdrawn. Again on November 4 the Russians entered Hungary, where counter-revolutionary forces had gained the upper hand, to replace Nagy and instal Janes Kadar, the First Secretary of the Communist party, to power.

A joint resolution sponsored by U.S.A., U.K. and France in the Security Council invoked the Charter provision under Chapter VI for settlement of dispute in Hungary. During the second interveniton of the Soviet troops the Security Council asked the Russians to quit Hungary. But when Kadar was installed to power the council condemned Soviet intervention. But no action could be taken by the Council against U.S.S.R. which vetoed the resolution. The General Assembly also condemned the Soviet intervention and (in January, 1957) appointed a six member committee which reported that the Kadar Government was possible only due to Soviet intervention. The U.N. was a spectator in the Hungarian event. But in the Suez invasion of 1956 the U.N. had intervened successfully. In the first case the U.N. could do nothing because a super-power was involved but in the second the world body was supported by both the super-powers.

Spring in October. In Poland, too, discontent against old leadership and the cleavage between Stalinists and anti-Stalinists resulted in riots at Poznan (June 28, 1956). To avoid the crisis Gomulka, in riots at favour, was elected First Secretary of the communist party and the crisis was averted. In March, 1968 another outburst led by students and intellectuals passed off without much disturbance. The ageing President Mr. Edward Ochab was replaced by Marshal Marian Spychalski. But Mr. Gomulka was re-elected party secretary in the fifth party Congress held in November, 1968.

Czechoslovakia. Since 1967 Czechoslovakia which lived under Communist rule from 1948 saw the emergence of a regenerative process to translate which into action the Communist party elected Alexander Dubcek as Secretary in January, 1968. On March 22, 1968 President Novotny, an old guard Stalinist, was replaced by Ludvik Svoboda. The Warsaw Pact powers, however, warned Dubcek leadership of the dangers

of a counter-revolution. In their Warsaw Communique and in the 5 party letter to Czechoslovakia the Dubcek leadership was asked to mend its ways. In the Bratislava meeting between Warsaw bloc and Czech party the hostile critics buried their differences publicly. But the truce proved temporary and on Aug. 21 Soviet Union and her allies sent their military forces in Czech territory. Moscow's genuine doubt about Czech ability to keep the Communist frontier secure and the rapid changes in Czechoslovakia coupled with demand for equality in Warsaw Treaty Organization voiced by men like General Prechlik prompted the armed intervention. President Ludvik Svoboda, Prime Minister Cernik, Dubcek and all important state functionaries were taken into custody and sent to Moscow. The Security Council met on 22nd August to consider the situation and condemned Soviet action. In the operative part of the Western sponsored resolution the interventionist powers were asked to restore the political independence and territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia and to withdraw their force immediately. On 23rd August a Russian veto killed the Security Council resolution. India desired that the interventionist troops should be withdrawn forthwith but she abstained from voting owing to the unwillingness of the sponsors of the resolution "to remove the judgement of condemnation."

Peking, however, condemned Moscow unequivocally. Bucharest demanded an immediate end of intervention while Havana called it "flagrant violation" of Czech sovereignty though at the same time a correct political move. Tito not only warned about the danger of a World War III but declared her preparedness to face future aggression if any. In the talk held at Moscow between Czech leaders and the Soviet Union and her allies it was agreed that all but 70,000 Soviet troops would be withdrawn from the Czech soil. Red army troops would be there to thwart the revenchist aspirations of West Germany. The Czechoslovak event alarmed the NATO powers which warned the Soviet Union against the recurrence of any such action to upset the balance of power in Europe.

Relations between Communist States. In spite of Tito, the influence of USSR in Eastern Europe was supreme in the Stalinist era. Khrushchev's attempt to fraternise with Yugoslavia resulted in 1956 in a declaration which defined that there may be different roads to socialism and that the relation among socialist countries should be based on free will and equality, friendly criticism and cordial exchange of opinion. This re-orientation of Soviet policy towards Tito was considered by the Chinese party as the outcome of revisionism. Albania followed China and the pro-Soviet leaders were purged by Hoxa in 1960. In North Korea, North Vietnam and Indonesia the Communists mollowed the Chinese lead. But Cuba took a neutralist stand in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

The Rumanian Workers party's rift with COMECON dates from February, 1963 owing to Rumania's unwillingness to submit to the demands made upon her in view of the future international socialist division of labour. In this she received backing from West and China as well as from Tito. Rumania is one with the Chinese thesis that without the maintenance of Leninist-Stalinist dictatorship of the proletariat Communism is doomed, but at the same time she subscribes to the Russian formulation of co-existence in international field.

After the Czech incident a false alarm about future intervention in Yugoslavia and Rumania gained currency. Gomulka aptly defined the attitude of the Soviet Union and het allies on the question of intervention in the following words: "Socialist ethics and the principle of internationalism cannot be reduced to sitting back with folded arms when the socialist system is being abolished in a fraternal country." The same attitude as quoted above was voiced in the Bratislava meeting prior to the intervention in Czechoslovakia and in **Pravada** six weeks after the intervention in Czechoslovakia. Obviously such a situation did not exist either in Rumania or Yugoslavia. It may, however, be asserted that for practical geo-political reasons no such intervention took place.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. **Flaming, D. F.** : The Cold War and its Origin.
2. **Horowitz David** : From Yalta to Vietnam.
3. **Ionescu, Chita** : The break up of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe.
4. **Organski, A.F.K.** : World Politics.

Chapter 16

The Common Market and the Commonwealth

European Economic integration. In the post-World War II period Europe suffered from deep economic crisis. Continental Europe seemed virtually on the point of collapse. To repair the disruption in trade, to restore the dislocation in communication and to clear the most conspicuous rubble it took nearly four years. It was with a view to help European recovery that the U.S.A. announced the Marshall Plan. The Plan depended for its success on the willingness of the Europeans to help themselves. Most European nations except the communist countries (whose reluctance flowed from the realization that U.S.A. aid in Europe had the object of checking the spread of communist ideology) accepted the proposals.

Sixteen nations including Britain, France, Austria, Iceland, Ireland, Greece, Switzerland, Turkey, the Benelux countries and the Scandinavian states submitted a report outlying the needs of Europe and an estimate of assistance needed. Thus began the U.S.A. policy of aiding war-torn Europe as a part of the policy of containment. It resulted in the birth of a number of complex international organisations some of which were super-national in character.

Between 1948 and 1953 U.S.A. granted nearly fifteen billion Dollars to Europe. But these grants were not sent merely for aiding the recovery of Europe. They carried strings. The recipient countries had to agree to help U.S.A. to procure strategic materials and other commodities. The agency of U.S.A. for executing the complex programme was the Economic Co-operation Administration. It was replaced in 1951 by the Mutual Security Administration (M.S.A.) and in 1953 by Foreign Operations Administration (FOA). More and more stress was henceforth laid upon military assistance.

Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). In 1948 as soon as the United States Congress authorized the Marshall Plan, the recipient nations established the Organization for European Economic Co-operation. The Foreign Assistance Act of U.S.A. required that the United States and each recipient state should enter into individual agreements. The agreement also encouraged private investment instead of government assistance. All co-operative arrangements for the promotion of trade and for payments and such other objectives were left in the hands of O.E.E.C. The O.E.E.C. activities were linked with the specialized agencies of the United Nations and ECSC. At first OEEC was busy with rebuilding the shattered industry and agriculture in a war devastated Europe. Soon industrial production much exceeded pre-war level and in agriculture there was an increase of nearly 50 per cent in production by 1953 compared to pre-war level. Inter-continental trade revived. But the organisation made such a progress that soon it was felt that its attention should be turned to long range problems. In spite of massive foreign aid and the rapid recovery of Europe trade deficit and dollar gap persisted. This was partly due to an increase in armament expenditure and partly the economic impact of the armed clash in Korea. The OEEC aided by ECA and MSA directed its efforts to an increase in production.

The OEEC was designed to bring about Western European Union and distribute American aid through the Marshall Plan. But soon it lost control over disbursement. Another source of weakness for the OEEC was owing to the fact that it early lost control over the Marshall Plan allocation to its members. The shift from economic to military aid further weakened its position. But in spite of these deficiencies it helped rapid recovery of Europe and by 1955 inter-European trade had increased by nearly 70 per cent above pre-war level. By January, 1960 Western Europe had made remarkable progress and a special economic committee recommended a remodelling of the organisation. This change was brought about by broadening the economic and trade policy in order to continue the development and help the growth of world trade. Still another development was the European Payments Union (EPU). Performing the functions of a bank clearing house the EPU also served as an agency for currency convertibility in Europe. A member country might find itself running a trade surplus with one neighbour and a trade deficit in another. It could deposit its surplus foreign money in EPU and get credit in other money it needed. As conditions improved there was no longer any need of the EPU and it disappeared in December, 1948. At present,

however, the European Monetary Agency, a branch of EPU, still functions. It gives help to member states to stabilize currency.

The Schuman Plan or the European Coal and Steel Community. The plan for a unified control over the steel and coal industries of Europe was proposed by Robert Schuman, the French Foreign Minister, in May, 1947. France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries became signatories of the Treaty which led to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) based on a common market, common objectives and common institutions.

The purpose was primarily economic, *viz.*, to create and maintain a common market for iron, steel and coal. But its uniqueness flows from its political implication. The original plan of its founder was to provide an opportunity for closer association between Western European nations specially France and Germany. Such efforts will lead to rapproachement between France and Germany and pave the path for European integration in future. The declared mission of the ECSC is to contribute to economic expansion, the development of employment and the improvement of the standard of living in harmony with the general economy of the member states. The ECSC sought to establish conditions of free competition. In order to create a single market for coal and steel within the community the member nations agreed to eliminate trade restrictions and discriminatory practices with regard to these industries. The members also agreed to prohibit subsidies or state assistance or special charges imposed by the state in any form whatsoever. The community also provides for free labour movement by issuing labour cards which enable workers in these industries to find employment in any member state. The community provides for collecting information and organising consultation.

Article 6 of the Treaty states that "The community shall have judicial personality" in the exercise of its functions and the attainment of its end in its international relationship. In member states "the community shall enjoy the most extensive juridical capacity". The institutions of the community are four in number: (*a*) A High Authority assisted by a Consultative Committee; (*b*) a Common Assembly; (*c*) a special Council composed of Ministers; (*d*) a Court of Justice. The High Authority is responsible for the fulfilment of the purpose of the Treaty. It is composed of nine members : eight elected by common consent by the member states and a ninth by the Authority. They serve for six years, three retiring every two years. Decisions are taken by a simple majority. The member states agree

to respect the super-national character of the Authority and not to influence its members in the execution of their duties. The High Authority takes the decision of the organisation. The Treaty provided for the creation of a Consultative Committee to assist the High Authority. It was to be composed of producers, workers, consumers and dealers. This organ though planned was never created.

Other organs of the ECSC were created to advise, supervise and control the High Authority. The Council was composed of the representatives of the six member states. "The Council may request the High Authority to examine all proposals and measures which it may deem necessary or appropriate for the realization of the common objectives". It must be consulted in a large number of cases and in certain cases (like the raising of fund) its consent must be taken to enforce decisions. Ordinarily the Council takes decision by an absolute majority including the concurrent votes of France and West Germany.

The Assembly meets at Strasbourg. The number of delegates is fixed—France, Germany and Italy eighteen each; Belgium and Netherlands ten each; and Luxembourg four. The Assembly holds annual sessions. The Council may convoke extraordinary sessions of the Assembly. If the Assembly adopts a vote of censure by a two-thirds majority of the members present (which must represent the majority of membership) the High Authority must resign.

A Court of seven Judges have been created to ensure the interpretation and application of the Treaty and its implementing regulations. The Court has been given jurisdiction over appeals by a member state or by the Council or the producers against the decisions of the High Authority. It may annul them if they find it to be contrary to the Treaty.

The British government was unwilling to join this super-national organisation because Britain was not prepared to risk her vital interest by entrusting its future to a super-national agency. Great Britain's unwillingness to join such a super-national body was also due to insular outlook and conservative attitude towards a revolutionary venture. In the meanwhile the ECSC has achieved a great deal though it is even now too early to predict about its future success. By 1957 the High Authority was able to declare that virtually all the old tariff barriers had been removed. Steel production had increased by 36 per cent in five years—a rate of achievement which far exceeds Britain and the United States, though still below the Soviet Union. But the goal of the Schuman plan and other plans in post-war Europe is to encourage European unity. This implication

of the Treaty has not yet been realized, though such plans may in future bring about Western European unity. Meanwhile the Community has been powerfully reinforced by the addition of the Common Market and Euratom.

European Common Market. Three years after the establishment of the European Community for Coal and Steel, the Benelux countries proposed to West Germany, France and Italy to extend similar arrangements to cover trade and industry in general. The Foreign Ministers of these countries met at Messina, in June, 1955 and completed the agreements for the creation of the Common Market by signing the Treaty of Rome in 1957. Among the functional approaches for the development of European unity the Common Market is undoubtedly the most outstanding one. The group of six countries were attracted to the project by the success of the ECSC.

The Common Market, broadly speaking, is an attempt to create a market without competition. The transition to overall free trade within the group of six nations or 'Little Europe' as they are called will take longer than coal and steel Community because of the great number of different items. It is planned to be completed in about fifteen years. The community as a whole will eliminate trade barriers and impose single tariff law for imports from outside. Other European nations may all become members of the Common Market or come to terms with the community. If all goes well the possibility of the Common Market is tremendous. It will equalize wages, social conditions, taxes and fiscal policies for nearly 170 million people. Freight rates will be harmonized and restrictions on the free movement of capital as well as labour will be abolished over an area stretching from the North sea to the Atlantic and Mediterranean.

The objectives and organisation of the Common Market. The objective of the Common Market of creating a free trade area will be achieved not only by the elimination of tariff walls between members but by the abolition of all types of subsidy granted by different governments to their industries. The Common Market regulations will necessitate member states to concentrate on the production of particular commodities for the whole community. Thus there will no longer be the fear of competition. The member states freed from the need to produce a wide range of goods will specialize on particular commodities. It will result in the reduction of prices and will improve the quality. Nations will, henceforth, concentrate on those goods in which their advantage is the greatest. Each member state will have monopoly of at least some goods.

The above arrangement will enable industrialists and producers

to invest for improvement and technical development. The technological improvement in industry will enable the producers to introduce electronic equipments or automation. All these developments can be foreseen only in the context of a possibility of abolition of tariffs in the transaction between nations in Europe. Thereby a large area nearly 449,000 square miles will be free from restrictions in trade. Firms whose expansion is restricted by tariff will expand according to the needs of a growing market. Feudal societies and mercantilist economy had chained the possibility of the movement of trade even inside a country in the middle ages. These restrictions were burst asunder by the growth of nation states. So also at present the 'six' is trying to remove all restrictions on the free movement of trade in 'Little Europe'. This will have far reaching effect on contemporary European integration both from the economic and political point of view. National economics and organisation will be controlled by super-national bodies. It will release forces that may transform the whole face of Europe. But the development is slow and gradual specially in agriculture where the protectionist tradition cannot be easily overcome. Therefore, for the present agricultural marketing is organized through marketing boards created for the purpose. "Under the Common Market the boards in each country are to be instructed to give preference in their marketing to other member countries; and there are plans for eventually instituting either a common agricultural price level or a common marketing board".[1] Price support and similar programmes will stabilize agriculture.

A new international bank, the European Investment Bank, will advance loans to prevent temporary set backs and to foster the development of less advanced areas such as Southern Italy. It may ultimately enunciate a policy of common currency. The capital of the Bank will be supplied by the signatories of the Treaty of Rome. The total subscription envisaged is one thousand million Dollars. The Bank will also help members in industrial expansion and readjustment.

There are six principal organs of the Common Market among which the Court and the Assembly will be shared with ECSC and Euratom. Among other organs the Permanent Executive European Commission of the Common Market may be compared with the High Authority of the ECSC. But unlike the High Authority the decision of the Commission may be rejected by the Council of Ministers, another organ of the Common Market. On the other hand the Council of Ministers may take action only on the decisions of the Com-

1. Crowley, D. W.: The background to Current Affairs. p. 214.

mission. The Permanent Executive Commission, however, has been invested with super-national powers in many respects. For instance, the government of a member state may be asked by the Commission to discard any policy of discrimination such as granting subsidy or lowering of taxation for a particular industry. The Commission at its discretion may make exemption for a short period on a particular commodity to a country which is hard hit in a specific industry. The Council of Ministers must take decisions unanimously for four years. After the time limit decisions may be vetoed by any major power like France, West Germany or Italy in alliance with a small power like Holland, Belgium or Luxembourg. The French so far have exercised a decisive voice in the Common Market. The French officials gave an unmistakable character to the secretariats at Luxembourg and Brussels. To aid the economic development a Monetary Committee has been created. Its main purpose is to co-ordinate the fiscal policy of the member states.

France desired the inclusion of the overseas colonies in the Common Market. But other members of the Common Market were at first hesitant to accept the French proposal. This hesitancy was natural. The investors of West Germany were not very eager to risk their capital in doubtful investment in the French colonies. Ultimately, however, this indecision was overcome and an Overseas Investment Bank was created with a capital of 581 million Dollars contributed by the member states. France and West Germany each contributed 200 million Dollars. Belgium and Holland figured next and contributed 70 million each, Italy 40 million and Luxembourg contributed the rest. The amount of contribution varied in proportion to the need for the development of the colonies of the Powers concerned. The inclusion of the overseas colonies had a far reaching effect. Henceforth the goods of these colonies will have free entrance in the Common Market. The only other important European colonial power Britain now faced a serious situation under which in the area under control of the Common Market the imports from her colonies will be shunned. This will affect seriously at least three items of British export from colonies, viz., coffee, cocoa and bananas.

Britain and the Common Market. Britain had persistently followed a policy of isolationism. In 1945 Britain was both a world power and a great power. But since then it became gradually clear that only powers with gigantic economic resources could claim to maintain the position of a great power. Continental Europe's economy was virtually on the verge of collapse in the year following peace.

Since then however Europe slowly recovered her self-confidence and with generous American assistance the Western European integration became a reality; whereas Britain slowly lost her empire and her position as a Great Power. Thus one critic has compared Britain's role with that of "old-man-down on-his-luck" and Europe's role with that of "young-man-on-the-make".[2]

But it was Britain's refusal to join any European movement for integration that had embittered her relations with the continental Powers. Thus Britain had held aloof from the Schuman Plan. In 1954 when the European Defence Community was running into difficulties in France, Brtiain could have saved the situation by joining it. It would have removed the French fear of a German revival. But Britain did not move and the French chamber rejected EDC. The suggestion for a Western European Union came from Eden and solved the problem of German rearmament. But when the next step forward towards Western European integration was taken in the economic field, Britain was found lacking in enthusiasm. Britain did not join the Messina Conference of June, 1955 where the proposal for the Common Market was materialised.

In 1957, after the six had signed the Treaty of Rome, Britain started negotiations about a Free Trade area, but these negotiations broke down owing to French opposition in November, 1958. In 1959 Britain, therefore, decided upon a Free Trade Area independent of the Common Market. As a counter-poise to the Common Market of the "Inner Six", seven other European Powers—Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Austria, Switzerland and Portugal—organised the European Free Trade Area (EFTA). The EFTA was largely a defensive measure to strengthen the bargaining power of the "Outer Seven" with the "Inner Six". The former was led by Britain, the latter by France or rather by France led by General De Gaulle. It was on De Gaulle's instruction that Britain's negotiations with the European Economic Community over a free trade area were broken off. France had decided that Britain's entrance in new Europe was contrary to French interest.

De Gaulle's refusal in 1958 was first of a series of humiliations. In 1961 Britain followed by other members of the outer seven moved to join the Common Market. The negotiations for British entry was carried on for 16 months. But Britain's bargaining power was weak. Moreover, on the insistence of Commonwealth countries, especially Australia and New Zealand, Britain desired to gain safeguard for

2. See **Encounter**, July, 1963 : The Logic of Survival by John Mander.

food exports from Commonwealth countries. But the 'six' were not prepared to grant any substantial concessions on this point. In fact, the members of the Common Market were themselves in difficulty for marketing their agricultural products. Moreover, the question of entrance to the Common Market also involved a change in the British policy of subsidizing the farmers. This would have adversely affected British agriculture.

British relation and ties with Commonwealth though apparently unique, have undergone much change since 1945. The Dominions are no longer looking towards her solely either for business or for defence. Therefore, Britain has sought the revival of her position by a road back to the continent. Her policy of aloofness, however, has severed her relations with the continental powers. Her special link with the United States has also served to antagonise the European Powers and General De Gaulle looked upon British attempt to enter in the Common Market with suspicion. Britain, it was thought, would only enter the European Community as an "American Trojan Horse". There were reasons to give such interpretation to British moves even by less suspicious persons than the French President. Britain had refused to join the Euratom and the Bahama Conference between President Kennedy and Prime Minister MacMillan, had resulted in the Skybolt fiasco. Then followed the Nassau agreement whereby Britain agreed to become a junior partner in Anglo-American nuclear club. Thus the British policy of toeing America and her desire to maintain special link with the Commonwealth created suspicion. "Devotion to Commonwealth myth", says Hugh Seton Watson, "at the expense of the European and Commonwealth realities and condescending comparison of Britain's worldwide obligation with European 'parochialism' inevitably offend many Europeans who in 1945 had been Britain's firm friends".[3] In January, 1963, mainly through the opposition of France, the United Kingdom had a sort of "European Monroe Doctrine" read to her. In May, 1967 Britain again applied for membership of E.C.M. The French President, however, rejected British application on December 20. De Gaulle said that in rejecting British application France had in fact saved the E.C.M. from a period of paralysis. Mr. Gross, French Information Minister summarized the French position and said, "The Common Market still has a lot of problems to work out. If the British application is thrown in on the top of these problems the Common Mar-

3. Idem—Commonwealth, Common Market and Commonsense by Hugh Setonwatson.

ket would grind to halt." Britain was refused admission to the Common Market. But the prospect for Britain is not as dark as it may appear at present. The opposition to Britain is not at all prominent among other partners to the Common Market. In future De Gaulle's refusal may not prove decisive but in the meanwhile British politicians must clear their head of the hangover of "Empire".

The Creation of a Third Force in the economic field. The Common Market under French leadership no doubt has forged Western European unity in the economic field. But at the same time it has developed certain tendencies which speak of political disunity. In near future it may also lead to economic competition in the Atlantic community. The creation of the Common Market was at first looked upon as a 'leap in the dark'. But at present both in an economic and a political sense it has become the soul of Western European unity. The EFTA is now, in fact, only a brittle shell. The growth of Europe's prosperity and unity is largely due to massive American support in aid and loan. But European prosperity has resulted in the loss of American influence—political and economic. Americans are losing market largely due to the European competitors. It has complicated United States European co-operation. Thus the return of European prosperity has resulted also in dividing the Atlantic community into trading blocs. The French refusal to admit Britain to the Common Market in spite of American patronage demonstrates this division in the Atlantic community clearly. Moreover, Western Europe's economic growth has made the continent the largest importer of raw materials from under-developed areas of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The rapid growth of the Common Market may further contribute to the rift when the need for imposing tariff from the outside world would lead to discrimination against American and British goods in the continent. In 1963 a conference was called at Geneva to discuss the question of tariff between U.S.A. and the European Common Market. The Kennedy round of talks as it is called ended happily in May, 1967. A formula has at last been found which is likely to yield a reduction of about 30% on industrial tariffs. For the developing countries the benefits of the agreement will flow under GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariff) principle of multilateral extension of tariff concessions on the basis of reciprocity.

The British Commonwealth. Commonwealth is the word which came into general use to describe the association between Britain and the old Dominions—Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Northern Ireland. Britain had built up an empire where 'the sun never set.' In the nineteenth century these areas were described as

'British Empire'. Then after Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and Northern Ireland became independent they were still associated with Britain by ties closer than between the most friendly foreign countries. These ties were of unconscious growth in response to practical needs and were never planned beforehand. These bonds remained strong in spite of the development of different societies in a very different circumstance.

The revolt of the North American colonies in the end of nineteenth century prompted the British rulers to appoint Lord Durham to enquire into the needs of revaluation of the British colonial policy in Canada in the altered situation. The outcome was the famous Durham report. The Durham report advocated the need of a gradual emancipation of the British colonies towards a state of complete independence. It has exercised an increasing influence in the evaluation of a policy of granting complete independence to the colonies. The Durham Report recommended that the colonies should be granted self-government. The Durham recommendations to free the colonies, however, applied only to the European colonies. There were certain spheres, however, where the British control was to continue. These included foreign relations, land and defence as also external trade. These colonies after 1907 were designated as Dominions, though they were granted Dominion status only at a later period. From 1907 onwards the Premiers of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Irish Free State for some time attended various conferences with Great Britain. These conferences, though without any legal status, evolved agreements regarding the general policy of the Empire. Their resolutions were subsequently submitted to the home government for acceptance.

The First World War forged the relations of Great Britain and her Dominions more closely due to the dependence of Britain on them for the help that they rendered for gaining victory. The Dominions became signatories to the Peace Treaties and were accepted as members of the League. The post-Versaills period saw the rise of the Dominions as sovereign Powers. The Dominion of Canada, for instance, signed a number of treaties with the United States and European nations. Australia claimed the right of choosing its own Governor-General in 1930, and in 1931 the Irish Free State assumed its own great seal. The League of Nations granted South Africa mandate to govern South West Africa. This change of relation was recognized in the Imperial Conference of 1926. This Conference defined Dominion Status in the Balfour note which stated that "they are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no

way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations". The Balfour note was followed by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. The Statute further emphasized the independence of the Dominions by legalizing their status. Henceforth, an act of the British government unless accepted by the Dominion legislatures would not be enforced in the Dominions. Great Britain and the Dominions appointed High Commissioners in the Commonwealth countries.

In 1947 it was decided that India and Pakistan should be granted independence. India became a Democratic Republic and together with Pakistan decided to remain inside the Commonwealth. At first the extension of the Commonwealth concept to the two independent states in this subcontinent did not involve any constitutional difficulty. But subsequently India adopted a republican constitution with an elected President. It presented the problem of adjusting the allegiance to the Crown with the Indian Constitution which created a sovereign Democratic Republic. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, however, agreed to extend the Commonwealth concept to include India without asking her to accept the familiar allegiance to the British Crown as in the case of the old Commonwealth countries. The Queen remains for India and such other countries which adopted a republican constitution and were included in the Commonwealth subsequently as the symbol of unity of the free association of nations. Pakistan, Malaya, Ghana and various other states followed the suit of India. But Burma severed her relations with the Commonwealth. The Irish Free State which remained neutral during the World War II also did the same in 1949. It proved the voluntary character of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth concept. The character and nature of Commonwealth defies definition. As the years passed the Commonwealth idea became more mythical, though it did not lose its appeal. The term Dominion implies an inferior status, but as the self-governing members in their international relations behaved as sovereign states the term 'Commonwealth' came more and more into favour. But the lack of precision in the nature of relations of the members of the Commonwealth has created much difficulty. The political machinery of the Commonwealth is not too rigidly defined and there is ample leeway for experiment.

The political machinery for the Commonwealth has undergone much change. The colonial administration of the mid-nineteenth

century became obsolete for Canada. Australia and New Zealand attained Dominion status prior to World War I. Their position improved when like sovereign states they signed the treaty of Versailles and became members of the League. Occasionally their foreign policy was at variance (for instance, in 1922 the Dominions turned a dear ear to Lloyd George's appeal when a quarrel over Bosphorus threatened war). Generally, however, the Commonwealth policy was in harmony. In the post-World War II period the Commonwealth countries on many questions differed among themselves. But still in international politics the Commonwealth countries constitute a British bloc. There are machineries of co-operation through different agencies like the Commonwealth relations office and the Commonwealth conferences. A number of special Committees exist to co-ordinate inter-Commonwealth economic and political co-operation.

The Commonwealth, however, is neither a federation nor a confederation. It is a free association and its voluntary character is proved by the right of nations to secede. It has no recognized constitutional organization and no common set of purpose as in a confederation. There is no Central Authority and division of power among members, neither is there any recognized judiciary to decide issue between members. It has no set rights and duties defined.

What then is the common bond that holds the different states together? It is mainly tradition. The Commonwealth countries include men of different races and colour but they have inherited the same cultural outlook and parliamentary tradition from Great Britain. The English common law tradition and long association with Great Britain have led to the development of political and economic ties. The two World Wars demonstrated their solidarity. The great idea, therefore, that has held together the Commonwealth countries, in an unwritten constitution, is the liberal democratic ideal in or without the Commonwealth. The sense of a common mission, the joy in a common victory, the tie with sterling area (excepting for Canada) all these so far have held together the Commonwealth countries.

Commonwealth, World Politics and Discordant factors. The Commonwealth is no longer the centre of a great empire. It played an effective part in world politics so long as the British navy had unchallenged supremacy and the nations and races therein did not develop their own national states. But even during the last war Australia, New Zealand and to a certain extent India could be held together only through active help from the United States. In the World War II period the rise of super-powers, Russia and U.S.A., has reduced the importance of the Commonwealth. The bipolar

division of the world and the 'Cold War' which resulted from the rivalry of the giants has reduced the importance of Great Britain as a Great Power. That the Commonwealth countries can no longer depend upon her for defence is evident from the conclusion of the Anzus treaty between U.S.A., New Zealand and Australia. The realization of the weakness of Great Britain came with the failure of the Egyptian adventure in 1956. Spiritually and materially, Britain has lost the leading position in post-World War II period. In the nuclear and missile age which has followed World War II it has become clear that only powers with gigantic economic resources can remain in the top class, and in the world of today there are only two such Powers. It is true that Britain can have nuclear weapons. But to maintain all the expenses of nuclear weapons, to explore all the avenues of the atomic age and to meet all the new types of threat in a world divided due to 'Cold War' is more than what Britain can face. Britain decided in January, 1968 to wtihdraw from all military bases east of Suez, except for a small one in Hongkong by 1971. In the following June, however, the British defence secretary Mr. Danish Healey told the 5 nations defence conference in S.E. Asia that British forces will be made available for the defence of S.E. Asia at the time of need even after its pull out in 1971. This pledge was confirmed subsequently. The Commonwealth and the British Empire could have accepted the challenge had it remained intact. But the liquidation of the Empire in the post-war period has made the Commonwealth today weak due to the tendency of its members to look elsewhere for support and strength.

Britain, today, is no longer the centre of a Great empire or of a great worldwide community of nations. Britain is no longer a great power but a powerful state with bases and colonial possessions scattered all over the globe and with imponderable relation of friendship with Commonwealth countries. The concept of Commonwealth, however, has undergone such a complete change that at present to many member countries it is a polite relationship and not a political reality. The foreign policy of India has diverted completely from the British and the Kashmir problem has resulted in continuing clash between two Commonwealth countries. In August, 1965 Pakistan sent organised groups of infiltrators in Kashmir, and Pakistan's armed forces crossed the international border. Surprisingly enough Britain sympathized with Pakistan. Pakistani aggression was frustrated by the Indian armed forces. The matter was brought before the Security Council which imposed a ceasefire by a resolution adopted on September 22, 1965. Pakistan vented its anger for the debacle with India

on poor Malaysia by snapping diplomatic ties. Malaysia's crime was that she did not support Pakistan, as the latter presumed it should, because of religious affinities. Thus Pakistan adopted a completely unheard of diplomatic move against a fellow member of the Commonwealth and demonstrated the hollowness of the Commonwealth concept. Prior to this event Afro-Asian groups differed from Britain and the three old Dominions on many questions. In 1961 the Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth forced South Africa to give up her membership. But that was a concerted move taken at least collectively. Whereas Pakistan's action was unilateral and created a precedence both ominous and significant for the Commonwealth. Among the discordant factors that disturbed Commonwealth relations the unilateral Declaration of Independence by the illegal Ian Smith Government of Rhodesia (Nov. 11, 1965) should be regarded as most prominent. The relations of Britain with the Ian Smith regime continued to deteriorate following the breakdown of the "Tigar" negotiations over the interim arrangements for controlling the country during a return to legality. The adherence by the British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Wilson to NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule) and application to the UN for mandatory sanctions (agreed to by a majority resolution of the Security Council in December, 1966) lessened the possibility of agreement. A second Wilson-Smith meeting aboard the British Warship 'Fearless' in Gibraltar Harbour, in October, 1968, proved as fruitless as the first one. The categorical part of the six-point document handed over to Smith was said to be the implementation of the first two principles—advancement of Africans to a common roll which would thus give them majority and guarantee against impeding their advance through constitutional amendment. The British Government stated that there had been no change of the policy of NIBMAR. But it is alleged that the British Government by expressly accepting the principle of white domination in the interim period has given Smith regime a long lease of life.

Most of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers of the 28 nations who met for nine days in the Commonwealth Conference held in London in the first week of January, 1969 rejected British proposals which they felt ran counter to NIBMAR and pleaded for the use of force. Mr. Wilson in his turn made known the limits of Britain's capability in this regard. Another problem which came before the Commonwealth Conference of 1969 was the question of immigrants. The immigration problem was the direct outcome of the policy of Africanization pursued by East African countries including Kenya,

Uganda, Zambia, Tanzania etc. and the refusal of Britain to accommodate Asians holding British passport. The question of immigration had been raised at informal meetings outside the Commonwealth Conference but these had failed mainly because of Britain's refusal to give an assurance that immigration was her responsibility. The African countries had told India that the policy of withdrawing licenses from non-African traders was aimed only against people who were not citizens of the countries concerned. The communique issued after the conference condemned South African policy of aparthied. hoped that China would be accorded her rightful position in international community and appealed to all countries involved in the Middle Eastern crisis to support the Jarring mission. Some of the members of the Commonwealth, however, stressed that the people of Taiwan should be accorded the right to independent existence if they chose. This hardly conforms to India's stated policy in the matter. The conference was described by some as "unique". But it revealed that the difference among the members had in some questions been so wide that there was hardly any chance of finding an accord in certain important matters. Thus the effectiveness and potentiality of Commonwealth has been reduced. Britain also realized the truth when she applied for membership of the Common Market and closer integration with Western Europe.

Ideological Ties. But the appeal of Commonwealth still persists in a network of personal and institutional relationship which defies any simple description. These ideological links of the Commonwealth are tolerance, respect for freedom and progressive democracy. In spite of gradually declining economic and military solidarity these ideological links still play a great part in forging the unity of the Commonwealth countries.

The Commonwealth idea has played a great part in providing for tolerance. In the British Commonwealth of Nations men of various races, tribes and religions have lived together. Apart from the French, Canadians, Africans or other nations of European stock, varied races like Indians, Red Indians, Maoris, Australian aborigins and so many different peoples lived in the Commonwealth. The fact that the manner of ending the British Empire has been more elegant than that of other modern empires demonstrates the spirit of tolerances in the Commonwealth idea. The readiness to accept countries like India which after independence adopted republican form of government, has proved beyond doubt the flexible character of the Commonwealth concept. This graciousness has spared the British much pain during the transition. If there is a blood bath in India or Kenya

or Malaya the British were spared in most cases. This was largely due to the graciousness with which Great Britain agreed to withdraw from the colonies once she realized the fruitlessness to stick to it. In the colonial policy pursued by Great Britain she did not always win love or affection. Rather party strife and acceleration of the national liberation movements in the colonies had resulted in hatred towards British imperialism. In the post-World War II period Britain gave up her empire because her political elite had ceased to believe that it could or should be maintained. In the past British colonial policy was marked by concessions to self-government and in the post-war period she was realistic enough to recognize in many cases the need to grant self-government and independence. This has provided the background for maintaining most of the states which achieved independence within the fold of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth idea drew its strength from another source. This is the tradition of liberal democracy. Most of the old Dominions accepted the liberal democratic form of government. Australia, Canada and New Zealand are not only bound with Britain by a common outlook in foreign policy and military and economic alliances but also by democratic principles which drew inspiration from the parliamentary institutions of Britain. India also accepted a democratic form of government. But this is not true of Pakistan though very recently she has adopted what she terms as a basic democracy. In India, the parliamentary and democratic traditions of Britain have been accepted as a model. In Ghana democratic principles have suffered due to the establishment of a military dictatorship. The Commonwealth ties have resulted in unity in diversity among people living in different parts of the globe. The ideological basis has served so far to maintain a unique type of organisation. But will it last long? The development of military technology and the revelation of political disunity has demonstrated the fragility of the Commonwealth. It may be argued that economically the Commonwealth is still a force to be reckoned with. In 1960 the value of British export to Commonwealth countries was £1,515 million and the value of imports was £1,754 million. British import and export in the same year to the Common Market was £662 million and £562 million respectively. In spite of the fact that the Commonwealth figures in export or import nearly doubled that of corresponding figures for the Common Market in 1960, in the next year Britain moved for admission to the Common Market. This was largely due to the realization of the fact that the rapid industrialization of the Commonwealth countries would reduce the possibility of profitable trade in these countries

in future. In May, 1967 Britain applied for ECM membership for the second time and once again was refused admission to the Common Market. Britain feels that her road to recovery lay in joining the Western European Economic Community. The economic interdependence of the sterling area unites the Commonwealth countries in the meanwhile. The trade of the sterling area with the Dollar area is carried on through the London money market. Britain is interested in the development of the Commonwealth countries and promptly pledged £300,000,000 to the project for the economic development of the Commonwealth countries.

British Foreign Policy in the Post-World War II Era. In the post-war era Britain was forced to give up unilateralism. This was lagely the outcome of the consequences of the World War II. It resulted in a rapid decline of Britain as a world Power. During the war much of the foreign assets on which Britain's prosperity largely depended was liquidated. At the end of the war Britain found herself nearly bankrupt and saddled with a large amount of international debt. Her industrial plants were outworn and her trade threatened with competition from friend and foe alike. Many formerly underdeveloped countries including India now rapidly developed their industries. Europe shattered in defeat recovered rapidly with American aid. These new factories were often more efficient than the obsolescent plants on which the British firms had to rely. Devaluing the pound sterling in November, 1967 did not bring the balance of payment into the clear in 1968 as the architects of devaluation had hoped. In the atomic and missile age Britain found it safe to discard a policy of unilateralism. Because under present state of Britain's economic condition it is neither possible nor desirable for her to maintain nuclear weapons independently. British response to the post-war problems of the empire has been a realistic one. Britain gave up her empire because the British political elite had ceased to believe that it could be maintained. Britain gave up the empire more decorously than other European Powers and replaced it by the extension of the Commonwealth idea to most of the countries of Asia and Africa which agreed to stay inside it. In 1947 India and Pakistan, in 1948 Burma and Ceylon, in 1956 the Federation of Malaya and later still various other new states in Afro-Asian countries emerged from the disappearing empire. Britain's position as a unique type of power gradually became a myth. But still the followers of the old school of imperialism believed in Britain's greatness. The rude shock of the failure of Suez adventure in 1956 demonstrated to Britain her weakness. In fact, Britain's position in

many of the areas of her old empire has been taken by U.S.A. and even old Dominions like New Zealand and Australia joined in the Anzus Pact to gain security outside Commonwealth. The UDI of illegal Smith regime and Britain's unwillingness to use force to bring Rhodesia to task has created discontent in the Commonwealth countries belonging to Asia and Africa. In the Middle East Britain's abandonment of Greece, Palestine, Turkey and other areas induced America to fill up the vacuum thus created. The trade with Communist China, though U.SA. extended recognition to Nationalist China, demonstrates Britain's unwillingness to involve in complication in the Far-East. But in South-East Asia and Middle East she has joined SEATO and CENTO to gain collective security under American leadership. In Europe British policy is not so clear. Britain joined NATO but refused to join the EDC. Since 1945 Britain held aloof in many cases from the move for Western European integration. She joined Western European Union but refused to join ECSC and the Common Market. Her attempt to gain subsequent admission to Common Market has been frustrated by the French. The French veto prevented British entry to ECM in 1963 and again in 1967. But Britain's prospect for recovery, it has been argued by many, lies in a road back to Europe. The Commonwealth no longer serves British interest and is outmoded. It became apparent in 1969 Commonwealth Conference that Britain no longer holds a dominant position in the Commonwealth. Still the appeal of Commonwealth holds good and Britain in the meanwhile finds herself in a difficult situation.

Militarily Britain's policies have been as indecisive as her policies regarding economic integration with Europe. The decision of Britain to follow a policy of joining Anglo-American nuclear club as a junior partner has estranged Western European nations. Meanwhile Britain had slashed down her defence expenditure. Britain decided in January, 1968 to withdraw from all military bases east of Suez except for a small one in Hongkong by 1971.

British relation with U.S.A. has reduced her to the position of a permanent aircraft carrier for the United States. One of the reasons for De Gaulle's refusal to admit Britain in the Common Market is the fear entertained by Western European nations that Britain would serve as an American 'Trojan horse'. Another factor in British foreign policy is her desire to reach an understanding with the communist bloc about Germany and Peking. The new British policy of a compromise is, however, at variance with the United States policy of containment.

SUMMARY

Economic Integration. In the post-World War II era devastated Europe received massive U.S.A. aid through the Marshall Plan in 1947. European response to receive the aid resulted in the birth of a number of complex international organisations some of which were super-national in character. In 1948 sixteen European nations (Britain, France, Austria, Iceland, Ireland, Greece, Switzerland, Turkey, the Benelux countries and Scandinavian states) created the organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). The rebuilding activities of the OEEC resulted in the raising of industrial and agriculture production to pre-war level by 1963. But the impact of the Korean war resulted in armaments expenditure. The OEEC moreover lost control over allocation of funds to member states and the emphasis on military aid further weakend its position. In 1960 a special committe recommended broodening of economic and trade policies. A still further development of the organisation was the European Payments Union (EPU)—a sort of clearing house for currency stabilization.

The Schuman Plan or European Coal and Steel Community. France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries signed an agreement to establish the ECSC. The purpose though economic had also the political aim of rapprochement between France and West Germany. It abolished all custom duties and discrimination with regard to Coal and Steel industries. It had four principal organs—(a) A High Authority; (b) A Common Assembly; (c) A Special Council of Ministers and (d) A Court of Justice composed of 7 Judges. The High Authority is a super-national body which makes decisions. Other organs were created to help, advise and control the High Authority. In certain cases the Council must be consulted and in others the Council merely stamp the decision of the 'High Authority.' The Assembly meets at Strasburg. France, Germany and Italy send 18 members each, Belgium and Holland 10 each and Luxembourg 4. A censure motion from the Assembly may lead to the resignation of the High Authority. Great Britain's insular outlook prevented her from joining this organisation. It has improved coal and steel production by 36 per cent in 5 years which far exceeds the rate of development in Britain and the United States.

European Common Market. The group of six countries constituting ECSC decided by the Treaty of Rome (1957) to set up the Common Market with a single tariff law and devoid of all trade barriers. It will equalize wages, social conditions, taxes and fiscal policies for nearly 170 million peoples. The objective of the Common Market will be achieved by the elimination of tariff and subsidy to industries by members. The members will specialize on particular commodities in which they have advantage. It will lead to such improvements in technology as the introduction of automation and release trade from national rsetrictions. In agriculture, however, protectionist tradition is difficult to overcome and agricultural marketing will be carried on through boards till a common policy is evolved. A European Investment Bank with one thousand Dollars as capital (subscribed by members) will check temporary setbacks. There are six principal organs of which the Court and the As-

sembly will be shared with ECSC and Euratom. The Permanent Executive European Commission is a super-national body but the Council of Ministers, another organ of the Common Market, may reject its decision. A special organ called Monetary Committee was created to co-ordinate the fiscal policy of the members. On French insistence the overseas colonies were included in the Common Market. An overseas Bank with a capital of $58 million was created. Members gave contributions in proportion to the need for the development of the colonies of the Powers concerned. It affected British export of coffee, cocoa and banana from colonies.

Britain and the Common Market. Britain had refused to join the Schuman Plan and EDC and held aloof from Europe. Though Britain joined the Western European Union she did not attend the Messina Conference nor did she sign the Treaty of Rome (1957) which led to creation of the Common Market. On the other hand British proposal for a free trade area broke down due to French opposition. In 1959 Britain created as a counter-poise European Free Trade Area (EFTA) composed of the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Switzerland, Portugal and Britain. The 'Outer Seven' led by Britain sought entrance in the Common Market but was refused by France, the leader of the 'Inner Six' in 1963. One of the reasons for the refusal seems to be British decision to join the Anglo-American nuclear club as a junior partner. Britain had a sort of European Monroe doctrine read out to her. In May, 1967 Britain again applied for membership of the ECM. But again a French veto prevented British entry into Common Market. But in future she may gain admission provided she turns her face towards Europe.

The Third Force. The Common Market is the soul of European unity. But a return of prosperity may contribute to rift in the Atlantic community. Already American business is facing difficulties in Western Europe and the rift may widen when the Common Market will impose barrier against import. In May, 1967 the Kennedy round of talks resulted in a 30% reduction of industrial tariffs. For the developing countries the benefits will flow under GATT principle of multilateral extension of tarrif concession.

Commonwealth. The first significant landmark in the evolution of the Commonwealth is the Durham report of 1838 which pleaded that the best way of keeping the colonies is to free them. There are four spheres—external trade, external relations, land and defence—to be reserved for direct control by Britain. From 1907 the colonies were designed as Dominions and in 1919 they signed the Peace Treaties and became members of League. The Dominions signed new treaties (for example U.S.A.-Canada treaty) and accepted mandates (South-West Africa to South Africa) and the Balfour note in the Imperial Conference of 1926 defined their status as autonomous Communities within the Empire and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth. In 1947 the Commonwealth concept was extended to include India and Pakistan, and subsequently various other new states that emerged from the declining empire. India had adopted a Republican constitution yet in the 1949 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference found accommodation for her.

Commonwealth Concept. The concept of Commonwealth cannot be defined. The political machinery of the Commonwealth has left ample

leeway for experiment. The Commonwealth countries have differed from one another (and sometime entered into hostilities as in the Kashmir issue) still in international policies they constitute the British bloc. There are many agencies for Commonwealth co-operation such as Commonwealth Relations Office and Prime Ministers' Conference.

The Commonwealth is neither a federation with a central authority, a high judiciary and a separation of power among components nor a confederation with set purpose. Its common tradition of English Common law and long association, with liberal democratic ideology and ties with sterling area has proved to be an enduring bond.

Commonwealth World Politics and Discordant factors. The World War II reduced Britain to a medium power. She could not undertake the responsibility of worldwide connections and shifted it to U.S.A. In the missile age only a super-power like U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. can maintain nuclear weapon. Britain can no longer play the role and her friendship with Commonwealth countries though imponderable has undergone such a complete change as to reduce the Commonwealth to a polite relationship and not a political reality. Britain has decided to withdraw all military bases east of Suez (except Hongkong) by 1971.

The Commonwealth has developed many discordant factors. The Indo-Pakistan quarrel over Kashmir, the expulsion of South Africa in 1961, the Anzus pact and the SEATO demonstrate that the Commonwealth has outlived its usefulness. The severance of displomatic ties between Pakistan and Malaysia has created unheard of precedence and demonstrated the hollowness of the Commonwealth concept. In the Commonwealth Conference of 28 nations held in January, 1969 most members criticised Britain's Rhodesia policy. British policy towards Asian immigrants holding British passport also came under the fire of criticism. Still ideological ties such as tolerance, respect for freedom and progressive democracy persist to keep alive the bond of unity. The Commonwealth embraces variety of races and creeds and its flexibility is demonstrated by the extension of the concept to include India and other states with Republican constitution. Britain due to its policy of developing self-government in colonies has retained goodwill of the countries she ruled once. There have been cases of colonial repression but much bitterness has been avoided by the gradual recognition of self-government. Another tie of unity is the liberal democratic tradition, though in fact, liberal democracy has been actually established in the three old Dominions and India. In Pakistan after several years of military rule limited democratic rights have been recognized in the basic democracy introduced recently. In states like Ghana democratic ideal is yet to be accepted. Economic tie with Britain and interdependence in the Sterling area serves as another bond of unity in the Commonwealth countries.

British Foreign Policy in the Post-War Era has undergone a basic change because Britain has given up her policy of unilateralism. This policy resulted largely due to the liquidation of her foreign investments in the last war. Britain in the post-war period faced competition from friend and foe alike. The former colonies like India developed their resources while massive American aid rapidly developed post-war Europe. Britain with obsolescent plants found it difficult to compete with the ad-

vanced techniques acquired by continental industries. Devaluation of pound sterling in 1967 did not produce the desired effect of restoring the balance of payment. The post-war period also saw the liquidation of the British empire in Asia and Africa. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Ghana, Uganda and various other states emerged from the rapidly disappearing empire. Though the Commonwealth concept was extended to include many of them yet growing British weakness reduced the Commonwealth itself into a polite rlationship. It was evident in the 1968 Commonwealth Conference that Britain had lost dominant position. Even Australia and New Zealand entered into the Anzus Pact with U.S.A. Britain could no longer discharge her worldwide responsibility and was replaced by U.S.A. in most areas. Britain has decided to withdraw from all military bases east of Suez except Hongkong by 1971.

British policy with regard to Europe is not, however, clear. Britain joined NATO but refused to join the EDC. Britain joined the Western European Union but refused to associate herself with ECSC and the Common Market where her subsequent attempt in 1963 and 1967 to gain admission has failed. Britain's decision to join Anglo-American nuclear club as a junior partner has made her unpopular with France. Britain's ties with U.S.A. have virtually reduced her to a permanent aircraft carrier for U.S.A. and one of the reasons for the refusal of France to admit Britain in the Common Market is the fear of increasing American influence. Britain, however, differ from American Far-Eastern policy and advocates compromise with Peking and Moscow.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Clark, Colin : British Trade in the Common Market.
2. Coatman, J. : The British Commonwealth of Nations.
3. Crowley, D W. : The Background to Current Affairs.
4. Friedman, W. : An Introduction to World Politics.
5. Hartmann, Fredrick, H. : The Relations of Nations.
6. Schleicher, Charles, P. : International Relations—Co-operation and Conflict.
7. Smith, Gordon-Connel : Pattern of the Post-War World.

Chapter 17

Middle East

The term 'Middle East' is difficult to define. The area is sometimes referred to as Near East. From India's point of view it should be called West Asia. It includes "all the Asian countries south of the Soviet Union and west of Pakistan." It also includes countries situated between Turkey in the west to Afghanistan in the east with a total population of nearly 90 millions and an area as large as the United States. In the global strategy of the atomic age it includes Pakistan as well. Its geographical and strategical importance lies in the fact that it is the meeting ground of three continents—Asia, Europe and Africa. This area includes world's two most important waterways—the Straits connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean and the Suez connecting the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. The shortest air and water routes from Europe to Asia lie through the Middle East. Therefore the importance of Middle East cannot be overemphasized. Apart from geographical and strategical importance of the Middle East its uniqueness consists in the fact that it is the centre of Islamic culture and moreover in Palestine it possesses the holy place of Muslims, Jews and Christians alike.

The area may be roughly divided into two halves. On the northern belt—Turkey, Afghanistan and Iran bordering the Soviet Union and consisting of a population of nearly 48 million and another the 'Arab core' of nearly 42 million. The area is populated by a multiplicity of races and religions.

The one single factor that has more than anything else enhanced the importance of Middle East in world politics is the fact that "under the arid soil of some sections of the Middle East, lies the greatest single reserve of oil, the black-gold of nations".[1] The dependence of

1. George Lenczowski: The Middle East in World Affairs, p. XIX.

Western Europe in a possible future conflict against USSR on Middle Eastern oil resource brings to the forefront the strategic importance of this area. Oil is essential in any problem of defence and it is vital for Western Europe to supplement the oil supply from U.S.A. by gaining access to Middle East. More than half of the oil reserve of the world it is believed belongs to Middle East. In 1953 the estimated reserve amounted to about 62 billion barrels. Much of the area has not been explored as yet because most of the oil deposits are in desert region.

Arab Awakening. Oil politics in Middle East has faced today grave danger from the western point of view due to Arab awakening. The acceleration of the national liberation movement in the Middle East and the sharpening of the struggle against western imperialism was a process of slow growth until after the World War II. The hostility of the Arabs against the West started soon after the World War I. It was easy for Europeans to gain extra-territoriality and other privileges by forcing concessions from the Turkish and Persian Empires at a time when they were in decline. England, Germany, Austria, France and Russia gained these privileges by granting loans in the Middle East prior to 1914. The two important waterways of the Middle East, the Straits and the Suez canal, were under foreign control. The former became a bone of contention between Anglo-French powers and Russia. The Suez which was opened in 1869 went completely under the control of Anglo-French powers. Egypt, too, went virtually under British rule, and became a British protectorate in 1914. During the World War I the Arabs were induced to join hands with the Allied powers with a vague promise for freedom while in fact the secret agreement known as the Sykes-Picot agreement had decided the fate of the Arab countries. According to this agreement France was to receive the control of Syria and Lebanon and Britain would acquire the control over Palestine. At the same time to gain the support of the Jewish community during the war, Britain had held out the promise of creating a national home for the Jews in Palestine. The establishment of French mandate over Syria and Lebanon and British mandate over Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq disillusioned the Arabs about the west. The west imposed mandates upon Middle Eastern countries and in the eyes of the Arabs the Western powers merely replaced the Turks. "When they arranged this settlement the British thought of themselves as liberators of the Arabs from the Turks, but the Arabs thought of them as new Turks."

The impact of the West upon Arabs produced not only a strong desire to break the bonds of imperialist chain but also a desire to ab-

sorb the political ideals. Conservative elements of course tried to preserve the old ways from the onslaught of modernism but the advanced elements in society tried to gain mastery of western techniques in order to drive out the Western Powers. The whole of Middle East was inspired by Mustapha Kemal, the father of modern Turkey. The new nationalism challenged not only western domination but undermined native vested interest and feudalism. This newly awakened national spirit was sharpened in a period of intense power conflict which followed at the end of the World War II.

The West, however, tried to dominate the scene. In 1922, Britain unilaterally proclaimed Egyptian independence with reservations which virtually took away real power. Great Britain intervened often though in 1936 the Anglo-Egyptian treaty conceded some of the Egyptian demands. But during the World War II military necessity overrode all respect for Egyptian aspirations. In Syria, the French alienated the people by their disregard of the local aspirations. In Iraq, Prime Minister Rashid Ali was driven out for his pro-Axis sympathy. For the same reason Reza Shah, the Shah of Iran, was deposed. But the end of the World War II saw the acceleration of the Arab national movement. Imperialism attempted to ally itself with its local agents to stem the tide in vain. The status quo in the Middle East was overthrown and monarchies tumbled. In Egypt a revolutionary government came into existence in 1952 and in 1958 the United Arab Republic was established. In Iraq a revolutionary government was established the same year. In 1962 Yemen saw the establishment of a progressive government under Abullah el Salal. In Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and practically in all Arab states national movement was crowned with the achievement of freedom. Thus far-reaching political and economic forces were released and the failure of Britain and France to appreciate these forces led to their misadventure to undo the Suez nationalisation and consequent failure in the year 1956.

Another feature of Middle Eastern politics is the Arab-Jewish conflict. The deliberate imposition of the Jewish question in the Middle Eastern politics is a part of the imperialist strategy. The Jewish attempt to gain a national home in Palestine was encouraged by the Balfour declaration and since then the problem passed through different stages till in 1948 it resulted in the creation of Israel. Israel has come to stay in spite of concerted Arab opposition and armed intervention of the Arab States. "The Arabs accepted an armistice with Israel; they would not convert it into a peace. The war of revenge, the next round hung before their eyes. That has become one

of the fixed topics of Middle East politics."[2] The Arab-Jewish conflict provides an explosive factor in Middle East politics.

The worldwide conflict of giants has affected the politics of Middle East as of all other countries. The dominant position occupied in the Middle East by France and Britain had to be relinquished in face of persistent opposition from Arab nationalism. But the two superpowers U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. in their effort to win over Middle Eastern countries have pursued opposite aims. The Truman doctrine was directed to check possible Russian expansion in Turkey, the heart of Middle East. In 1957 the Eishenhower doctrine declared the intention of extending American aid to any Middle Eastern country. The landing of U.S.A. marines in Lebanon in 1958 signified the intention to carry out this policy in effect. U.S.S.R. on the other hand successfully protested against Anglo-French invasion of Egypt and in 1958 against U.S.A. and British landings in Lebanon and Jordan. The 1967 Arab-Israel conflict and subsequent Arab-Israel confrontation in spite of U.N. attempt at mediation through Dr. Jarring, is largely the outcome of cold war politics.

The grim poverty of the general mass of people, the stark contrast between the great metropalitan centres such as Istanbul and the timeless Arab Sheikdoms, and the contrast between the wealthy few and poor many has created ferment in the Middle East. Although Islam is a barrier to the spread of communism, yet the fact that the feudalism is a reality in many parts of the Middle East has resulted in smouldering discontent that may help the radical ideas. Egypt, the leader of Arab unity, however, has set its face against communists. Nasser has his own view about the future of Egypt and Arab unity. The Russian shadow over Middle East prompted the formation of the Baghdad Pact with Britain, Iraq, Pakistan and Iran. The defection of the latter country under Prime Minister Mossadegh who desired to nationalise the Abodan Oil Refinery of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company was frustrated in 1953 by the Shah and the pro-western group in Iran. Iraq under General Kassem broke away not only from Baghdad Pact but also from Nasser's leadership and received ample support from the left forces in the country. But in 1962 Kassem was killed in a coup d'etat organised by one of his lieutenants Arif—a pro-Egyptian statesman. Yet the 1967 Arab-Israel conflict has increased Soviet influence and aid to the Arab world. Col. Arif was killed in an air crash and was replaced by his brother Abdul Rahaman Arif. In July, 1968 a pro Ba'athist military coup resulted in his fall.

---

2. See Guy Wint and Peter Calvocress: Middle East in Crisis.

To sum up, therefore, "Arab nationalism, Western imperialism and Zionism are the three main factors that have conditioned Middle Eastern politics since the end of the World War I." The intensification of the 'Cold War' in post-World War II era added new problems. The fear of communist penetration and Western response in forming military alliances has made the Middle Eastern problem a part of international politics.

Arab League and Arab Unity. The Arab states though united in their opposition to Israel have often failed to act concertedly. In order to cement the friendship among the Arab states an understanding was reached in 1944 by Syria, Transjordan, Iraq, Lebanon, and Egypt. On March 22, 1945 the agreement to form the Arab League was signed by the above states. H.M. the King of Yemen and H.M. the King of Saudi Arabia also signed the agreement. Thus the League of the independent Arab States was brought into existence. It provided for a permanent Secretary-General. The first Secretary-General Abdur Rahman Azam Bey was named in the annexe. The object of the Arab League was to preserve the independence of the participant states and to establish unity and collaboration among them not only in political affairs but also in financial, cultural and other affairs of common interest. The League was a loose federation of sovereign Arab states. In the Council composed of the representative of participants (with a single vote for each state) the League was provided with a machinery for co-operation. Its headquarter was Cairo. The Arab states agreed to settle disputes among themselves peacefully and the League was authorized to arbitrate in a dispute between them. The decisions of the League by a majority vote were binding on members who agreed to respect each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Arab States agreed not to undermine status quo in member countries, but nothing in the covenant prevented closer collaboration of Arab states with each other. In an annexe Palestine (though not a member) was granted representation in the Council. Sudan, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco joined the League in 1958. Britain had sponsored the action for Arab unity at the expense of the French or the Zionists when in 1941 she conquered Syria and Lebanon and found it necessary to counteract pro-Axis activity by a bid for Arab friendship. The Arab League made considerable achievement in the field of non-political activities including cultural and economic co-operation. But it failed when in 1948 the Arab states attempted to take concerted action against Israel. Abdullah of Transjordan entertained the ambitious plan of uniting the Arabs and considered the war against Israel as the first step in his plan to

bring Palestine under his control. In this he received support from Haji Amin, the Mufti of Palestine. It went directly against the interest of Egypt. The breakdown of inter-Arab co-operation in the face of Jewish onslaught resulted in defeat. The British withdrew their support from the League because of its anti-British activity under Egyptian leadership. The attempt of Abdullah to unite Syria with Transjordan further weakened the League dominated by Egypt. The conclusion of Baghdad Pact created further fissure in the League due to the defection of Iraq. Egypt now concluded military alliance with Syria and Saudi Arabia. The actions of the League demonstrates clearly its weakness. A League which originated under British patronage and was meant to be an association of Arab states proved to be a weak instrument for Arab unity. Though in course of time it became anti-British in its outlook yet the contradiction of inter-Arab relation baffled the League. The ambition of Egypt to dominate the League alienated Iraq and in the same way each state aimed at gaining predominance at the expense of the other. The Bourgiuba proposals to extend partial recognition to Israel has caused further rift in the Arab League.

Factors that complicated settlement in Middle East in the post-Versailles era. With the outbreak of the World War I Britain, instead of pursuing her long accepted policy of maintaining the Ottoman Empire, undertook the task of undermining it by encouraging the Arabs to achieve independence. Britain decided to assign to the Arab States the dual role of protecting the route to India and to act as buffer states against possible Russian expansion southwards. With this end in view Britain had promised independence to the Arabs and an implicit understanding of recognizing Sherif Hussein of Mecca and his sons as independent rulers. The Hashemite dynasty, therefore, co-operated with the Anglo-French powers against the Turks. At the end of the war, however, the claim of Sherif Hussein and his ambition of becoming the Caliph of the faithful (the Turks had deposed the Caliph at Constantinople) was challenged by Ibn Saud, the leader of the Wahhabis. An open clash between Hussain and Ibn Saud led to the defeat of the former. Hussain lost not only Mecca but also the dream of uniting the Arabs under his sway. Arab disunity was encouraged by Britain which subsidized both Hussain and Ibn Saud.

The British agreement with the Arabs could not be implemented because of Britain's wartime deals with the Jews and the Allied powers. The Allied powers had concluded a series of agreements with a view to dividing the former Turkish possessions. These agree-

ments included a vague promise to Italy of a share in the Mediterranean region adjacent to Adalia (in Asia Minor). Among the Allied wartime deals the most important was the secret Sykes-Picot agreement concluded in May, 1916, long before the Hashimites were given the promise of freedom. France, Britain and Russia had by this pact agreed to divide the Arab countries among themselves. The defeat of Russia in the war followed by the Bolshevik Revolution eliminated the possibility of any Russian interference in the post-war settlement. Italy was too weak to enforce her claims. The Anglo-French powers, however, were determined to establish their hold in the Middle East on the basis of the Sykes-Picot agreement which had promised the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon and had allotted Iraq and Palestine to the British. The Arabs were subsequently assured of independence and were in blissful ignorance of the secret deals.

Another factor which stood in the way of the implementation of the assurance given to the Arabs was the Balfour declaration of 2nd November, 1917. The British Government had promised by this declaration to create a Jewish national home in Palestine. This promise was held out to win the Zionist support for Allied wartime efforts. Thus imperialism was playing in the Middle East the familiar game of holding out apparently contradictory promises to opposing forces to save its own interest.

In the San Remo Conference held on April 24, 1920 the Peace Settlement for the Middle East was finalised by the Allied Supreme Council. The settlement reached at the Conference was more in conformity with the Sykes-Picot agreement than with the Wilsonian principle. France gained as a result of this agreement mandate over Syria and Britain gained a mandate for Iraq and Palestine. The mandate for Palestine included the Balfour declaration. Finally, the Treaty of Sevres concluded peace with Turkey. The Arabs resented the imposition of mandates upon them. They rightly looked upon it as a betrayal of the promise held out to them. The Arabs also considered it as an attempt to bypass the Wilsonian principle of self-determination.

Settlement in Syria. On 3rd October, 1918, Feisal, son of Sheriff Hussain of Mecca, had hoisted Arab flags in Damascus. He was popular in Syria and had established an independent government with the knowledge of the British government. The British had agreed by the Sykes-Picot agreement to evacuate only the coastal region to the French and when in September, 1919 British troops withdrew from Syria the Arabs occupied the hinterland. The situa-

tion, however, deteriorated with the acceptance by Feisal of the crown of Greater Tyrisa (i.e., including Palestine and Transjordan). The French now were afraid of Feisal's designs and French troops under General Gauraud entered Damascus and drove out Feisal. He took shelter in Palestine. The French now became supreme in Syria. The extension in September, 1920, of the Lebanon territory to include non-Christian inhabitants helped the French to follow a policy of divide et impera. The French forcefully suppressed an attempted rebellion of the people at Jeb-el-Druse against the oppression of Captain Carbillet.

Settlement in Iraq and Palestine. The assignment of Iraq to Britain as a mandate had resulted in much discontent among the Arab nationalists. In May, 1920 two British officers were killed and in July there took place a serious uprising which was suppressed with great difficulty. The assignment of Palestine and Transjordan to Britain caused much discontent among the Arabs of Palestine. Palestine's desire of unity with Syria was frustrated. Moreover, the Balfour declaration was a source of anxiety to Palestine Arabs. Britain and France by superior force, however, succeeded in imposing their will upon the Arabs in complete disregard of the Wilsonian principle of self-determination and Article 22 of the Treaty of Versailles and of the League Covenant which had promised that the wishes of the native people must be consulted in assigning the mandates. Britain, however attempted to satisfy the Arabs by assigning Transjordan to Abdullah, another son of Sheriff Hussain and Iraq to Feisal. The creation of these two satellite states under two of Hussain's sons was a concession to the Hashimite dynasty. Ultimately, however, the forces of Arab nationalism proved too strong for the west and the establishment of the mandates resulted in the evolution of self-government in the Arab countries.

Peace settlement with Turkey. Turkey was the only defeated power in the World War I which was able to resist the settlement imposed upon her by the victorious powers and to negotiate ultimately a treaty on equal terms. After the end of the First World War the Allied statesmen at Paris imposed upon Turkey the Treaty of Sevres on August 20, 1920. Bue due to a series of political and military events the Treaty of Sevres remained a dead letter. Had this treaty been imposed upon Turkey she would have lost all Arab portion of her territory including Eastern Thrace, Smyrna and a number of Aegean Islands were ceded to Greece. (She also received W. Thrace from the Allies). Armenia became independent and Kurdistan received local autonomy. The zone of the Straits was internationalized.

The financial and military clauses of the Treaty of Sevres reduced Turkey's sovereignty to shadow and divided Ottoman empire into spheres of influence. The Treaty of Sevres was in itself humiliating enough for the Turks and proved to be more so when the Greeks landed at Smyrna to enforce its clauses.

Fortunately for Turkey at this hour of her crisis she was served by a leader of exceptional merit in the person of Mustapha Kemal Pasha. He was born in Salonika in 1880. He fled away from his secondary school to join the military staff school at Constantinople. He supported the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 but subsequently disagreed with their leader Enver. He disliked the muddled policy of the 'Young Turks' and now devoted his time entirely in military affairs. Kemal fought against the Italians in Libya (1911) and in the Balkan wars. He distinguished himself as the Turkish commander at Gallipoli. Kemal intensely disliked the imposition of the Armistice of Mudros (October, 1918), and gathered around him the nucleus of the Turkish Nationalist Party in eastern Anatolia where in May, 1919 by a peculiarly fortunate circumstance he was created the Inspector-General of the Army. Disregarding the orders of recall from Constantinople he organised resistance to the Greeks. He called two conferences one in Erzerum and the other in Sivas in 1919. These were followed by the convocation of the First Grand National Assembly (April 1920) which adopted the National Pact. The National Pact contained a six point programme which included demand for (a) self-determination for Arabs and unity for the Turks and Kurds; (*b*) plebiscite for Kars, Batum, Ardham; (*c*) and Western Thrace; (*d*) Security for Constantinople and internationalisation of the Straits; (*e*) reciprocal protection for minorities; (*f*) complete independence and rejection of Capitulations.

Mustapha Kemal had to face now the Armenians in the east, the French in Cilicia, the Italians in Adalia, the Greeks in Smyrna, the British in Constantinople. The British under Sir Archibald Milne had ejected the Nationalists from Constantinople. The Nationalists who escaped from Constantinople went to Angora and elected Mustapha Kemal as President and commander-in-chief of the National government and adopted a constitution known as 'Law of Fundamental Organisation'. Early in 1920 the French faced with Feisal's influence in Syria concluded an armistice after some initial military defeat. In September, 1920, Kemal invaded the Armenians and by the Treaty of Gumru in December reunited Kars and Ardhan with Turkey. Early in 1921 the Italians agreed to leave Turkey alone in exchange of concessions. He also concluded a treaty of friendship

with the Soviet Union in March. Peace wtih the French was finally concluded in the Franklin-Bullion agreement (October 20, 1921).

The major task now was to eject the Greeks from Anatolia. The Greeks had achieved some initial success in Thrace. But the Greek cause suffered a set-back due to the defeat of Greek Premier Venizelos in election and the cooling down of western enthusiasm for Greek cause. It was not until August, 1922 that a decisive Turkish offensive against the Greeks was taken and in the battle of the Sakaria River the Turks achieved definite victory. In September, Smyrna was taken and Kemal now turned towards Constantinople and proposed to cross he Straits. The Allied power had already declared their neutrality but the threat to the Straits alarmed Lloyd George who now appealed to the Allies for defending its neutrality as proclaimed in the Allied declaration. But the response from the Italians and the French was negative. Ultimately the prospect of a clash between the British and Turkish forces was avoided by an armistice. The Greeks were compelled to withdraw from Thrace as far as Maritsa River and Kemal accepted proposals for international control of Straits. Invitations were now sent to powers interested in the settlement and it included Britain, the United States, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey for a conference at Lausanne.

The Treaty of Lausanne was signed on July 24, 1923. The Treaty was a revision of the terms of the Treaty of Sevres. It extended Turkey's border in Eastern Thrace up to Maritsa River including Adrainople. The Islands of Imbros, Tenedos and the Rabbit were restored to her but other Aegean Islands went to Greece. Symrna was restored to Turkey. The boundary with Iraq was left to be settled in future and in the meantime Mosul remained under the British. Italy gained Dodecanesc, Rhodes and Castellorzio while Britain retained possession of Cyprus and the Syrian boundary agreed upon by the Franklin-Bullin agreement (1921) was confirmed. Turkey agreed to the separation of Arab lands and her ethnic integrity was recognized.

Turkey was freed from Capitulations and from all foreign and economic control as also from any claim of reparations. An area thirty kilometres along the Thracian border was demilitarized. Turkey agreed to carry out judicial reforms and recognized the right of minorities.

The zone of the Straits was internationalized. But Straits Commission created under the auspices of the League was to be presided over by a Turkish citizen. The Straits zone was henceforth opened

to all nations at times of peace. In case of war, if Turkey remained neutral, the same right was conceded to ships of all nations, no matter what their cargo. But in case of Turkish involvement in war only neutral vessels could go through the Straits and the enemy vessels might be kept out. Greece and Turkey by a separate convention accepted compulsory exchange of population.

The Treaty of Lausanne restored to Turkey her sovereign rights and Turkey was able to shake off the yoke of foreign control on her economic, political, judicial and military matters. Whereas the efforts of Arab nationalism to break the shackle of foreign rule and frustrate the conspiracy of imperialism failed, Turkey was able through a native revolt to regain her dignity and establish her rights as a sovereign state. The loss of her empire ultimately proved to be a source of strength for Turkey.

Establishment of the Turkish Republic. The Grand National Assembly abolished the Sultanate on November 1, 1922 and the Caliphate in March 1924, the Turkish Republic being formally established in October 1923. Mustapha Kemal became the first president of the Turkish Republic.

Mustapha Kemal as President enjoyed dictatorial power and virtually no serious opposition was allowed to crystallize. In 1927 the President was allowed to select candidates for the Assembly. In 1930 Ali Fethi Bey organized with the permission of the President a liberal democratic opposition but after some time dissolved the party. But Kemal steered his course clear out of the pitfall of Fascist dictators and his rule was tempered by his liberal democratic ideals, his benevolence and unselfishness as also his sharing of power with the people's party. The principles adopted by the people's party flowed from Kemalism and were incorporated in the constitution. These included (*a*) Nationalism, (*b*) Republicanism, (*c*) Populism meaning repudiation of both capitalism and class war, (*d*) Etatism meaning state intervention in national economy, (*e*) Secularism, (*f*) Revolutionism.

Kemalist reforms. The abolition of the Caliphate was followed by complete secularization. No special privileges could be secured henceforth from professing Muslim faith. The monasteries were abolished, dervish orders were disbanded and full freedom of conscience was established. Second in importance to these reforms was the introduction of a number of social reforms. The European calendar was henceforth followed. The Fez and the Veil were abolished. The capital was transferred to Ankara. Civil marriage was obligatory. Women were permitted to engage in all the occupations and were

allowed to vote in elections. The Latin alphabet replaced Turkish ones.

One of the secrets of Kemal's success was the far-reaching educational reforms that he introduced. Education was divorced from religion. Compulsory primary education was put into effect. Secondary schools and institutions for higher learning were encouraged. Technical schools in trade, industry and commerce were popularised. Sports and athletics received state encouragement. The legal system also underwent complete change and a new penal code borrowed from Swiss, German and Italian model came into force.

A number of reforms for efficient administration was carried out. The country was divided into 62 vilayets. The government also balanced the budget. State monopolies in tobacco, salt, liquors, matches, playing cards, salt, arms and munitions were established. National integration, industrialization and modernization went on apace. The government subsidized agriculture and made free grant of cattle, ploughs and even houses to deserving families. The government also adopted several plans—a four-year plan for agriculture, a five-year plan for industry, a three-year plan for mining and a ten-year plan for roads. The outcome of this policy was the creation of an efficient, homogeneous and soundly balanced Turkish society. Foreign and internal trade was encouraged through an efficient banking system. Public health and social welfare measures improved the general standard of living. Kemal was aptly given the title of Ataturk (father of the Turks) by the National Assembly. Turkey had her minority problem in the Kurds who in 1925 revolted under Sheikh Said of Ganj and though suppressed the Kurdish revolt was repeated in 1929 and 1930. The exchange of population among the Greeks and the Turks also resulted in untold suffering due to mismanagement.

Turkey's International Relations. The restraint displayed by Kemal after his victory over the Greeks in agreeing to come to terms with the Allied powers displayed that the new rulers of Turkey were determined to follow a realistic foreign policy consistent with the strength of the country. But the Treaty of Lausanne left some vital questions unsolved. These are the Mosul problem, (*i.e.*, Turco-Iraq boundary problem), the Straits problem with limitation of Turkish sovereignty, the relations with Greeks, and the problem of Alexandretta (i.e., the boundary with Syria and the question of its autonomy). The aim of Turkish foreign policy was directed in solving these problems in favour of national interest. In the effort for realisation of her aim Turkey naturally became revisionist and anti-Entente.

In pursuing this policy Turkey found in the Soviet Union a firm

friend and continued to collaborate with U.S.S.R. In the Lausanne Conference Russia supported Turkish viewpoint though in the end the Western viewpoint prevailed. Russia supported Turkey's claim and in 1925 concluded with Turkey a convention on Aggression. But in spite of Russian friendship Turkey took stern measures to suppress the communists. Russia, however, continued the policy of friendship and lend support to Turkey in Montreux convention held in 1936 to revise the terms of Lausanne Treaty regarding the Straits. But the conclusion of Russo-German non-aggression pact in 1939 alarmed Turkey. Turkey, ultimately, joined the Allied side in World War II.

In the meanwhile the Mosul dispute cemented Turco-Russian alliance and prevented cordial relations with Great Britain. Britain had occupied Constantinople and supported the Greeks in 1919. British support to the Kurds created bitterness and British occupation of Mosul was looked upon as an attempt to undermine Turkey's sovereignty. In June, 1926, however, the Mosul dispute was amicably settled by a treaty in which in exchange of 10 per cent of Mosul's oil production Turkey relinquished her claim on Mosul.

The fate of Alexandretta with a predominantly Turkish population remained undecided in the Franklin-Bullion agreement (1921) which provided for a special administration in this area. Turkey was alarmed by the Franco-Syrian treaty of 1936 about the fate of Alexandretta and in spite of League intervention to provide special status for the area denounced the Syrian treaty. In 1938, however, as a result of an election Alexandretta decided through its Assembly to join with Turkey. The settlement of the two disputes mentioned above gradually improved Turkey's relation with Anglo-French powers. In 1939 France concluded a non-aggression pact with Turkey. Italy's Ethiopian adventure and the conclusion of the Russo-German non-aggression pact brought Turkey closer to Britain and France. But true to the Kemalist heritage Ismet Inonu, a close associate of Kemal and the Presdient of Turkey after his death, tried to avoid entanglement.

In 1939 Turkey entered into an alliance with Britain and France. But she maintained a precarious neutrality till February 23, 1945 when she declared war against the Axis powers. Turkey gave up the slogan of pan-Islamic unity and established friendly relation with Greece by a treaty concluded in 1930. This treaty was the outcome of a fear of Bulgarian attempt at revisionism in Thrace. In 1934 Turkey joined the Balkan Entente with Greece, Yugoslovakia and Rumania. Turkey's relation with Iran was strained in spite of a

treaty of friendship (1926) due to the support given by the latter to Kurds. In 1937, however, the need for defence and security resulted in pact of Saadabad between Turkey, Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran. The need for security was felt due to Mussolini's open claim to turn the Mediterranean into an Italian lake. The Ethiopian conquest also alarmed Turkey. Turkey's relation with the Axis powers, therefore, could not be happy because of the revisionist policy of Germany and Italy. In the Nyon Conference of 1937 Turkey stressed her determination to lend support to status quo. But in the Turkish ruling circle there was certain amount of admiration for Hitler. The latter appointed Von Papen as ambassador to Turkey to exploit this sentiment. Papen during the first year of war attempted to keep Turkey neutral and prevent closer alliance between Turkey and Anglo-French powers. In the next stage between 1941—1943, German diplomacy was directed to bring Turkey into a closer political and economic alliance with the Axis powers and in the last stage before Turkey finally cast her lot with the Allied powers Papen tried to keep her neutral. Turkey supplied Germany with chrome and in a statement Prime Minister Saracoglu said that as a Turk he passionately desired the annihilation of Russia. But the Turkish enthusiasm diminished as Germany's military position became weak.

Straits Question. The Bosphorus connecting the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora and the Dardanelles leading thence to the Aegean sea lay within the dominion of the Turkish Republic. For Russia the control of the Straits was essential for an outlet to Mediterranean and the protection of the Straits was essential for a defence on the Black Sea area. The Lausanne treaty had internationalized the Straits and the supervision of the area was entrusted to an International Commission presided over by the Turkish representative. But the revisionist policy of the Axis powers increased the anxiety of Turkey and convinced her, that if the Straits remained unfortified, Turkey was exposed to danger. The U.S.S.R. enthusiastically supported Turkey's demand for fortifications of the Straits while other powers gave 'reluctant assent' to it. Accordingly in 1936 the Montreux Convention was signed. It restored to Turkey the right to refortify the Straits and made her the guardian of the narrow waters. At times of war the Straits was closed to all belligerent vessels except those authorised by the League or with a regional pact with neutral Turkey. At Yalta and Potsdam it was agreed that the Straits Convention should be revised. But in the meanwhile the cooling of the relations between the Soviet Union and the Western powers made a settlement difficult.

Turkey's relation with U.S.S.R. also deteriorated and she resisted the attempt of Russia to establish a joint defence on the Straits.

Turkey and the Cold War. Turkey's relation with Russia became strained in the post-war era and in 1947 she feared an intervention from U.S.S.R. In 1947 President Truman enunciated his famous Truman Doctrine. U.S.A. now stepped forward to follow a policy of defending Turkey and Greece against possible attack from Russia. A closer relation between Turkey and U.S.A. accounted for the bitterness of her relation with U.S.S.R. In 1950 Turkey was associated with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and in 1952 she was granted full membership. The question of Turkey's security is, therefore, associated with U.S.A.'s global strategy. The entry of two U.S. men of war in the Straits in January, 1969, evoked strong protest from U.S.S.R. Turkey subsequently became a member of the C.E.N.T.O. In 1967 U.S.S.R. also provided $200 million financial aid to Turkey. "Turkey is now no mere gate-keeper at the narrow Straits, she has become a vital link in the Western defence system. Geographically she is situated near most vital industrial and strategical centre of the U.S.S.R. But inside Turkey there is a growing body of opinion which is critical of the attitude of its rulers and their policy both internal and external. The discontent against the ruling caste led to two uprisings one in 1960 and another in 1962". Turkey's relation with Greece deteriorated on the question of Cyprus, inhabited by 77% Greeks and 18% Turks, in 1965 and again in 1967. War was however averted through U.N. mediation.

Egypt. Egypt occupies a vital and important position due to the Suez Canal which was dug in 1869. It is situated at the north-eastern corner of the African continent and is flanked on the north by the Mediterranean while on the east she is flanked by the Red Sea. Tho two are connected by Suez. Britain early realised the importance of Suez as a vital link with India. Taking advantage of the financial bankruptcy of Egypt during the seventies of the last century Disraeli bought the 176,602 shares of the Canal from Khedive Ismail for £4 million in 1875. In 1882 following the anti-foreign riots started by Arabi Pasha the British occupied the delta of the Nile and established their hold over Egypt Government. The British hold was extended over Sudan following another uprising under Mahdi Muhammad Ahmed (in 1881) which resulted in the extermination of General Gordon and his men. In 1899 an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was established over Sudan. Britain became the controlling factor in Egypt. Her cause was well served by some able bureaucrats prominent among whom was Barring (later Lord Crommer). He

created a civil service, achieved financial solvency, abolished slavery, founded schools, built railways, dams, irrigation canals and completely regenerated Egypt. On Turkey's entry into World War I Egypt formally repudiated Turkish suzerainty. On December 18, 1914 Egypt was proclaimed as a British protectorate. The pro-Turkish Khedive Abbas Hilmi was deposed and Hussain Kamil was made Sultan. On his death in 1917, he was succeeded by Fuad I.

Egyptian Nationalism. The nationalist movement in Egypt was generated as a result of a desire to overthrow the foreign rule. The nationalist movement flowed from three sources. First, there was the school of Islamic modernism. Secondly, there was the opposition of the constitutionalist to the European control acting behind the throne. Thirdly, the Egyptian army which was anti-imperialist to the core. The father of Egyptian nationalist movement was Zaghlul Pasha who founded the Wafd party and demanded complete independence. He went to the Paris Peace Conference to plead the cause of Egypt. But Egyptian nationalist aspiration was frustrated by imperialist machination. Following the Milner Commission (Dec., 1919 to March, 1920) appointed to look into the cause of Egyptian grievances, Britain offered self-government under limitations which Egypt refused to accept. But on the advice of the British High Commissioner, Lord Allenby, Britain unilaterally proclaimed the end of the protectorate and declared the independence of Egypt in February, 1922. The British Government made certain special reservations to protect imperial interest in Egypt. These reservations included the security of communication, defence of Egypt, protection of foreign interests and minorities and security of Sudan.

The Wafd won the election in 1924 and desired negotiations with the Labour Government of Ramsay Macdonald. The series of negotiations that followed always stumbled on the issue of Sudan and Britain's physical presence in Egypt. In 1924, the murder of Sir Lee Stack, British commander-in-chief in Egypt, gave Britain the opportunity to force the Wafd out of Cabinet by the impossible terms contained in British ultimatum. Henceforth British hold over Egypt was tightened through the anti-Wafd ministries that were now saddled to power.

The period between 1924 and 1936 is marked by a comparative lull in Egyptian national movement. This was largely due to the sudden demise of Zaghlul Pasha, the father of Egyptian nationalism. He was replaced in Wafd leadership by Nahas Pasha. Secondly, the interference of the palace, supported by opportunist politicians and the divines of El-Azhar, enabled King Fuad, backed by imperialism,

to curb the Wafd. But in the elections the Wafd always emerged victorious and Fuad, therefore, replaced the relatively liberal constitution of 1923 by an amended constitution of 1930.

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia introduced a new factor in Egyptian politics. In December, 1935 King Fuad had restored the constitution of 1923, and there was a temporary rapprochement between the Wafd and the King who died shortly afterwards. Farouk I who succeeded him was a boy of sixteen only. In May, 1936, Nahas Pasha formed the cabinet and demanded negotiations to replace the status quo. The growing Fascist menace made Britain willing to satisfy the nationalists. Britain thought it wise to reach an agreement in view of a possible involvement in war with Italy, and the Wafd, composed mostly of the propertied class, thought that in view of the possibility of Egypt turning into a battleground it was better to strike a compromise with Britain. This was the background of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. The Treaty resulted in a twenty years alliance with Britain pledging to defend Egypt and Egypt placing her communication at Britain's disposal in case of war. Great Britain was conceded the right, subject to certain limitations and conditions, of maintaining armed forces in the Canal Zone and to evacuate the rest of Egyptian territory. But the basic problem of Sudan remained unsolved. Egypt now regained her fiscal freedom by the abolition of Capitulations. It was a step forward to Egyptian independence but still there was a long way to go before Egypt could achieve full freedom. In 1937 Farouk dismissed Nahas Pasha and appointed in his place Mohammed Pasha—a liberal. The Wafd now lost much of its popularity.

The fall of Nahas Pasha's popularity was largely due to the eagerness displayed by him to co-operate with Great Britain. Britain, eager not to antagonize political forces during war, forced Farouk on February 4, 1942 to accept Nahas Pasha as Premier. The Wafd representing the propertied class had by now become corrupt to the extreme. Egypt declared war on the Axis on February 24, 1945. Nahas, however, was out of office by the middle of 1944 when Brtiain withdrew its support from him.

Post-World War II Developments. The anti-Wafd coalitions that ruled Egypt in alliance with the palace between 1944 to 1949 had to face opposition from the extreme right and extreme left represented by the communists. In 1950 elections, however, the Wafd regained power and once again Nahas Pasha became the Prime Minister. At the end of the war Egyptian demand for the revision of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 became vigorous. As a result of this demand

in 1946 the Sidki-Bevan agreement was concluded. The agreement provided for withdrawal of the British troops from the Canal Zone and status quo in Sudan till the time was ripe for the Sudanese to decide their own form of government. According to British view the Sudanese were given the right of separation from Egypt by this agreement but the Egyptians were not prepared to accept this interpretation and so the Treaty was not ratified. In the United Nations Egypt accused Britain of maintaining troops in Egypt and following a hostile policy in Sudan. Egypt's anti-British campaign reached its height during the Anglo-Iranian crisis and in October, 1951 Egypt denounced the Treaty of 1936.

The July Revolution. From 1951 onwards a series of crises took place in Egypt which ultimately resulted in the expulsion of Britain from the Egyptian soil and the nationalization of the Suez. The Egyptian denunciation of the 1936 agreement was followed by anti-British demonstrations which resulted in January, 1952 in mob attacks in Cairo and other towns on British buildings and residence. Farouk took this opportunity of dismissing Nahas Pasha. This was followed on July 23 by a coup organised by the "Committee of Free Officers", a secret group headed by Maj. General Mohammed Naguib. The revolutionaries deposed Faruk and subsequently his minor son Fuad II in whose favour he had abdicated. Thus Egypt became a republic.

The Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.) declared an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal programme which included agrarian reforms and rapid industrialization. The former resulted afixing maximum holding to 200 feddans (=nearly 208 acres) and adoption of a scheme for a new high dam north of Aswan. In the political field a committee to redraft the constitution was appointed but in the meanwhile all political parties were dissolved. The new constitution virtually concentrated all power in the R.C.C. Soon, however, Naguib was replaced by Gamal Abdul Nasser as the leader of R.C.C. The former was deprived of power and put under house arrest.

The Foreign Policy of R.C.C. The leaders of the new regime were determined to solve the problems connected with Sudan and the Suez. In February, 1953 an agreement was signed with Britain. This agreement stipulated that Sudan was to pass through a transitional stage before deciding whether it should join with Egypt. In December, 1955 the Sudanese Chamber proclaimed independence and was promptly recognised by U.K., U.S.A., U.S.S.R. and Egypt.

In July, 1954 the new government reached another agreement

with Britain. It abrogated the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian agreement and provided for a total withdrawal of British troops within twenty months. Britain, however, was given the right to return to the base only in case of an attack, by any country except Israel, on any member of the Arab League or Turkey.

Nasser was not at least anti-west in his outlook from the start. But the Western policy of building up a Middle East Defence Organisation alarmed him and the conclusion of the Baghdad Pact came at a moment when he was preparing himself for the new role of a leader of Arab unity under Egyptian hegemony. Nasser became an active advocate of neutrality in the Bandung Conference of April, 1955. Thereby he alienated the west which rebuffed his demand for the purchase of arms. Nasser now turned to the Soviet bloc and concluded an arms deal with Czechoslovakia in September, 1955. Nasser's relation with the West was naturally strained and as a reprisal measure the West refused to finance the Aswan Dam.

Nationalization of Suez and the Anglo-French Invasion. The series of events that followed Western decision to refuse financial aid for Aswan Dam, led to the nationalization of Suez. On July 25, 1956 Nasser announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal and declared that its revenues would finance the Aswan Dam project.

Britain and France at once called for a Conference to establish international control of the Canal. 18 out of 22 members supported Anglo-French proposals. The rest including India, Indonesia, U.S.S.R. and Ceylon had an alternative proposal but it never had any chance of success. The Menzies mission, sent to Nasser after this Conference, to negotiate with Egypt on the basis of the London resolution, resulted in failure. Then came the proposal of John Foster Dulles, American Secretary of State, for the formation of a Canal Users' Association. But before this scheme had a chance of success the French Government proposed a meeting of the U.N. Security Council. The Security Council refused to accept French proposals. Meanwhile, British Prime Minister Eden together with the French Premier Guy Mollet laid plans for bringing Egypt to book. On October 29, 1956 Israel suddenly launched attack on Egypt following which both the parties were served with an Anglo-French ultimatum to withdraw 10 miles from the Canal area. The U.N.O. by a resolution also asked for ceasefire. But on dawn November 5, the Anglo-French paratroops landed in Egypt. Egypt would have collapsed before such formidable adversaries but suddenly the victors had to accept defeat and withdraw.

Several causes accounted for Anglo-French withdrawal. The

Russians were threatening missle warfare and the U.S.A. opposed the invasion undertaken without her compliance. The drain on sterling, the rallying of the Arabs round Nasser and the rift in Commonwealth relations compelled Britain and France to withdraw. Today it is clear that the aim of the invasion was to cause the downfall of Nasser and the Israel attack was used as a cover for interference in Egypt. The invasion cemented Arab unity. Syria, and Saudi Arabia cut off diplomatic relations with England and France. The Arabs sabotaged the pipelines carrying oil. Jordan denounced Anglo-Jordonian treaty. Finally, the relation with U.S.A. was strained. India and other Afro-Asian members of the Commonwealth condemned British action. The Anglo-French defeat reverbrated in all Afro-Asian countries and gave spur to nationalist forces. Lastly, in Britain Eden was compelled to resign. Nasser's dream of playing the role of the leader of Arab unity materialised partially by the formation of the United Arab Republic. Syria and Egypt decided to set up the UAR when Nasser signed a pact with the Syrian President Al-Quwatly in February, 1958. But late in 1961 Syria broke off her link with Egypt. In 1958 Iraq under General Kassem followed a policy that did not exactly fit in with Nasserism. But the developments in both Syria and Iraq in 1962 again favoured Nasser. The Ba'athist Party in Syria established friendly link with Egypt and in Iraq General Arif overthrew Kassem. The Middle Eastern politics is further complicated by the possibility of Soviet and Chinese interference in this area. Egypt is following a neutral policy. She played a prominent part in the Afro-Asian Conferences. Nasser rebuffed West Germany when the government of the Federal Republic objected to the visit of Ulbriecht, the East German leader, in Egypt.

Arab Israel Conflict 1967—*Background of the June War.* The partition of Palestine and the creation of Israel sowed the seed of discord between Arabs and Jews. Arab Governments regarded the 1948 arrangements as purely temporary affair and have not as yet extended recognition to Israel as a Sovereign state. According to the Arabs, Israel is a creation of Western imperialism. They point out that every ten year Israel in collusion with some Western power or other has to strike first to gain Arab territory in the name of self-defence. In 1956 it was U.K. and France and in 1967 it was USA that acted as collaborators of Israel. Israel's spokesmen on the other hand take the plea that Israel in her conflict with the Arabs merely upheld the principle of the dignity of existence.

Several factors contributed to Arab-Israel confrontation in 1967.

In the first place nearby one million Arabs had become refugees as a result of Arab-Israel conflicts in recent years and their rehabilitation problem created economic pressure on Arab states. Secondly, the Jordan water dispute between the Arab states and Israel created tension in the Middle East. Thirdly, border dispute between Arab states and Israel helped enhance the tension in West Asia. Fundamentally however the West Asian crisis is a product of the cold war. The ferment of Arab nationalism refused to tolerate Israel which received the patronage of the West. The immediate cause of the 1967 war was provided by border dispute. Since 1956 Israel's relation with UAR and Syria became specially acrimonious. The UN Mixed commission appointed to settle border dispute between Syria and Israel faced a specially difficult task. Mr. Levy Eshkol, the former Prime Minister of Israel, is reported to have told his cabinet on January 15, 1967 that Israeli armed forces had taken preparatory steps in view of Syria's aggressive attitude. Nasser came to the rescue of Syria and on May 17, 1967, UAR asked the UN military command to withdraw the peace keeping forces from the country's border with Israel as UAR troops were ordered to prepare for defence against any possible attack by the former. The Arab countries including Iraq, Algeria, Yemen and Jordan declared their solidarity with Syria and Egypt. On May 19, 1967 UN Secretary General U Thant ordered the withdrawal of the UNEF from Arab-Israel border, and declared on the following day that the situation in West Asia was more disturbing indeed "more menacing" than at any time since 1956.

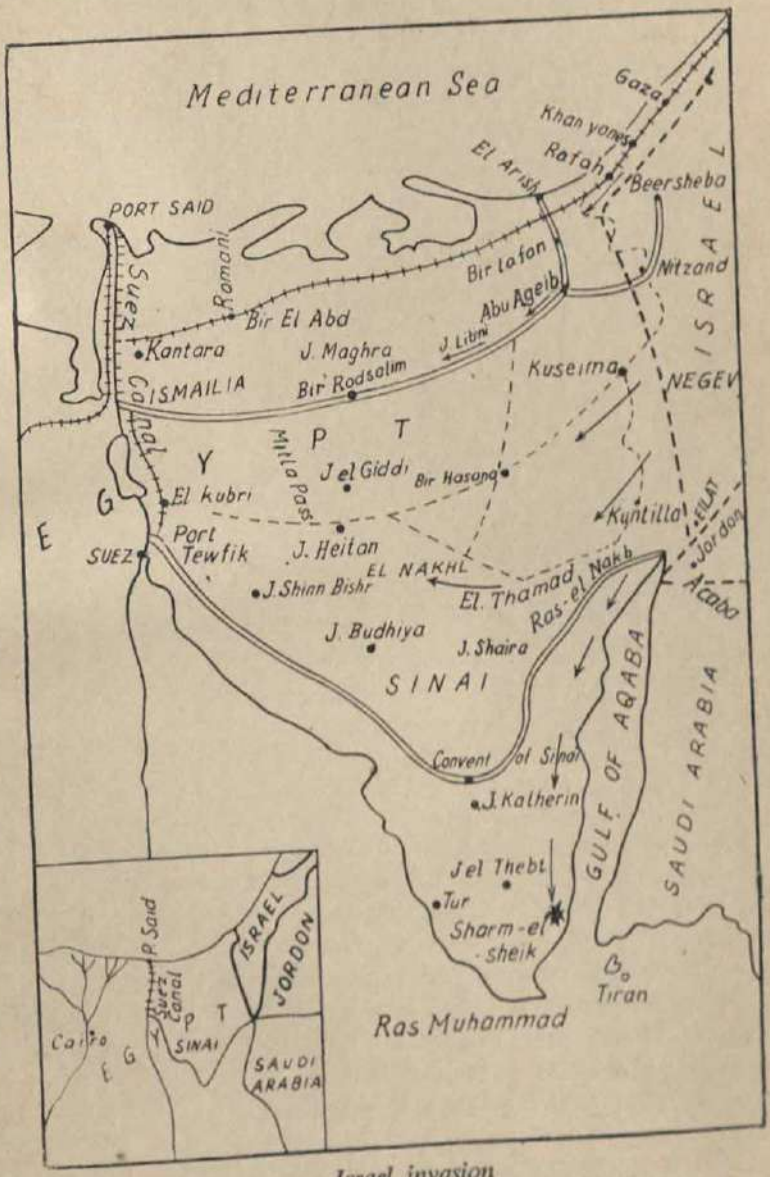
Blockade of Tiran and Israel's Invasion. On May 23, the UAR President declared that no ships flying the Israel flag will be allowed through the straits of Tiran and no strategic cargos will be carried in other ships. This presumably meant that non-strategic cargoes in non-Israel ships would be allowed to use the straits. An emergency session of the UN Security Council was convened within few hours after Egypt had put into effect her decision to blockade the Gulf of Aqaba, by mining all approaches to it. The blockading of the Gulf closed the port of Eilat which accounted for nearly 20% of Israel's foreign trade. The Soviet Union gave her unqualified support to Arabs and warned Israel that it would strongly oppose any aggression unleashed in the Near East.

Israel described the mining of the Gulf as a most flagrant violation of the laws of the sea and a breach of the 1958 International Convention of Maritime law. Britain and USA lent their support to Israel's viewpoint. The United States now ordered its sixth fleet in Eastern Mediterranean to maintain peace in that region. France, on

the other hand, favoured a high level meeting of the war time big four to resolve the Arab-Israel confrontation. Egypt, however, turned down the proposal and entered into an anti-Israel pact with practically all the Arab states including Kuwait, Syria, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Jordan and Tunisia. The Arabs threatened to take over British and American Oil interest if they dared take any action in favour of Israel. Soviet, warships were ordered now to Eastern Mediterranean on May 31, 1967.

On the same day the USA introduced a resolution in the Security Council urging Israel and the Arab countries to comply with Secretary General U Thant's appeal for restraint in the Middle East crisis. On June 5, 1967 Israel's strategic air force made surprise attack on Arab countries and waged a full scale war on four fronts, Gaza, Sinai, Jordan and Syria. Israel had conducted simultaneous air raids on all UAR military bases. Israel achieved control over an area from Jordan river to Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba was forced open. The success of Israel forces was largely due to their ability in destroying most of UAR's strategic air force by surprise air raid. Arabs were completely defeated in the six-day war due to the skill and surprise of Israel army and air force. The U.N. Security Council approved unanimously a Soviet resolution demanding cease fire and the same was accepted by UAR and Israel on June 9. (A cease-fire appeal earlier had failed.).

India's Policy. Israel forces during their raid bombed a U.N. convoy which resulted in the death of three Indian soldiers and wounded many. This dastardly attack on UNEF was condemned as a cowardly act both by Mrs. Gandhi and UN Secretary General. It won't be out of place here to mention that the Israel raid was a surreptitious attempt to signify Israel's discontent at India's stand in the Arab-Israel confrontation. The critics of Indian policy expressed surprise at India's partisan attitude towards the Arabs and pointed out that it is a deviation from non-alignment. Mrs. Gandhi strongly defended her policy of supporting the Arabs and stated that non-alignment did not mean unthinking neutrality. Some critics of India's policy drew parallel from recent Indo-Pakistani and Sino-Indian conflict and pointed out that Nasser did not help India in her days of need and India should not have gone all out for defending the Arab cause. But it should be remembered that the UAR helped the acceptance of India's stand in the Colombo Conference of December, 1962 and it was due to Nasser's influence that Pakistan failed to gain Arab sympathy in the Casablanca conference following Indo-Pak confrontation in 1965. India's ties with the Arab world date from



Israel invasion

the days of Khilafat. It was cemented by the efforts of Nehru and Nasser. It has been strengthened by vital economic and trade ties.

Role of U.N. in the Arab-Irsael conflict of 1967. For peace in West As'a India tabled a 4 point proposal in the Security Council on June 9. These proposals included: (1) Ceasefire and withdrawal of troops to positions occupied before the outbreak of hostilities (2) strengthening of U.N. machinery for enforcing peace; (3) Sending of U.N. Secy. General's envoy to ensure Security of Arabs in occupied Israel territory. (4) After aggression has been vacated steps to be taken to ensure a just peace within the framework of the sovereignty of nations. India condemned Israel's aggression and called a simple ceasefire as a violation of Art. 51 of the Charter. The Soviet Union also condemned Israel's aggression and cut off diplomatic relation with Israel. The Western powers specially U.S.A. however lent their sympathteic ear to Israel's plea of maintaining her hold over occupied Arab territories. In the UNO two resolutions were put forward. One sponsored by eight non-aligned nations which called for unconditional withdrawal of Israel forces from the occupied zone and the other put forward by twenty-one Latin American and Caribbean States asked Israel to withdraw her troops from Egypt, Jordan and Syria and requested the Arabs to end their state of belligerency against Israel. Both the resolutions failed to register the required two-thirds votes in the General Assembly. On November 23, a British resolution which sought to accommodate the viewpoints of both the earlier resolutions accepted by the 15 nation body. This resolution asked Israel forces to withdraw from occupied Arab territories. It sought to end all belligerency in order to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The resolution also requested the Secretary General to designate a special representative to proceed to the Middle East to establish and maintain contacts with the states concerned in order to promote agreement and assist efforts to achieve a peaceful and accepted settlement.

Since then Mr. Gunar Jarring, U Thant's representative in the Middle East, has directed his efforts to work out U.N. peace formula. But so far he has achieved very little success. Arab-Israel relation has not improved and both the sides are looking forward for the next round.

Effects. The effects of the June war have caused disappointment and self-examination among the Arabs. UAR President Nasser who frankly admitted defeat has lost the prestige he had acquired in the Arab World in 1956. Internally Egypt had to set her own house in order

and a military purge followed the defeat in June War. King Hussain also faced a grave situation owing to the intransigence of the Palestine Commandos operating in his territory. In the defeat of the Arabs the Chinese saw the gross failure of Soviet revisionist leadership to supply the Arabs with war materials and technical knowledge. Though the defeat of the Arabs brought discredit to the side backed by the Soviet Union yet it has enhanced the popularity of U.S.S.R. in the Middle East. Since the June War Soviet leaders including President Podgorny, Foreign Minister Gromyko, visited Cairo. The presence of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean has caused alarm to the NATO powers. The United States in spite of American condemnation of the Beirut Airport raid by Israel bombers in December, 1968 has lent sympathetic ear to the demands for military and financial aid made by the Jewish state from time to time. Washington even agreed to supply 58 phantom-4 bombers to Israel in 1968. Cold War politics is dividing Middle East more sharply since June 1967 than at any other time.

Subsequent developments. Not a day passes in the Suez canal zone or on the banks of Jordan without the sides exchanging fire. Clashes between Arab and Israel forces continued in spite of cease fire and Security Council warning against such actions. On October 31, 1968 the Israel air force struck at Aswan-Cairo power transmission line and at a bridge over the Nile. On the night of December 1, Israel command blew up two bridges deep inside Jordan. On December 3, waves of Israel bombers pounded Jordonian and Iraq manned gun batteries (east of the river Jordan) which had shelled eight Jewish settlements in the occupied zone. These Israeli actions were taken as reprisals for the activities of the Palestinian commandos in the Israel occupied zone. On December 28, 1958 Israel air force bombed and destroyed 13 airliners in the Beirut Airport though Lebanon was not at war with the Jewish state. This air-aid was a reprisal for hijacking an Israeli plane by an Arab terrorist in the Athens airport. The Security Council condemned this act outright and on this occasion Israel did not receive sympathy of the Western powers. France followed up her condemnation of Israel by cancelling Israel's contract for Mirage planes. But Washington, though disgusted by such naked aggression, prompted by the 'hawks' in the Jewish capital, did not go to the extent of refusing to honour the contract for supplying Phantom-4 fighter bombers (Washington has promised to supply Israel 58 of them). Against this backdrop of continuous bloodshed and violence Dr. Jarring's talks about peace seem irrelevant. It is certain now that

unless U.S. and U.S.S.R. come to an understanding an Arab-Israel conflict in near future is inevitable. In spite of the Security Council resolution, rather in defiance of it, Israel continues its policy of aggression.

Peace Plans. Already there has been much diplomatic manoeuvring to save peace in the Middle East, because there is too much inflammable material stored up in the modern world and the explosion of the Middle East detonator may cause a chain reaction.

In the first week of January, 1969 the Soviet Union gave peace plan for the Middle East. The salient feature of the plan is that it is essentially a scheme for a bilateral peace arrangement between Israel and Egypt. The Soviet plan also stipulates the withdrawal of Israel troops from positions occupied on June 5, 1967 which would include Arab Jerusalem the name of which has not been specifically mentioned. This omission may be considered by Israel as a psychological gain for her. The Arabs will also have to recognize Israel's existence formally and in addition, she will be granted secure and recognized frontiers, a state of non-belligerency and free navigation through the Suez canal and the Straits of Tiran. These proposals suit Egypt admirably but her support to the Soviet peace plan may cost Nasser the leadership of the Arab World. The Palestinian Arabs are not satisfied with this plan and Syria has already rejected it. In the United States the Soviet plan was given a mixed reception. U.S.A. has certain reservations about the Soviet peace plan. Among other things the United States desire an end of Palestine Commando activities. The United States feel the parties concerned should reach a preliminary agreement before the Security Council resolution could be given effect by Dr. Jarring. This was because the United States firmly holds the opinion that the bilateral agreement between Arabs and Israel and limitation of armament would pave the path for peacefull settlement. On January 18, 1969 France advanced the proposal for a Four Power conference to bring peace to Middle East. The Soviet Union has welcomed this proposal. It remains to be seen how the Arab States and Israel as also powers interested in Middle Eastern affairs react to such proposals.

Palestine. From time immemorial Palestine has occupied an important place in human annals. It was a Turkish province conquered by Britain during World War I. The de facto occupation was given a legal colour by the League. The League granted Britain mandate over Palestine. Palestine has attracted the attention of the world today, because it is the seat of one of the youngest nation states of the world. It is the meeting ground of Christians, Jews and Mus-

lims. In the post-Versailles era Palestine was destined to be the scene of the most bitter controversies.

The Jews never lost the hope of returning to the promised land. Even in the nineteenth century Jewish colonization in Palestine had started. But this movement acquired a more purposeful character with the founding of the World Zionist Organisation under Theodre Herzel, a native of Budapest, in 1897. In 1904 Herzel breathed his last but the zionist movement for a national home in Palestine started by him gained momentum. Zionism as a national movement evoked opposition from Jews themselves. In Britain the Jewish community refused to compromise their British status by identifying themselves with zionism. The socialists and subsequently the communists called it a reactionary movement. But these developments might not have created difficulty had it not been for the political issue that Zionism created, by pressing its claim against the Arabs in Palestine.

British Mandate and the Zionist movement. In the third year of the war zionist leaders like Dr. Weizmann offered to underwrite a substantial loan in exchange of official support for a long standing Jewish repatriation project in Palestine. In the end they emerged victorious. In the Balfour declaration the British government gave a formal recognition of their importance as official spokesman of the Jewish community. The Balfour declaration (November 2, 1917) set the stage for a new period for Jewish history. Lord Balfour in a letter to Lord Rothschield stated—"His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of 'National Home' for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of the object". The Jews now applied themselves with determination to accomplish this new task. On July 22, 1922 the League endorsed the granting of British mandate to Palestine incorporating in its text the promise held out in the Balfour declaration. Meanwhile Britain in her effort to win Arab support in her war efforts had promised freedom to Arab States. But these vague promises were soon followed by actions which disillusioned the Arabs. The promise of a national home for Jews in Palestine singularly disappointed the Arabs.

The Arab-Jewish relation naturally became bitter and several causes contributed to the increase of tension between them. The Jews in Palestine numbered 55,000 souls at the time of armistice but the new Civil Administration opened the flood gate for fresh immigrants. By 1930 it had become amply evident that the new migrants would eventually outnumber the Arabs. Moreover, the Jewish Agency controlled ample funds and utilised it to purchase the best

lands from the poor Arab peasants. The co-operative and semi-centralised nature of Jewish agriculture led to planning in agriculture. The economic success of the Jews accounted for deterioration of Arab-Jewish relation. In a Royal Commission report the Arab-Jewish contradiction has been aptly stated in the following language—"With almost mathematical precision the betterment of the economic situation meant the deterioration of the political situation." The highly skilled Jewish migrants changed the face of the arid tracts in Palestine and effected improvement in industry and land. But the political situation declined due to the increase in immigration figure. The religious differences also played their part in the quarrel between the two communities. The Jews considered, for instance, the 'wailing wall' as the last vestige of their temple while the Arabs considered this as their holy place. The Arabs suffered a great deal due to their inability to compete with Jewish technical superiority. Their feeling became bitter and antagonistic. Arabs were backward and their agriculture was primitive, they received no financial aid from outside and they had no efficient political organisation.

British Attitude. Britain, however, gradually lost sympathy for the Jews and came to consider the Balfour declaration as a liability in the way to settlement with the Arabs. The Churchill 'White Paper' of 1922 though admitting the Jewish right to settle in Palestine sought to control immigration. The political situation became more and more stormy due to Arab-Jewish conflict and the wailing wall incident gave rise to violent riots. The League at the request of the British government appointed a Neutral Nations Commission on the conflict. At the same time the British government issued another 'White Paper' based on the report of Sir John Hope Simpson who was appointed to investigate the questions on Jewish immigration and land settlement in 1930. It sought to impose restrictions on Jewish immigration but at the same time the British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, tried to allay Jewish fear in a letter to Dr. Weizman. Thus both the Jews and Arabs grew suspicious of Britain's intentions in Palestine. The advent of Hitler to power and the resulting Jewish migration enhanced the problem. In 1932 the immigration figure was nearly nine thousand and in 1935 it rose to sixty thousand. Sir Arthur Wauchop, the British High Commissioner, in an ordinance prohibited sale of land of poor Arab families. But Arab fear was not allayed and in 1937 the Arabs started a wholesale campaign of terror.

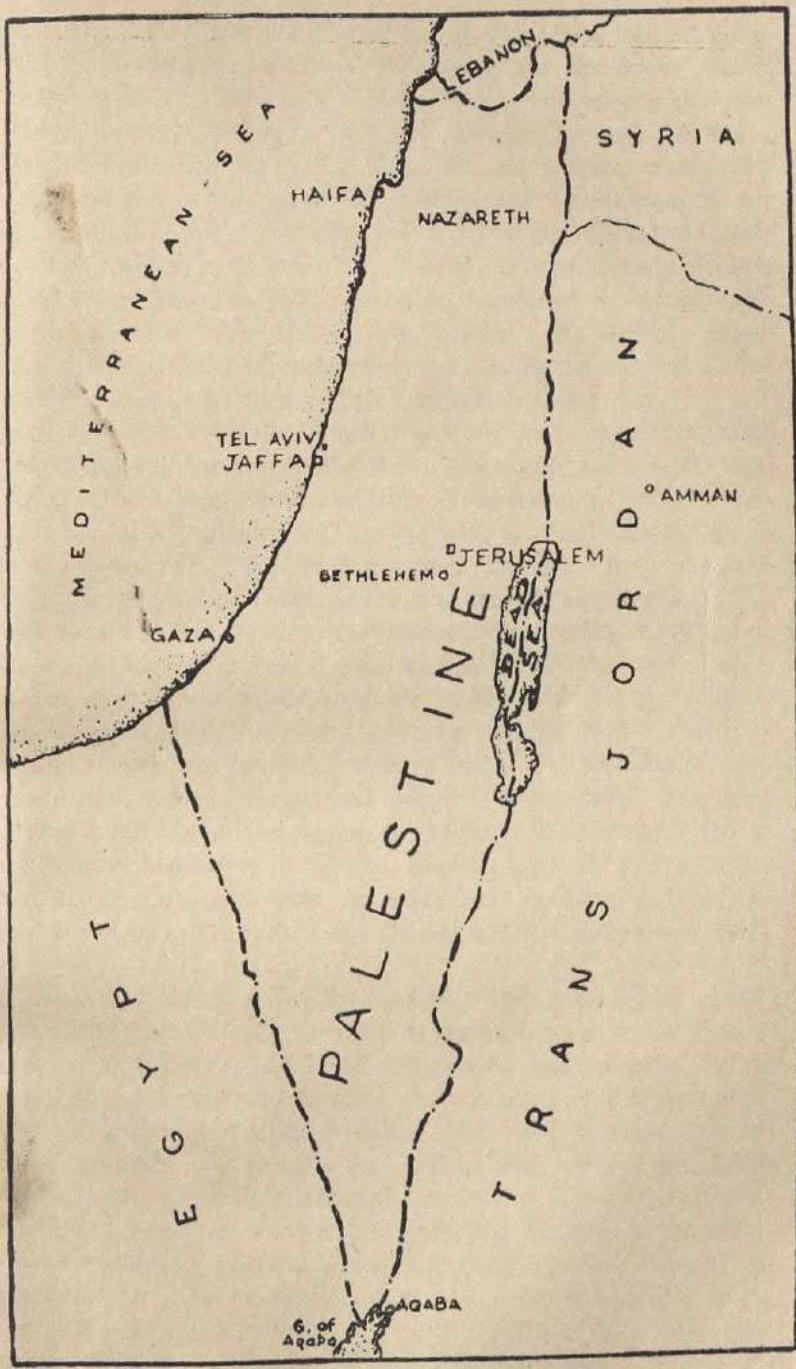
The attempt to solve the Palestine problem by creating a Legislative Assembly composed of Arab and Jewish representatives had failed in 1935. In 1937 a Royal Commission known as Peel Com-

mission recommended a partition. Palestine was to be divided into an Arab State, a Jewish state and a neutral enclave around Jerusalem-Bethlehem under the British. The Arabs rejected it outright though the Jews agreed to negotiation and naturally the scheme did not materialise. Disturbance continued throughout 1938 and the British Government appointed a technical commission to work out details about a scheme for partition. Its recommendations were found unacceptable and in 1939 a round table conference with Zionist and Arab representatives was called at London. This effort at compromise was embodied in a White Paper published on May 17, 1939. Britain proposed to create an independent Palestine within ten years by gradual devolution of power. Meanwhile it sought to restrict the immigration and land problem by various restrictions. It was found unacceptable by the Jews and Arabs alike. Thus the situation remained as explosive as ever in Palestine on the eve of Second World War. The outbreak of the war led to a temporary lull in Palestine owing to whole-hearted co-operation of the Jews with Allied war effort against Germany and the inability of the Arabs to raise rebellion due to the presence of numerous Allied divisions.

Post-War developments leading to Partition. The truce did not last till the end of the war and as early as May, 1942 the Jews led by David Ben Gurion adopted the Biltmore programme of creating a Jewish state and a Jewish army. In the meanwhile various Jewish terrorist organisations such as the Haganah, the Irgun and Stern Gang intensified their activities.

The British government attempted to gain the co-operation of the United States in solving the problem. The Truman administration was strongly pro-Jewish for domestic reasons and the Anglo-American Committee (April, 1946) recommended the immediate entry into Palestine of 100,000 Jews and relaxation on the land transfer limitations. Britain, during this period, was actively engaged in forming the Arab League and carrying Soviet threats to her position and decided to do nothing about the report.

The Partition of Palestine. Britain, however, found her position in Palestine increasingly untenable due to the arrival of thousands of Jewish refugees and the activities of the Jewish and Arab terrorists. So in April, 1947 the Palestine problem was referred to by Britain to the General Assembly of the U.N.O. A special Committee on Palestine recommended by a majority vote the partition of Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews. The minority report submitted by three members (India, Iran, Yugoslavia) recommended the creation of a federated state of Palestine composed of Jews and Arabs each


LEBANON
SYRIA
HAIFA
NAZARETH
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TEL AVIV
JAFFA
AMMAN
JERUSALEM
BETHLEHEM
GAZA
EGYPT
PALESTINE
TRANS JORDAN
AQABA
G. of Aqaba

Palestine

enjoying local autonomy. The plan for partition was carried by a majority with Britain abstaining from voting and the Soviet Union favouring partition. The Arab States which voted against the plan decided to resist it by force. The Jews were jubilant and the Arabs felt resentful towards the United States for the pressure exerted by her for partition. The Assembly appointed a Commission to put the resolution into effect and called up the Security Council to assist in the implementation of the Plan. But Britain had already decided to withdraw on May 14, 1948. The only powers left to execute U.N. plan for partition were U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. But the two super-powers were distrustful of each other and the matter was left to the Arabs or Zionists who now prepared for the final struggle.

On May 14, 1948 the British mandate ended and the Jewish National Council meeting at Tel-Aviv proclaimed the Jewish State of Israel. The United States extended its recognition within a few hours. But Israel found itself at war with its Arab neighbours as soon as it was born. Armies from Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Transjordan and Egypt invaded Israel on the next day. The outcome of the struggle was contrary to Arab expectations because the Arab armies which lacked unified command were beaten back. The Arab Legion of Transjordan gained however notable success and this again aroused the anger of King Abdullah's colleagues in the Arab League.

After intermittent hostilities between May, 1948 to January, 1949 armistice was signed through the efforts of the U.N.O. The U.N. had appointed Count Bernadotte as mediator in Palestine. But he was killed on September 17, 1948. He was replaced by Dr. Ralph Bunch his associate and when the truce was concluded the boundaries of Israel had extended to include nearly three quarters of Palestine.

The Effects of Arab-Jewish Conflict. The Arab-Jewish conflict had far-reaching effects. It resulted in the emergence of the state of el and demonstrated the weakness—moral and material—of the bs. The war also demonstrated the weakness of the Arab Lea- as an instrument for Arab unity. The Jews, however, received help from outside than the Arabs. The war created nearly ion Arab refugees and abounded in cruelty. The effect of these developments could not but produce profound reaction in the different Arab countries. In Syria, there took place a series of coups. In Egypt it produced profound discontent and led to the murder of the Prime Minister Nokrashi Pasha. Already in Egypt there were signs which indicated that the smouldering discontent meant trouble for the monarchy in near future. A Tripartite declaration on May 25,

1950 by Britain, U.S.A. and France guaranteed the frontier between Israel and the Arab states but that has not prevented occasional outbreak of hostilities.

Israel since its birth. The birth of Israel is an 'unique phenomenon' and since then Israel had to tackle the problem of constant migration of the Jews. Economically, it had to face a tremendous task in transforming an arid land into a flourishing state. It has been backed by financial contribution by Jews specially from U.S.A. The United States also granted large sums as loans to Israel.

In her foreign relations Israel-Arab relations have unsettled the Middle Eastern politics. Her relations with Turkey have been friendly and Iran also has extended after some lapse of time de facto recognition to Israel. The Arab countries are, however, hostile to Israel and are afraid of the prospect of an economic domination of the Middle East by Israel. The Arab hatred of Israel also flows from Israel expansionism. The Arab refugee problem also continues to create bitterness in Arab-Israel relation. The pro-Israel policy of the United States has added to Arab fear. The attitude of Israel towards Britain was at first hostile but the economic bond of Israel with the West was strong enough to prevent any deterioration of relation. The Soviet Union extended its recognition to Israel which tried to follow a middle course at first in the East-West tension. Israel even extended recognition to Communist China. But the pro-Arab trend in the Soviet policy became gradually apparent. In 1956 Israel acted as the spearhead of the Anglo-French invasion and the Soviet Union extended its support to Egypt. The development of the 'Cold War' has led Israel to identify herself more and more with the Western camp which finally resulted in the severance of Israel's diplomatic relation with the U.S.S.R. Israel, however, has been able to win over many states in Afro-Asian countries to extend their recognition to her. But with the Arabs there has been no reconciliation In June, 1967, following Egyptian blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba, Israil Air and Land forces simultaneously attacked Arab lands including Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Israel achieved control over an area from Jordan river to Suez and the Gulf of Aqaba was forced open. The U.N. imposed a cease-fire and in November appointed Dr. Jarring as mediator. But the situation remains tense due to Israel' claim to retaliate on Arab States which are sheltering Arab Commandos that carry on terrorist activities in Israel occupied area.

Iran. Iran has a history which goes back to a hoary past. The last of the old dynasties—the Qajars—ruled till 1925 when Reza Shah Pehlvi, an ambitious army officer, became the ruler of Iran. He in-

troduced far-reaching reforms and emulated Mustapha Kemal in his attempt to build a strong state and free the country from foreign influence. The army became his special object of care. He also introduced far-reaching social, economic and educational reforms to modernize Iran. Iran's natural resource lies in her oil but at no time did she try to exploit it herself.

With the out-break of the war Iran declared her neutrality but it was evident that Iranian ruling circle was dominated by pro-German elements. With the Nazi invasion of Russia the question of German influence in Teheran became crucial. Soviet Union and Britain requested Iran to expel the Germans and after Iranian refusal to comply the country was occupied by joint British and Soviet troops. Reza Shah now abdicated in favour of his son Muhammed Reza and left the country for South Africa. In 1943 Iran declared war against Germany. At the end of the war Iran demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops and complained to the Security Council about Russian refusal to withdraw. But in the meanwhile Russia concluded an agreement with Teheran in exchange of some oil concessions which were subsequently refused.

The Oil Crisis. The frustration of the people, their poverty and backwardness and the rising tide of discontent against the maltreatment meted out by Great Powers all contributed to the sharpening of the conflict with foreign powers specially Britain which held through the Anglo-Iranian oil company a long term base over rich oil-bearing areas. In the winter of 1950-51 the National Front Government led by Dr. Mossadegh started clamouring for nationalization of the A.I.O.C. In this they received support from the extreme left Tudeh Party and conservative, orthodox and militant Fadyayani Islam (crusadors of Islam). On April 28, the Iranian Majlis nationalized the oil industry. In October all the foreign employees of the A.I.O.C. were withdrawn, both from the oil fields and from Abadan refinery, the largest refinery in the world. Following British appeal to the international court and the court's direction to maintain status quo Iran withdrew from the membership of the Court. Between May, 1951 to August, 1953 the controversy raged between Britain and Iran over the question of nationalization and compensation. The Shah fled from the country. The attempted intervention by U.S.A. failed and her offer of financial aid was rejected. The British reference to the Security Council and the Stokes mission failed to move the redoubtable Premier Mossadegh. But due to lack of technical hands Iran failed to work the oil fields. This resulted in a oilless economy and began to affect Iran's financial stability. The stark reality of an oil-

less economy had to be faced. In August 1953 the Shah appointed General Zahedi as Premier. After a military coup the latter emerged victorious. U.S.A. now granted $45 million to the new regime and negotiations with the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company resulted in the formation of a Consortium of 8 Oil Companies with a 40 per cent share for the A.I.O.C. Henceforth, the consortium was authorized to carry on the production and marketing of Iranian oil on beha'f of the national Iranian Oil Company in exchange of a royalty amounting to nearly 50 per cent of the profit.

Iran's relation with the Soviet Union definitely deteriorated with the development of the 'Cold War'. Iran had become an important factor in the anti-Soviet policy of the West. The Truman doctrine followed by the Eisenhower doctrine sought to draw Iran in the Middle Eastern defence plan of the West. The Soviet Union protested in vain to the establishment of U.S.A. military mission in Iran (1947) and U.S. aid to Iran (1952) under Mutual Security Act. Iran joined the Baghdad Pact in 1955 and marched into the Western camp. But behind the apparent stability in Iran looms the possibility of a disturbance of the status quo generated by social pressure from below.

OTHER ARAB STATES

Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia occupies four-fifths of the Arabian peninsula with the Red Sea on most of its West coast and the Persian Gulf on the east. The Kingdom is divided into two parts Nejd and Hejaz. The modern history of Saudi Arabia began with the Wahhabi movement. Ibn Saud had distinguished himself as a Wahhabi leader. Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, for that was his full name, reconquered Riyadh, the capital of Nejd, in 1901, from the rival clan of Rashids who had driven out the Wahhabis in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Ibn Saud now turned against Sheriff Hussain and defeated his forces in May, 1919. For the next five years there was an uneasy truce. Britain supported both the rivals. But Hussain's diplomatic position was compromised by his assumption of the title of Caliph in 1924. The Wahhabis attacked and drove him out from Hejaz. In 1926 Ibn Saud declared himself king of Hejaz and Nejd and its dependencies. The British-Saudi Arabian treaty of 1927 led to the complete recognition of Saudi-Arabia's independence by Britain. In 1934 following the successful conclusion of a war with Yemen, Ibn Saud concluded a mild and conciliatory treaty, and thereby cemented her friendship with that country. Non-aggression pact was signed with Iraq in 1936 and a treaty of friendship was signed with Egypt. Transjordan ruled by Abdullah, son of Sheriff Hussain, also concluded a treaty of friendship in 1933.

Internally Ibn Saud consolidated his position by crushing all opposition to his rule. But of momentous importance to Saudi Arabia was the discovery of oil. She entered into a contact for a sixty years oil concession with the Standard Oil Company of California on May 29, 1933. Since then Saudi Arabia's relation with the United States has been specially intimate due to the exclusive oil concessions granted to U.S. nationals.

During World War II Saudi Arabia remained benevolent towards the West. The U.S.A.-Saudi Arabia relation became cordial and the country was granted aid under lend-lease agreement from April, 1943. Saudi Arabia also lent her support to the Arab League on March 22, 1945. In 1953 Ibn Saud breathed his last and was succeeded by his son Saudi Ibn Aziz. The rise of Egypt has been a serious challenge to Saudi Arabia which leaned on the West for support. Saudi Arabia's economic dependence on the Aramco Oil Company has led the King to accept Eisenhower doctrine. Apart from Nasser's challenge, the King's brother and Prime Minister, Prince Fiesal, headed the opposition against King Saud. The Power of the King was curbed before he was replaced on the throne by his brother Feisal. In the beginning of the year 1967 Saudi Arabia's relations with the revolutionary Arab States especially the UAR were bad and becoming worse. However the Arab-Israel War in June resulted in a rapprochement.

Yemen. Yemen is a small mountainous territory bound by the British protectorate in the East and by Saudi Arabia in the North. Its area is only 75,000 square miles. Yemen emerged as an independent state only after the World War I. Its Imam Yahya Hamid-ud-Din followed a pro-Turkish policy. The relation between Britain and Yemen revolved round the danger of opposition in the protectorate encouraged by the Imam and the close relation between the ruler of Yemen and Italy. Italy scored diplomatic triumph when she concluded a treaty of friendship with Yemen in 1926 and another treaty in 1927. The growing influence of Italy in this area became a source of anxiety. But this influence never became serious enough to destroy British influence. The growing power of Saudi Arabia, however, induced the Imam to sign a treaty with Britain at Sana. The same year the Imam also concluded a treaty with Saudi Arabia following a military defeat.

During World War II the Imam, though sympathetic to the Axis powers, followed a policy of strict neutrality. In 1945 Yemen signed the pact of the Arab League. The Imam's despotism resulted in his

assassination in 1948. He was replaced by the king's personal adviser Abdullah as Imam. But his constitutional monarchy could not last for long because the crown prince, Saif-ul-Islam Ahmed, overthrew the new regime with the help of fanatical tribesmen. He had to face another unsuccessful coup led by his own brothers. But this was suppressed with utmost cruelty in 1955.

Internal unrest impelled Yemen to seek closer relationship with Arab countries. Yemen also sought closer relationship with the Soviet Union. These moves were taken in response to the criticism directed against the government. Yemen joined with the United Arab Republic in a special kind of relation which created a lose bond between U.A.R. on the one hand and Yemen on the other.

But the relation with the United Arab Republic and the Imam deteriorated in the end of 1961. In December, 1961 Nasser described the internal condition of Yemen as going against 'the law of Justice and the law of God'. In 1962 an uprising under the leadership of Abdullah es-Salal resulted in the overthrow of monarchy in Yemen But the republican regime had to face opposition from Saudi Arabia and Britain who actively encouraged the reactionary tribal leaders to overthrow it. The revolutionary government has faced the situation boldly. It has established a strong government at Sana. It has received active support from U.A.R. Nasser warned Saudi Arabia against her policy of sending active help to pro-Imam forces. After the Arab-Israel war, in which Yemen played no active part, Nasser decided to withdraw U.A.R. troops from Yemen. At the Khartoum Summit Conference of Arab States (August 29-September 1, 1967) Nasser reached an agreement with Faisal of Saudi Arabia to withdraw in return for a Saudi undertaking to halt all aid to the royalists. On November 5, 1967 the Salal government was overthrown by a bloodless coup and was replaced by a group of moderate republicans with Qadi Abdul Rahman al-Iryani as President and Mohisn al-Ayni as premier. On December 18 Maj. Gen. Hasan al-Amri became the premier.

On December 30, 1967 Britain granted independence to the Republic of South Yemen. South Yemen consists of South Arabia, Aden and Aden protectorate. Britain has handed over power to the National Liberation Front (NLF) and its leader Mr. Khatan Shaabi. Bitter struggle for power between Fossy (Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen) and NLF dominate the politics of South Yemen, although there are no basic differences between these two parties.

Syria. After the First World War Syria together with Lebanon

was placed under the mandatory rule of France. France ejected prince Feisal from the Damascus area and established French authority firmly in the territories assigned to her in the San Remo Conference. For administrative convenience, the whole area was divided into four parts, Latakia, Jeb-el-Druse, Syria and Lebanon. Alexandretta was ceded to Turkey in 1939. The French were determined to maintain their hold firmly in Syria and cruelly suppressed a revolt in Jeb-el-Druse. A federation of the four states was formed and dissolved in 1924. Negotiations with the nationalists of Syria and Lebanon dragged on till France agreed in 1936 to grant freedom to Syria and Lebanon after three years. But the rise of Hitler in Germany alarmed the French who now insisted on maintaining the strategic areas under control. The negotiations dragged on till the outbreak of World War II and neither the French Assembly nor the League of Nations ratified the Franco-Syrian agreement of 1936.

With the fall of France in 1940 the danger of Axis influence in the French Levant increased and the Allied forces occupied Syria and Lebanon in July, 1941. The representative of the Free French government General Catroux declared the independence of Syria and Lebanon in the end of 1941. In the elections held in 1943 nationalists won in both the countries. In Syria Shukri al-Quawatli, the leader of the nationalist bloc, became the Premier and in Lebanon another nationalist Bishara el-Khuri became the President. The French attempts at intervention in these countries were frustrated in 1945 by Britain. In 1946 all foreign troops were withdrawn from these republics.

But independence brought little relief to Syria due to the inexperience of her politicians. The link, economic and monetary, with Lebanon came to an end in 1950. The defeat of the Syrian army against Israel forces led to the outbreak of a series of coups. In March 1949 Col. Zaim executed a bloodless coup placing President Quwatli and Prime Minister Khalid under arrest. In the following August the Zaim regime was overthrown by Col. Hinnawi who made Hashim el-Atassi the President. Hinnawi was replaced by Col. Shishakli in December, 1949. Shishakli assumed dictatorial power in 1953 and his regime lasted for nearly a year. On February 25, 1954 another army coup led to his overthrow and the return of the constitution of 1950.

Syria's Foreign policy is dominated by the anti-Western feeling generated by the support extended by Britain and U.S.A. to Israel. Syria is one of the few countries of the Arab world which has a strong leftist movement. The left wing Baath Socialist Party of whom Ak-

ram Hurani Salah el-Bitar is a prominent leader and the Communist Party under Khaled Bagdash prompted Syria to an anti-Western policy. In the Army, too, a left-wing officers group pressed for an anti-Western policy. Syria refused any American aid under Point Four Programme. The pro-Soviet policy demanded by left-wing pressure received check from moderate politicians like President Quwatly. Syria received financial help from the Soviet Union. The United States therefore accused it as virtually a Communist regime. The Syrian government denied these charges but the attempt to isolate Syria and the threatening attitude of Turkey and Israel induced Syria to seek safety in a closer union with Egypt. Turkey's membership of NATO increased Syria's apprehension and in February, 1958 she joined with Egypt to form the U.A.R.

In 1961, however, Syrian discontent towards Nasser's policy of introducing reforms led to an uprising in Damascus and under conservative politicians like M-Kuzbari, Syria broke off from the U.A.R. In 1962 again another uprising led by the Baath party resumed the relation with Egypt. General Atasi, the President of the Revolutionary Council, in Syria, declared that the time was not far off when an Arab state extending from the Atlantic to the Arabian Sea would come into existence. In Syria, however, the clash between Nasserism and the extreme left resulted again in the parting of ways.

In the last fifteen years Syria has experienced the rule of eighteen different governments. Till February 23, it was ruled by President Amin Hafiz, the 'Iron Man' of Syria. Recently the Syrian government has nationalized nearly 115 trades and industries. This sudden wheel to the left is largely the outcome of the attempt of the army officers who are backing the regime to take the wind out of the sail of the left parties. In February the Hafez regime was replaced by General Jodid.

On October 29, 1968 a new government headed by Nureddin al-Attasi, Secretary General of the Ba'athist party was formed. The twenty-five months rule of premier Yussef Zayen was replaced by a new cabinet. Like the old one the new includes one communist minister. He is Mr. Wasal Faisal. General Hafez was renamed defence minister. To a large extent Syria was responsible for the June-war. After the war Syrians maintained the view that the Arabs should continue the struggle.

Lebanon. Lebanon is bound on the north and east by Syria and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea. On her southern border lie Israel and Jordan. With Syria she achieved her independence and in 1950 broke off her customs union with Syria. In 1952 the revolu-

tion in Eygpt caused stirrings in Lebanon. The Socialists and their National Front forced President Bishra el-Khuri to resign but an attempted coup by General Shehab did not materialise. The 1952 events proved the strength of the modernist forces in Lebanon. But Lebanon continued, even after 1952, to follow a pro-Western policy under its new President Camille Chamoun. The Lebanese government continued in its policy from 1953 to 1958 in strengthening the traditional forces. As a result it headed towards a crisis. In 1958 the terms of office of President Chamoun was to come to an end and the constitution did not permit of re-election. In the meanwhile the Nuries-Said regime came to violent end in Iraq. Chamoun who was 'the bulwark of the West' had to be saved in order to keep Lebanon in the Western camp. The clash between Arab nationalism and traditionalist policy of Chamoun induced U.S.A. to land its marines in Lebanon. It evoked strong protest from the Soviet Union and U.S.A. had to withdraw its forces. In the meanwhile British troops were flown to Jordan to prop up traditionalist forces. In July, Chamoun was replaced by General Chehab who promptly repudiated the Eisenhower doctrine. The election of 1968 resulted in the returning of 30 Chamounists, 35 Chehabists and 34 independents in a House of 99. The House elected Helon as President. But he is subjected to pressure from all the three groups. Lebanon was scarely involved in the June war except for a brief air engagement. On Dec. 28, 1968 Israeli air force made a reprisal raid on Beirut airport. The Security Council condemned Israeli action without reservation.

Jordan. Only Jordan now remained solidly in the hands of the traditionalist forces. The Kingdom of Jordan lies on the either side of river Jordan. In 1923 Transjordan was converted into a semi-autonomous Arab principality under Emir Abdullah, son of Sheriff Hussain. The creation of this Kingdom under the aegis of Great Britain was due to the aim of British foreign policy to cultivate Hashimite friendship and her unwillingness to allow another power to extend influence over an Arab area that controlled the route between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. In March, 1946 Jordan attained full independence and in April Abdullah assumed the title of king. By a revision of the treaty in 1948 Britain recognised him as king of the Hashimite Kingdom of Jordan. But the control of Britain still remained supreme. King Abdullah of Jordan joined the war against Israel not so much to further Arab cause but to realise his cherished aim of expanding his kingdom. His Arab Legion occupied the central and eastern part of Palestine including the old city of Jerusalem and in the truce that followed Abdullah nearly doubled his

kingdom.

Jordan's position was somewhat paradoxical. On the one hand, Abdullah dreamt of unifying the Arabs, and on the other hand, Jordan depended largely on British aid for which she incurred the displeasure of Arab modernism. His Arab Legion was organized by the famous British General Glubb Pasha and he conceded strategic air bases to Britain in Amman and Mafraq. King Abdullah was assassinated on July 20, 1951. He was succeeded by his son King Talal who after a brief rule was deposed by the Parliament. His son Hussain, a boy of seventeen, succeeded him. The months preceding the Suez crisis saw mounting tension in Jordan-Israel border which caused so much discontent that King Hussain had to gratify popular anti-British feeling. Under pressure from army officers, General Glubb was dismissed. In the election of October, 1956 a government composed of supporters of Arab modernism came to power. It increased the possibility of an alliance with Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia. Prime Minister Nebulsi showed sympathy with Arab nationalism. But soon Hussain saw danger of communist penetration in his state and not only dismissed the Prime Minister, but suspended the Parliament. By a strange coincidence while he was carrying out this reactionary coup he was granted financial help from U.S.A. The American sixth fleet presented itself in the east during this period of crisis in Jordan. Jordan identified itself with the Western camp and set its face against Arab modernism. Naturally enough Jordan extended support to Pakistan in its aggressive war against India. But pressure of circumstances and the threat of Israel invasion forced Jordan to enter into a defensive alliance with U.A.R. Jordan suffered defeat like other Arab States during the June War. The acts of Palestine Commandos operating from Jordanian territory have called forth retaliatory measures from Israel which often raids Jordanian territory to punish Amman for sh ltering Arab territories.

Iraq. Iraq is surrounded by Turkey on the north, Syria and Jordan on the west, and Saudi Arabia on the south. In the San Remo Conference Britain obtained mandate over the area and the League confirmed it much to the dislike of the Arabs. Britain invited Feisal, son of Sheriff Hussain, to assume the crown of Iraq (1921). Britain concluded a number of treaties with Iraq. The first of this series of Anglo-Iraqi treaties signed on October 10, 1922, gave Britain control over Iraq's army and foreign relation. In 1926 and 1927 Britain by signing two separate treaties modestly relaxed this control. In 1930 Iraq and Britain signed a treaty of twenty years alliance and announced the termination of British mandate on the date of Iraq's entry in the

League. On October 3, 1932 Iraq became a member of the League of Nations. Feisal was succeeded by his son King Ghazi in 1933. In 1936 the supporters of Kemalist-type regime in Iraq engineered a coup which though short-lived produced a chain of events. In 1939 Ghazi died of a motor accident and was succeeded by his minor son Feisal II.

With the outbreak of World War II Arab countries became objects of Axis propaganda. In Iraq Rashid Ali Gilani effected a coup d'etat on April 3, 1941. Rashid Ali was a pro-Axis and anti-British politician and British forces were therefore sent to Iraq to crush his power. Rashid Ali was forced to flee and Iraq declared war against Germany on January 16, 1943. Apart from her peculiar relation with Britain, Iraq developed close relationship with the countries of West Asia. She signed the Saadabad Pact in 1937 with Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan and in 1945 signed the Arab League pact. After World War II, Iraq under the leadership of pro-Western politicians, like Nuri-es-Said and Prince Abdullah joined the Baghdad Pact and thus identified herself with the West. But Iraq could not escape the wave of post-war upheavals in the Arab world inspired by the Egyptian revolution of 1952. On July 14, 1958 under General Kassem the Iraqi army captured the Government, killed the king and his associates including Nuri-es-Said and Prince Abdullah and proclaimed its intention of following a neutral policy in the global conflict by withdrawing from the Baghdad Pact.

At first it appeared that this revolution would help a merger with Egypt. But Kassem's policy soon came under criticism from the pro-Nasser elements who accused him as a supporter of Communists. The first challenge came from Abdul Salem Aref who was arrested but spared his life through Kassem's intervention. Kassem soon accused Egypt of complicity in trying to overthrow his regime. In February, 1959 six Cabinet Ministers resigned as a protest against Kassem's pro-left policy. But Kassem tried to follow a positive neutral policy and never attempted to join in either camp. On February 4, 1962 however his regime was overthrown by Aref through a violent revolution. Aref ordered the death of Kassem and his associates. President Aref who was killed in an aircrash was replaced by his brother Abdur Rahman Aref. Iraq joined UAR and Jordan in a defence pact before the June war. Though Iraq was involved in the war her losses were negligible. On 16 July, 1968 Aref was ousted from power by a bloodless coup. The Revolutionary Council was headed by pro-Baathist General Bakr. It declared solidarity with the Arab League and called for a more independent policy.

Middle East and the Cold War—Britain's Weakness. Britain

was traditionally the dominant western power in the Middle East and for more than a century and a half she kept out Russia from the Straits and the Persian Gulf. She also hindered the spread of French influence in the area. The currency of the Middle Eastern countries and their trade was linked with the sterling area. There was a further expansion of British trade during the Second World War. Even at the end of World War II Britain apparently emerged as the strongest military power in the Middle East. But abruptly during the crisis in Greece and Turkey she had to admit her inability to check the growing threat to her supremacy from Russia, and the United States had to take her place. The challenge to British supremacy came even on the eve of World War II. Hitler's global ambitions were a threat to British domination in the Middle East. A second challenge came from Russia. In her attempt to dislodge Britain from the Middle East Russia used diplomatic, economic and ideological weapons according as the need arose. The first round came in 1921 when Turkey fighting for her national liberation sought Soviet friendship. Iran, Turkey and Afghanistan concluded under Soviet auspices a number of treaties in 1926 and 1928. But in 1937 the change of trend was signified by the Saadabad pact directed largely against Russia. Britain and France also took care to eliminate communist influence in the Middle East in which area during the inter-war period Russian influence was not very great. But the conclusion of Russo-German non-aggression pact alarmed Turkey. With the beginning of Nazi aggression on Russia Turkey became anti-Soviet. But by that time Britain and France became Russian allies and Turkey also joined the Allied camp when German aggression was hurled back gradually from the Soviet soil.

Growth of Russian influence. During the World War II Soviet influence in the Middle East increased steadily. Russia was now allowed to establish diplomatic link with Cairo, Baghdad and other Middle Eastern countries and there was an increasing flow of Communist literature and propaganda. In 1946 the Soviet move into Azerbaijan and the encouragement given to the Tudeh party (Communist party of Iran) as also the Soviet refusal to give up the concessions received in North Persia during the war caused alarm. Soviet Union also demanded control over the Straits. The Communist Guerillas became active in Greece and Britain was no longer in a position to counteract Soviet actions.

Again, the challenge of a militant Arab nationalism was growing more and more in intensity. The Arab-Israel conflict was threatening to disturb the Middle Eastern politics. Russia was not associated in

the eyes of the Arabs with any imperialist design. Although the Soviet Union had supported the partition of Palestine and Czechoslovakia had sold arms to the Jews, yet the developments in this area merely generated anti-Western feeling. Thus though it was not possible for U.S.S.R. to make any direct contact through Turkey, Greece or Iran due to Western counter measures yet indirectly the Russian influence increased. Presently Russia discarded her support to Zionism. Since then the Russian support to Arab nationalism has enhanced her prestige in the Middle East. This became all the more apparent during the Suez crisis when the threat of Russian intervention in favour of Egypt was a major factor in checking Anglo-French aggression. But the Arab countries though eager to gain Soviet aid are totally against any extension of communist influence in the Middle East. This is apparent from Nasser's opposition to Kassem who was backed by the communists. The communists are today facing repression in U.A.R. But in foreign relations the Arab countries are eager to cultivate Soviet frienship. Britain though apparently in a strong position in Iraq, Jordan and Canal zone was unable to counteract Soviet moves. "What was most disturbing and called for an entirely new defence system for preserving British interest was the prospect of Soviet diplomacy joining forces with Arab nationalism".[3] In spite of Soviet aid the Arabs were defeated in the June War. Yet Russia's popularity with progressive Arab States has increased since 1967. After World War II, therefore, the United States has replaced Britain for boosting up Western defences in the Middle East. American policy in the Middle East is a part of U.S.A.'s global strategy of containment in the 'Cold War'.

United States Policy. The United States did not take much interest in the area up to 1941. The Middle East received no serious consideration in American politics except in clause twelve of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson for disposing the Ottoman Empire. In the post-Versailles era Middle East was left to its own device. During World War II U.S.A. began to demonstrate some interest in the oil reserves of the Middle East and in the emancipation of Syria and Lebanon. Several factors now inducted the U.S.A. to follow a policy of containment in the Middle East. The most important among them was oil, Palestine and the Soviet menace. The development of oil resources of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait and American stakes in this area called forth the need for action. The pressure of Zionist movement impelled the United States to help the formation of a Jewish national home in this area. The growth of Soviet menace in the northern belt

3. Banerji, J. K.—Middle East in World Politics, p. 327.

induced President Truman to proclaim in a message to a joint session of the Congress on March 12, 1947 the need for strengthening American defence in the Middle East. This statement of policy which urged the Congress to send generous aid to Greece and Turkey in men and materials is known since then as the Truman doctrine.

But while the United States was successful in building up a Northern tier defence through Truman doctrine and extension of NATO membership to Greece and Turkey two years later, its policy to win Arab nationalism presented baffling problems. In Iran the overthrow of Dr. Mossadegh did not earn the sympathy of the Iranian people for American cause. It was widely believed that the Shah and his associates were merely Anglo-American puppets. The attempt to follow a policy of contentment led to the strengthening of traditionalism in Middle Eastern politics. The loss of Palestine Mandate, the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the assassination of Abdullah of Jordan, left Iraq as the only stronghold of the West. U.S.A. now came forward with a plan for setting up a Middle East defence. But Nasser was unwilling to associate Egypt with any Western supported pact. The Western statesmen, therefore, decided to do without Nasser and in 1955 the so-called Baghdad Pact with Turkey, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq and Great Britain came into existence. In 1958 following the overthrow of monarchy Iraq withdrew from the pact.

Suez Crisis and after. In the meanwhile the Suez crisis came to a head. Following an arms deal with Czechoslovakia and the consequent Western refusal to finance the Aswan dam project, Nasser announced the nationalization of Suez (July 19, 1956). Mr. Foster Dulles, desirous of avoiding "polarization of the Middle East into modernist Soviet, and traditionalist—Western camps made a major effort to avoid a showdown"[4]. But on October 29, Israel was made the spearhead of an attack on Egypt which resulted in Anglo-French debacle. The Anglo-French invasion was denounced both by U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. But in the eyes of the neutral Arabs the U.S.S.R. gained much more prestige than the Western powers.

U.S.A. now became eager to strengthen anti-Nasser and anti-communist traditional forces of the Arab world and to prevent the consolidation of Soviet gains in the Middle East. On March 5, 1957 the United States with much fanfare announced the Eisenhower doctrine. This doctrine announced the intention of U.S.A. to use armed forces for the preservation of the independence and integrity of the nations of

4. Schleicher, Charles, P.—International Relations, Co-operation and Conflict, p. 586.

the Middle East. This doctrine was directed against any intervention of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. But intervention actually came from the Western countries. In 1958 Kassem overthrew the pro-Western regime of Iraq and in the same year American marines landed in Lebanon and British troops were sent to Jordan. In November, 1958 General Abboud drove out the pro-Western Khalil government of Sudan. In all these the Soviet Union had no hand, rather it was due to Soviet protest that the American marines were withdrawn from Lebanon. The West has not gained much in the 'Cold War' owing to its identification with the reactionary forces of the Arab world. The West has boosted up traditionalist regimes. On the other hand, the extreme proverty of the Middle Eastern countries has made the appeal of Soviet communism popular. Though the new national leaders, it must be added, are generally anti-communist yet they are eager to cultivate friendship with U.S.S.R. so long as that does not stand in the way of their neutral policy. Arab States blamed U.S.A. for the aid and sympathy that she extended to Israel since 1967. U.S.A.'s influence in the Arab world is definitely on the wane.

The prestige of the Western camp has suffered due to the inner contradition among NATO members. The relation between Turkey and Greece over the question of the status of Cyprus has caused much anxiety among Western powers. The quarrel started with the demand of Enosis or the union of Cyprus with Greece. The Turkish minority demanded partition of Cyprus in reply to the demands for Enosis. Turko-Greek riot in Cyprus has resulted in the deterioration of relation between the two members of the NATO. The U.N.O. offered mediation on the issue. The spread of military power in terms of *de facto* naval and air bases and the establishment of Mediterranean fleet is only one aspect of the growth of Soviet influence among the Arab nations since the June war. The NATO powers have decided to create a naval wing of the NATO forces to counteract Soviet infiltration in Mediterranean. It is evident that without an understanding between the two super powers an Arab-Israel conflict in near future is inevitable. The situation in Cyprus became as tense in 1957 as it was four years earlier. Three Cyprus peace makers from the U.S.A., the United Nations and NATO brought about an agreement between Greece and Turkey on Nov. 30, 1967.

The agreement provided for withdrawal of Greek and Turkish expeditionary forces from Cyprus, UN guarantee for the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, and disarmament of all armed forces and groups in Cyprus except for a 5,000 strong police force.

SUMMARY

Middle East includes all the countries between Turkey and Afghanistan with a total population of 90 million. It contains the two strategic waterways—the Straits and the Suez. Oil, Arab awakening and Palestine constitute the three cardinal factors that have disturbed Middle Eastern politics in recent years.

Arab Awakening. The sharpening of the national liberation movement in the post-World War II era has made the position of imperialism untenable. The Arabs were induced during World War I to declare war against Turkey and were given vague promise of freedom. But actually even before the end of the war by secret agreement (like Sykes-Picot agreement) the Western powers had divided the Arab lands among themselves. In addition Great Britain in the Balfour declaration of 1917 promised a national home to the Jews in Palestine. The Peace settlement smashed all Arab hope and granted Syria and Lebanon to France, Iraq and Palestine to Britain and thus the Arabs had new masters in place of the Turks. The Middle East in post-Versailles era was in ferment and the rise of new Turkey under Kemal Pasha inspired the Arabs. With the intensification of power conflict at the end of World War II, the newly awakened national spirit sharpened in the Middle East. Even before World War II broke out the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1936 was signed and at the end of the war Egypt not only drove out the British but nationalised the Suez in 1956. In Iraq anti-British feeling expressed itself in local uprisings (for instance the Rashid Ali incident in Iraq, 1940). In the post-war era monarchies tumbled, the old order changed and the struggle against imperialism resulted in the Iraq rebellion of 1958, the independence of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco and other Arab countries. Another factor that forged the Arab unity was the creation of Israel in 1948. The Arab-Jewish conflict added fuel to fire and has proved itself to be a permanent factor of disturbance in Middle Eastern politics.

The Middle East has experienced the effects of the 'Cold War' in the post-war era due to increase of Russian influence as also due to the popularity of Soviet Russia among the poverty stricken masses. Western imperialism, Zionism, nationalism and Communism are today the chief factors of Middle Eastern politics.

Arab League. Attempts to force Arab unity through the Arab League—a loose union of sovereign states—was at first encouraged by the British. Seven Arab States, viz., Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Iraq, signed the agreement of the League in 1945 and in 1958 Sudan, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya joined in the League. But in actual practice the League proved an ineffective organization and during the Palestine War (1948) the Arab states demonstrated their lack of unity. The creation of Baghdad Pact resulted in the defection of Iraq from the League. But the Arab League had definitely demonstrated its anti-Western outlook by its actions.

Factors Complicating the Settlement in post-Versailles Era. In the post-Versailles era Britain not only disillusioned the Arabs but followed a policy of divide and rule by granting financial aid to Sheriff Hussain of the Hashimite dynasty and Ibn Saud, the Wahhabi leader. Both fought

war over Mecca till the Sheriff was driven out. The British mandate over Iraq and Palestine and the French over Syria and Lebanon were granted in accordance with Sykes-Picot agreement and in violence of promises held out to the Arabs. The recommendations of San Remo Conference (1920) based on Sykes-Picot Agreement were accepted by the League. The Balfour declaration was another proof in the Arab eye of the volte face of Western powers.

The French mandate in Syria was contested at least in Damscus by Feisal, son of Hussain. But the French drove him out. Britain and France, however, imposed their will upon recalcitrant Arabs. But as a concession to Hashimites, Feisal was recognised as the ruler of Iraq and Abdullah, his brother, as the ruler of Transjordan. Both remained under British tutelage.

Peace Settlement with Turkey. The Western powers imposed the Treaty of Sevres upon Turkey. Turkey was territorially reduced to a region round Constantinople. In 1919 the Greeks landed at Smyrna to occupy it as provided by the Peace Settlement. But Kemal Pasha, the leader of nationalist Turkey, challenged the settlement and convoked the nationalist congress at Erzerum and Sivas. This was followed by the adoption of National Pact by the Turkish National Assembly. The Pact ceded right of self-determination to all parts of the Ottoman empire, demanded security of Constantinople and abolition of extraterritoriality Turkey now faced invasion not only from the Greeks but also from other Allied troops. But the French and Italians soon concluded separate agreements and the Greeks were driven out in the middle of 1922 from Smyrna. Britain left alone agreed with other powers to convene a Conference at Lausanne to revise the Treaty of Sevres. On July 24, 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. Turkey's border was extended in Eastern Thrace up to river Maritsa. The Greeks were given Aegean Islands (excepting Imbros, Tendos and Rebbit), Italy Dodecanese, Britain Mosul (till further settlement) and the Syrian border was confirmed. Turkey agreed to the separation of Arab lands and the Straits was internationalized.

Turkey became a republic and the Sultanate (1922) and the Caliphate (1924) were abolished. Kemal Pasha was elected President four times and enjoyed practically dictatorial power till his death. The state became secular and sweeping social reforms including abolition of Fez and veil and introduction of Latin alphabets were introduced. Planning in limited scale for industry, agriculture and communication was adopted.

Turkey's realistic foreign policy concerned itself with the problem of solving the Mosul and Straits question. Alexandretta soon rejoined Turkey as a result of an election. Russo-Turkish friendship became firm during this period due to the support given by the Soviet Union to Turkey's claims on the Straits and Mosul (in 1926 Turkey relinquished her claim on Mosul in exchange of a share of 10% in oil). British relation with Turkey became gradually friendly and after the conclusion of Russo-German non-aggression pact Turkey received Anglo-French aid and concluded alliance with Britain and France. The anti-revisionist attitude of Turkey and her anxiety about Mussolini's African ambition made Turkey hostile to the Axis and in 1934 she joined the Balkan Entente. Hitler appointed Von Papen to win over Turkey to the Axis side. Turkey's

honeymoon with Axis powers lasted till 1945, when she declared war on Germany. Turkey's anxiety to establish her hold over the Straits resulted in the Montreux Convention of 1936. The Montreux Convention established Turkey's right to fortify the Straits. In the post-war period Russian demand of joint control over the Straits was firmly refused by Turkey which received aid under Truman doctrine in 1947. In 1950 Turkey became an associated member of NATO and in 1952 received full membership. Turkey's altered position made her a vital link in the Western defence system. Subsequently Turkey became a member of CENTO. Her strained relations with Greece over Cyprus called forth mediation from U.N., NATO and U.S.A. which resulted in an amicable settlement in 1967.

Egypt. Egypt's vital importance is due to the Suez Canal connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Britain established her hold over Nile Valley in 1882. In 1875 Disraeli had purchased Khedive Ismail Pasha's share in the Canal. Britain established her hold over Sudan shortly afterwards. In 1899 an Anglo-Egyptian condimonium was established over Sudan. Britain became the controlling factor in Egypt. Egyptian national movement, therefore, directed its efforts to oust Britain from the Nile Valley and in the Peace Conference of Paris Zaghlui Pasha, the founder of Egyptian national movement and the Wafd party, pleaded, in vain, the cause of Egyptian independence. Following the report of Milner Commission Britain declared the independence of Egypt in 1922, with certain reservations. Britain reserved the right to supervise communication, security, foreign and minority interest in Egypt.

The Wafd which won the election in 1924 protested against the restrictions, yet, following the murder of the British Commander Sir Lee Stock, Britain strengthened her hold over Egypt and Sudan. Between 1924 to 1936 the palace through its henchmen controlled the internal politics. Zaghlul Pasha's sudden death in 1924 resulted in comparative lull in Egyptian politics. Nahas Pasha replaced him as the leader of Wafd. But the Italian invasion of Ethiopia made Britain eager for compromise and in 1936, the Anglo-Egyptian treaty was signed. The treaty resulted in 20 years' alliance and terminated the British occupation. The treaty also recognised special British interest in the Canal Zone and Anglo-Egyptian condimonium over Sudan. During World War II Nahas Pasha collaborated with the Allied Powers and King Farouk was forced to accept him as Premier owing to the patronage that he received from Britain. In 1944 he was dismissed but the anti-Wafd ministries from 1944 to 1949 faced serious opposition from extreme elements in Egyptian politics. 1950 elections swept the Wafd into power again but the Wafd was by this time riddled with corruption.

In 1952 Farouk took advantage of an anti-British riot in Cairo to dismiss the Wafd ministry. On July 23, Farouk himself was forced to abdicate by the 'Committee of Free Officers', who under Neguib captured power. Shortly afterwards Nasser replaced Neguib as the leader of the Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.). In 1954 an agreement was signed with Britain which cancelled 1936 treaty and provided for withdrawal of British troops within 20 months. Sudan was now allowed to have her own Constituent Assembly (1953) which decided a separation from Egypt

Nasser though not anti-West refused to be drawn in a Middle East defence pact and purchased arms from Czechoslovakia. The West, therefore, refused to finance the Aswan dam project. In response to Western hostility Nasser declared the Nationalization of Suez (July 26, 1956). Nasser's refusal to accept the decision of the London Conference to establish international control over Suez was soon followed by a failure of Anglo-French move to coerce Egypt through U.N. On October 29, an Israel attack on Egypt was made the pretext for an Anglo-French invasion. The victors, however, were defeated in their purpose through the protest of Afro-Asian States, U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. U.N. forces were sent to Egypt to supervise the armistice. At present Egypt under Nasser is following a neutralist foreign policy and seeking solidarity with Afro-Asian States. The threatening statements of Israel towards Syria in May induced U.A.R. to take action in favour of her ally and ask UNEF to be withdrawn. The Secretary-General complied with UAR request. On May 22 Nasser claimed sovereignty over Gulf of Aqaba and closed it to Israel shipping. Jordan now concluded a defence pact with U.A.R. On June 5 Israel air force attacked all U.A.R. airfields and seized the Gaza strip and the whole of Sinai peninsula and stood on the banks of the Suez Canal. On the evening of June 8 the U.A.R. accepted the U.N. Security Council proposal for a ceasefire which Israel and other Arab states also complied with. During the war Israeli air force had wantonly attacked the Indian contingent of U.N.E.F. India firmly supported the Arab cause. The Security Council in November, 1967 accepted a British proposal for peace in the Middle East and appointed Dr. Guner Jarring to give effect to these proposals. But subsequent development in the Middle East made the work of Jarring mission extremely difficult. Not a day passed without Israeli reprisal raid for retaliating Palestine Commando actions against Israel. On 28th December, 1968 an Israel air-raid on Beirut airport evoked unequivocal condemnation of the Security Council which had asked Israel to put restraint on ealier occasions aliso. In January, 1969 the Soviet Union put forward a peace proposal on the basis of evacuation of occupied territories and recognition of Israel by Arab States. France has proposed four power conference.

Palestine. Palestine became a British mandate after World War I. Britain in 1917 through Belfour Declaration had promised the Jews a national home. The founder of Zionist movement was Theodre Herzel. After his death in 1904 Dr. Weizman became the leader of international Zionist movement. The Arab-Jewish relations in the post-Versailles era deteriorated due to the animosity of the Arabs to Jewish migration. The well-to-day Jews purchased good arable lands from poor Arabs and the economic prosperity of the Jewish-held areas in Palestine evoked Arab jealousy. Common claim upon holy places such as the Wailing Wall added fuel to the fire.

Britain soon came to regard the Balfour declaration as a political liability and through Churchill White Paper in 1922, tried to limit Jewish immigration. Following Arab-Jewish riot over Wailing Wall a League Commission was appointed at British request. Another Commission under Sir John Hope Simpson tried to impose restrictions on Jewish immigration. The advent of Hitler and the consequent increase in Jewish im-

migration led to Arab terrorism. In 1937 the Peel Commission proposed an Arab State, a Jewish State and a neutral enclave under Britain in Palestine. This proposal and the subsequent Round Table Conference followed by a British White Paper came to nothing. But during World War II there was temporary lull in Palestine largely owing to the presence of the Allied troops.

The Partition. Britain found her position untenable due to Arab and Jewish terrorism and referred the Palestine question to the U.N. Assembly in April, 1947. The U.N. eleven-man Commission through a majority decision decided upon partition. Britain decided to withdraw on May 14, 1948, and due to lack of co-operation between two super-powers—U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., the problem of dividing Palestine was left to Arab and Jewish terrorism.

On May 14, Britain withdrew from Palestine and the State of Israel came into existence. At its birth Israel was attacked by the Arab League states. Their lack of co-operation resulted in Jewish occupation of three-fourths of Palestine when the truce was signed. A Tripartite declaration of France, Britain and U.S.A. guaranteed the truce line. The Arab states faced serious problems now due to the influx of refugees. Internal rebellion took place in Syria and Egypt and the weakness of the Arab League became apparent. Israel since its birth had to live on charity from Jews all over the World. But its achievements in the economic field have been spectacular. It has been financially backed by U.S.A. Israel's relation with Arab states has unsettled the Middle Eastern politics. With the development of 'Cold War' she has identified herself with the West. Israel has been reconciled with Turkey but not with the Arabs. In the June War Israel came out victorious. Her policy since then has been aggressive to a great extent. Not a day passed since the acceptance of cease-fire without Israeli raid in Arab states in defiance of Security Council resolution to the contrary. In spite of her actions she has been granted U.S. aid including Phantom-4 bombers.

Iran. In 1925 Reza Shah Pehlvi, an adventurer, replaced the old Qajar ruler and emulated Kemla in introducing far-reaching reforms. During World War II Iran's attempt to follow a neutral policy was frustrated by joint British and Soviet intervention which resulted in the abdication of Reza Shah. In 1943 Iran declared war against Germany. After the war Iran insisted and obtained the withdrawal of foreign troops (the Soviet Union withdrew after a reference to U.N. by Iran).

The post-World War II period saw a mounting anti-Western feeling and increasing demand to free Iran's oil resources from the British owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. In 1951 Dr. Mossadegh ordered the nationalisation of A.I.O.C. and in this he was supported by the left as well as by the conservative orthodox and militant Fadayni Islam. The Shah fled the country and appointed General Zahedi to replace Mossadegh. The 'oilless' '(cash-less)' economy affected the finances due to the failure of Iran to work the oil fields and Abadan refinery. In 1953 Zahedi through military coup occupied power. A Consortium of 8 oil companies (including A.I.O.C.) was given charge to exploit Iranian oil in exchange of a royalty of 50 per cent. U.S. aid flowed into Iran. Iran joined the Baghdad Pact and identified herself with the Western powers. But behind the apparent

stability in Iran looms the possibility of disturbances generated by mass discontent.

OTHER ARAB STATES

Saudi Arabia. Among other Arab States Saudi Arabia was the outcome of the efforts of Ibn Saud, the leader of Wahhabis. Ibn Saud occupied Riyadh from his rival, and Hejaz from Sheriff Hussain in 1926. Ibn Saud soon consolidated his position by establishing friendly relations with other Arab states including the Hashimite rulers of Jordan and Iran. Her relation with U.S.A. became specially close when following the discovery of oil U.S. citizens were given exclusive right to exploit it. Saudi Arabia received aid under lend-lease agreement. In 1953 Ibn Saud breathed his last and his son Saud Ibn Aziz ruled the kingdom till his brother Feisal replaced him recently on the throne. After the June War Saudi Arabia's relations with progressive Arab States including U.A.R. improved.

Yemen. Ruled by Imam Yahya Hamiduddin, Yemen pursued a policy of close relation with Italy (treaty of 1926 and 1927) following her independence in the post-Versailles era. During World War II the Imam displayed pro-Axis sympathy and in 1945 joined the Arab League. After his assassination he was succeeded by his eldest son Saiful Islam Ahmed who crushed an attempt at constitutional monarchy. Yemen joined U.A.R. In 1962 monarchy in Yemen tumbled down owing to a rebellion led by Abdulla es-Salal. The Salal government has established close relation with U.A.R. but has been opposed by Saudi Arabia. On 5 November, 1967 the Salal government was replaced by moderate republicans with Qadi Abdul Rahmat-al-Irayni as president. On 30 December, 1967 Britain granted independence to the republic of South Yemen (including Aden protectorate and Aden) and handed over power to National Liberation Front (NLF). The Front for the liberation of occupied Yemen (Flossy) is a rival of the NLF for power.

Syria. The French mandate over Syria and Lebanon proved specially oppressive and due to the rising tide of national movement Syria was promised independence in 1936. But the possibility of a war with Germany was made the pretext for continuing French control. After the fall of France, General Catroux on behalf of Free France declared the independence of Syria and Lebanon in 1941. Syria joined the Arab League and became a member of U.N. But in the post-independence period Syria faced a series of coups and it was not till 1950 that the republican constitution was restored. An anti-Western orientation of Syrian foreign policy led Eisenhower to call it a communist state. The Turkish membership of NATO induced Syria to join U.A.R. in 1958. But in 1961 she broke off from U.A.R. and in 1962 again resumed the relation (due to the influence of the Socialist Baath party). But further changes in government led to the severance of close ties with U.A.R. Until recently Syria was headed by President Amin Hafiz who had introduced nationalization in a number of industries. The Hafiz government has been overthrown by another military coup in the early part of 1966. To a large extent Syria is responsible for the June war and after the truce she maintains that Arabs should continue the war. In October, 1968 President Nuredin al Attasi, the Secretary-General of the Baathist party, formed a new Government

which included a communist.

Lebanon. Lebanon broke off her custom union with Syria in 1950. In 1952 as a result of coup d'etat the modernist forces were strengthened. But President Chamoun, supporter of traditionalism and pro-Western policy, asked and received U.S.A. military aid in 1958. U.S.A., however, had to withdraw troops due to Soviet protest and Chamoun was replaced by General Chehab as the head of the state. The election of 1968 resulted in a majority of independents who elected President Helou as Chief of the State. The Israel raid on Beirut airport on December 28, 1968 called for Security Council condemnation and alarmed Lebanon.

Jordan. Emier Abdullah, son of Sheriff Hussain, became the ruler of the semi-autonomous kingdom of Transjordan under British aegis. In the Palestine war Jordan gained central and eastern Palestine. In 1946 Jordan had attained full independence. After Abdullah's death in 1951, and a brief rule by his worthless son, King Hussain became the ruler. In 1956 Hussain was forced to dismiss Glubb Pasha, the British Commander of the Arab Legion. Soon, however, Hussain effected a coup and regained power with U.S.A. aid. Jordan entered into a defensive alliance with U.A.R. and suffered defeat during June War. Israel, often raids Jordanian territory to punish Amman for sheltering Palestine commandos.

Iraq. Feisal, another son of Sheriff Hussain, became the ruler of Iraq under British mandate. In 1930 Britain terminated the mandate and in 1932 Iraq became a member of the League. Following the failure of a pro-Axis coup Iraq joined the Allied camp in 1943. Under the leadership of pro-Western statesmen like Nuri es-Said Iraq joined the Baghdad Pact. In 1958 an uprising under General Kassem led to the overthrow of monarchy. But the new regime faced opposition not only from the West but also from pro-Nasser elements within. In 1962 due to a coup organized by General Arif, the revolutionary government of Kassem was overthrown. President Arif died of an air-crash and was replaced by his brother Abdur Rahman Arif. The latter was overthrown by a Beathist military coup headed by General Baur on 16 July, 1968.

Middle East and the Cold War. Britain with her far-flung empire dominated the Middle East in the post-Versailles era. But on the eve of World War II and during the war her supremacy was challenged (though it did not affect) by the Axis powers. In the post-World War II era Britain was no longer in a position to maintain her position in the face of the challenge from Arab nationalism and growing Soviet influence in the Middle East.

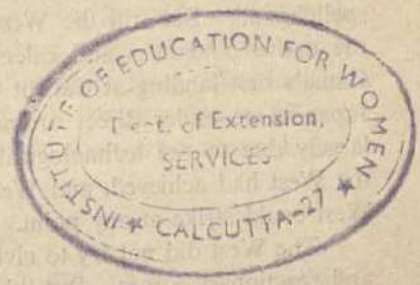
In the Northern tier Russian desire to gain the share of Iranian oil and control over the Straits led to declaration of the Truman doctrine. During the Suez crisis Russian threats, so at least the Arabs believed, led to the vindication of Egypt's cause. Poverty stricken Middle East has lent willing ear to appeal of Soviet communism. Though it must be pointed out that the Arab leaders, like Nasser, while eagerly receiving aid from communist countries, have set their face against communists at home.

U.S.A. has replaced Great Britain in the Middle East as the champion of the Western cause. In 1947 the Truman doctrine guaranteed aid to Greece and Turkey. The extension of NATO membership to Turkey and Greece strengthened the defence of the Northern tier. The forma-

tion of the Baghdad Pact was considered by U.S.A. to be another step forward in the policy of containment. But U.S.A. gradually identified with traditionalists in Arab countries. Though in the Suez crisis she deterred Anglo-French invasion U.S.A. credit ran low among modernist Arabs. In 1957 the Eisenhower doctrine declared U.S.A.'s intention to give aid to any state threatened by foreign aggression. In pursuance of this policy U.S.A. marines landed in Lebanon and British troops in Jordan. But the marnies had to withdraw due to Soviet protest and merely served to alienate Arab countries. The Cold War in the Middle East between giants has so far resulted in an increase of Russian prestige. Since the June War Soviet influence has increased. The infiltration of Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean has induced NATO to create a naval arm. It is certain that unless an understanding between the two super powers is reached an Arab-Israel conflict in the Middle-East is inevitable.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE :

1. Banerjee, J. K. : The Middle East in World Politics.
2. Hoskins, Halford, L. : The Middle East.
3. Lenczowski, George : The Middle East in World Affairs.
4. Longrigg, Stephen Hemsley : Oil in the Middle East.
5. Guy Wint and Peter Calvocrass. : The Middle East in Crisis.



Chapter 18

The Far East

The history of Far East offers an unparallel example of the exploitation carried out by Western imperialism on the underdeveloped countries. The word Far East denotes a widely separated area from Siberia to India. At first the Western approach to this region was the outcome of an attempt to break the bonds of the Mediterranean and to find out new areas for trade and commerce. The mission of the West to the East was not one of civilization but of greed. The East was far more advanced in the arts of civilization. The court of the Great Mughals held the Western travellers, traders and missionaries spell bound. But still the West came out victorious in its clash with the native potentates and rulers. Within four centuries of Vasco da Gama's first landing at Calicut virtually the whole of Far East except Japan came under direct or indirect control of the West. This was largely due to the technological advancement in the arts of war that the West had achieved, and Western preponderance at sea so that the West could strike at any point.

The West did not try to civilize the East or to eliminate the feudal and reactionary forces. But "the imposition of commercial economy"[1] upon the people of Asia brought about far-reaching though unintended changes in every aspect of life in the East. The impact of the West also produced a chain of reaction in social and political life of the people. The old veil of isolationism of China and Japan and other Asian countries was torn asunder. The materialistic civilization of the imperialist powers was soon applied against them.

Asia in the European age, to borrow a phrase from Michael Edwards, underwent revolution in intellectual, social and political life.

1. Pannikar, K M.—Asia and Western Dominance, p. 14.

During and after World War II Europe had to stage a hasty retreat at first before Japanese aggression and in the post-World War II era before the rising tide of nationalism. The latter, largely a product of the contact with the West, has been intermingled in China, Indo-China and in certain other areas with Communism. The retreat of Europe has again proved beyond doubt the fact that sea power though of great importance ultimately must succumb to superior land power. The truth of this statement has been proved beyond doubt by the failure of Athens, Carthage, Phoenicia as also by recent developments in Asia.

The mantle of Europe has fallen in the post-war period upon America. The development of the 'Cold War' between the two superpowers has enhanced the strategic importance of the Far East. Soviet Union took great interest in the development of the colonial struggle in the Far East from the end of the World War I. The depression of the thirties, the sharpening of the colonial liberation movement and the poverty of the masses made the Soviet Union extremely popular in the Far Eastern countries. The Soviet Union backed China in her attempt at reconstruction and her struggle against Japanese aggression. The success of the Communist revolution in China further complicated the situation. The new masters of China are militaristic in their outlook. The threat of Communist dominance in the Far East has induced the United States to follow a policy of containment and a 'brink in the war' policy. Another feature of the post-World War II era is the slow reawakening of Japan which after her surrender to MacArthur was so long under American heels. The Korean War is one illustration out of many, about the dangers of the 'Cold War'. 'Freeland' and Marxland rivalry in the Far East is a factor dangerous to world peace. The rise of Communist China has brought the danger nearer home to India.

CHINA

China under the Manchu dynasty which came to power by ousting the Ming rulers in the year 1661 remained in complete isolation. China kept her face averted from the rest of the world for nearly two centuries under her Manchu rulers.

The Manchu dynasty (1644-1911) ruled the Middle Kingdom in self-secluded isolation and refused contact with the outside world. In the end graft and corruption and a general decay, moral as well as material, set in. This paved the path for foreign intrusion on China.

In 1840 the Chinese Emperor, the 'Son of Heaven' as he was called, was forced by the British gunboats to open his port to the

foreigners. Then came the opium war (1842) and Hongkong and five other ports were granted to Britain. These gains were followed by demands for other such privileges such as immunity from Chinese legal jurisdiction for foreigners or extra-territoriality. Other nations were not slow to follow. The United States, Russia, France and Germany demanded similar privileges. The United States took the lead and other western nations followed quickly in demanding from China the most favoured nation clause, *i.e.*, the right to gain automatically the privilege granted to any other nation in China. There was now a regular scramble for concessions. China was forced to accept unequal treaties, international settlements, concessions and treaty ports. In 1898 Britain, France, Germany and Russia combined to gain forcibly lease on Chinese territory. Thus China gave Germany the right to build railway and open mines in Shantung, to France Kwangchow, to Britain Wei-hai-wei, to Russia Port Arthur and Liatung as lease for ninety-nine years. The United States demanded in 1899 that the above powers should extend equal privilege to other foreign powers: equal privilege so far as harbour and railroad duties are concerned. But this 'open door' policy of John Hay, American Secretary of State, was not respected by other Western powers. Italy followed other Western powers in putting forward her claim for a port in China but the Chinese government rejected it. Japan which within a short period of her contact with the West had successfully adopted western philosophy and technique was more successful in wringing concessions from China.

The Consequence of Western Impact. The contact with the West did not result in complete political subjugation of China. China was too large to be completely controlled by any one power and the mutual jealousy of the colonial powers prevented such an eventuality. But the introduction of 'commercial economy' in China and her contact with the West produced 'the destructive frenzy' of the Taiping uprising in the second half of the nineteenth century. It failed to attract all the anti-Manchu forces in China and was crushed in 1864 by the Manchu government with the aid of foreign mercenaries. In 1900 the famous Boxer uprising which was largely inspired by anti-Western feeling took place. Foreign legations in Peking were besieged and foreigners were attacked. In retaliation Western powers helped the Manchu government to put down the rebellion.

These rebellions though baffled exposed the weakness of Manchu rule and made it extremely unpopular. They thus paved the path for the revolution of 1911. "China's revolutionary political con-

sciousness erupted again in an articulate form under Sun-Yat-sen".[2]

Chinese Revolution of 1911. Sun-Yat-sen, the Father of the Chinese nationalism, was born in 1867 and was inspired by western ideals of democracy. He was born in a period when China had experienced the ordeal of a revolution that failed. When he breathed his last the Chinese people had already undergone another experience of a revolution in the making. The Communist Party of China came into existence just before his death. He bridged the years between the nationalist and communist revolution. Sun-Yat-sen was best suited to lead the Chinese people in overthrowing the worn-out Manchu dynasty. Sun-Yat-sen became the spiritual father of the Chinese nationalist revolution which had its roots in the middle class traders and bankers of South China. The revolution of 1911 led to the overthrow of the Manchu ruler Pu Yi, a minor. Though at the outset it was directed against the Manchus the revolution had an anti-Western orientation. It had its roots in the Western attempt to partition China in the end of the nineteeth century. It was inspired by the phenomenal success registered by Japan by following western methods. The success of Japan in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905) was an inspiration to the foreign educated Chinese youths—some of the future leaders of China. The loss of Korea and Formosa to Japan, the graft, corruption and inability of the Manchu dynasty, the misgovernment of the Regent of the boy-emperor are few among the immediate causes for the revolution of 1911. The event that led to the rebellion was the dismissal of Yuan Shi-kai, China's ablest military organizer.

The Chinese revolution of 1911 is significant in more than one way. First, it sought to bring about a complete change in a millennial tradition of government. Secondly, it was an attempt to impose upon the Chinese people a republican form of government based upon western ideal of parliamentary democracy. Thirdly, the movement was inspired by westernized intellectuals led by Dr. Sun-Yat-sen though the Presidency of the republic passed to Yuan Shi-kai. Fourthly, Sun-Yat-sen, who retired to Canton after Yuan Shi-kai had grabbed power, saw in the disintegration and chaos that followed the failure of the attempt to emulate the western methods. He decided, henceforth, to follow a radically different technique of which Soviet Russia provided a good though not wholly acceptable model.

Sun-Yat-sen relinquished the Presidency in 1912 and was replaced by Yuan-Shi-kai who finding the experiment at parliamentarism somewhat embarrassing, due to the opposition of the Nationalists, attempt-

2. Chester Bowles—The New Dimensions of Peace, p. 87.

ed to establish dictatorial power with the help of £25 million foreign loan. Yuan-Shi-kai spent the next four years in attempting to establish a new royal dynasty. He breathed his last in June, 1916. After his death Vice-President Li-Yuan-hung tried to re-establish parliamentary democracy in the north. In the meanwhile, under the leadership of Dr. Sun, the Kuomintang or the National People's Party, established at Canton a parliamentary form of government. The programme of the Southern government was tinctured with socialism due to the famous San Min Chu I or the Three Principles of the people, formulated by Dr. Sun. These three were nationalism, democracy and livelihood. The people must have the right to live and the right to living.

But the absence of a central government accounted for anarchy and chaos which was further enhanced due to the activities of a dozen warlords (Tuchuns). Lacking in any military strength the Nationalist government had the alternative of either becoming a silent spectator to the wars of the private armies of the feudal lords or of allying itself with the more progressive element among them. The Kuomintang government of which Dr. Sun was now the President followed the second alternative, and allied itself with Chang Tso-lin, the Manchurian warlord. The latter proved himself to be a staunch nationalist and rendered a good account of himself by administering check upon his rival Wu Pei fu.

The Twenty-one Demands. "Japan", said Yuan Shi-kai in 1914, "is going to take advantage of this war to get control of China".[3] His prophecy came true. Japan took advantage of the pre-occupation of the Western nations to occupy the German concession of Kaichow. On January 18, 1915 Japan presented to President Yuan Shih-kai, the twenty-one demands. These demands were carefully concealed from the outside world and were planned to establish Japanese paramountcy in China to the exclusion of other foreign powers. The twenty-one demands were directed to bring certain areas like Shantung and Fukein under Japanese sphere of influence. These demands included the establishment over Manchuria and Eastern (Inner) Mongolia the special protection of Japan. Thus Japanese influence in China was to radiate from Shantung, Fukein and Manchuria and in addition Japan demanded special privilege in working Chinese mines. Last but not least important among the five groups of demands was the claim to include Japanese financial, political and

3. Quoted in A History of the Far East by Harold M. Vinacke, p. 367.

military advisers in China and the proposal to establish joint police administration in certain important areas. Under the threat of a possible Japanese invasion and the threat to encourage subversion of the power of Yuan Shih-kai, the latter accepted these demands. The Japanese ultimately agreed to defer the demands included in group five for future consideration. On May 25, 1915 two treaties between Japan and China virtually embodied these modified demands. Henceforth, Sino-Japanese relation, till the outbreak of open hostiltiy in 1931, veered round Japanese attempt to enforce these demands and the resistance offered by the Chinese nationalists to resist such attempts.

The Allied powers specially Britain and U.S.A. indirectly aided and abetted in Japanese expansion in China. Britain in a secret treaty (1917) supported Japanese occupation of Shantung in exchange of her help in the Mediterranean. The United States also was induced to recognize Japan's "special rights" or privileges in China due to the need of securing Japanese cooperation in the Allied cause. The United States and Japan in an exchange of note better known as 'Lansing-Ishii Agreement' accepted the *faith accompli* in China. War necessity also induced other Western powers to do the same.

China and World War I. On August 4, 1917, the Peking government declared war against Germany and it was soon followed by the Canton authorities. The participation of China in the war though apparently immaterial helped Japan and England to sequester German commerce in the Far East. From the Chinese point of view this participation assured them of representation in the Peace Conference. But China was sorely disappointed when settlement made at Paris followed the pattern of the secret treaties and confirmed Japan's hold on German possessions in the Pacific area and China (including Shantung). China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Her war with Germany came to an end by a separate agreement which also abolished extra-territoriality. China became a member of the League of Nations, by virtue of her right as a signatory of the Treaty of St. Germain, much to the dislike of Japan.

The war so strengthened Japan that she controlled all maritime approach to North China, and Siberia. Her possession of Shantung and the other privileges enjoyed by her in China resulted in reducing a large area in China to a semi-colonial status. Japan was to a large extent encouraged by Anglo-Japanese alliance concluded in 1902. From 1905 onwards opposition to Japan came mainly from the United States. England as an ally of Japan did not oppose the Japanese expansion in the Far East. Czarist Russia, after her defeat in 1905 and her alliance with England in 1907, concerned herself in maintain-

ing status quo in northern Manchuria and Outer Mongolia. Bolshevik Russia in the years following Revolution was busy setting her own house in order. The United States which in the post-Versailles era followed a policy of isolationism in European politics took an active interest in the Far East and was eager to put a brake to Japanese expansion. In China the Versailles decision had resulted in widespread agitation.

The Washington Conference. Under the circumstance the United States in 1921 took initiative in calling a Conference at Washington for the general settlement of the problems concerning Far East and Pacific. The need to limit naval armament, the necessity for easing Sino-Jap tension and the eagerness of American business for 'open door policy' provided the motive for the Conference. President Hardinge extended invitation to all the powers interested in Far East excepting Russia which after the Bolshevik Revolution was treated as an out-caste. The powers invited in the Conference included Belgium, China, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal. The Conference dealt with the question of naval disarmament in which China was least interested. The Conference, however, concluded five treaties concerning the Pacific and Far Eastern questions. China's right over Shantung and all other former German properties were admitted in a Sino-Japanese treaty signed outside the Conference on payment of specified compensation. In December, 1923 Japanese soldiers left Shantung. The Washington Conference was the first international forum in which China ably defended her rights. Among the treaties concluded in the Conference the Powers agreed by the Nine-power treaty to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial and administrative integrity of China. The treaty upheld the principle of open door or in other words advanced the interest of imperialist powers. All the same the treaty 'buried' the twenty-one demands and improved the international status of China.

Two Four Power treaties were concluded between the U.S.A., the British Empire, France and Japan. In the first treaty, the signatories agreed to respect each other's insular possessions in the Pacific. It destroyed the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, to the satisfaction of the Dominions and the U.S.A. The second Four Power Agreement served no other purpose than define certain terms. The Five Power treaty on naval armament between the U.S.A., the British Empire, Japan, France and Italy fixed their respective strength of capital ships in a ratio of approximately 5:5:3:1.75:1.75. This meant that in terms of capital ships the agreement fixed the naval ratio at five for the United States, five for the Great Britain, three for Japan, and one

and seventy-five hundredths for France and Italy. In future, neither U.S.A. nor Britain could hope to attack Japan with any prospect of success.

Another agreement guaranteed China greater control over her tariff. The Pacific cable line, by a Six Power treaty, was allocated to U.K., U.S.A., France, Italy, Japan and China and an agreement outside the Conference guaranteed U.S.A. access to Yap island (a Japanese mandate), where American cable line to China converged.

The Washington, Conference marked a retreat of European nations and restored to China a certain amount of autonomy. It gave China a breathing space and inaugurated a period of a so-called temporary spell of friendship between China and Japan. The Washington Conference restored the balance of power in the Far East for ten years. It was unfortunate that the U.S.S.R. was not invited to participate in the Washington Conference. Chinese gain was only indirect because the decisions of the Conference merely served to check further breaking up of China into spheres of influence.

The Progress of the Revolution. In the meanwhile the progress of the revolution in China under the aegis of the Kuomintang had been halting. The difference between Kuomintang and Yuan Shi-kai had resulted in the establishment of two rival governments, one at Peking and another at Canton. The warlords ravaged the land between 1920 and 1926. But out of this chaos two factors helped the re-establishment of order. The first was the impact of western education which produced a powerful wave of 'Mass Education Movements' under western educated scholars like James Y.C. Yen and the movement for popularizing education in vernacular. The national movement gained momentum and swelled all sections. The growing strength of the national liberation movement was demonstrated by the violent reaction in China against those who favoured the acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles and the boycott on British goods that followed the firing of Concession police at Shanghai on students on May 30, 1925. Britain was forced to make major concessions at Hankow and the Yangtze ports.

In 1924 the first Kuomintang national Congress called at Canton extended party membership to the communists. Sun-Yat-sen as the President of the Canton government found it difficult to flirt any more with the warlords and tried to rectify the weakness of the republic with foreign help. His attempts to gain financial aid from either U.S.A., Britain and France did not meet with any success between 1920 and 1921. He, therefore, turned to the Soviet Union for help.

In 1923, Adolphe Joffe, the head of the Soviet Mission to China,

issued a joint statement with Sun-Yat-sen. The Sun-Joffee statement clearly reassured the rest of the world that "there do not exist here (*i.e.*, in China) the conditions necessary for the successful establishment of either Communism or Sovietism". Yet the Soviet Union eagerly extended its hand of cooperation to the Kuomintang and this accounted to a large extent in the conversion of Sun-Yat-sen, a follower of Lincoln and Washington, into an ardent admirer of Lenin. The Russian government agreed to renounce extra-territoriality and gave up all concessions. Russia pledged the restitution of Mongolia and agreed to the joint control of Chinese Eastern Railway until such time when China could redeem the Railway with her own capital. Michael Boradin, a Soviet emissary, was sent to China in 1923 to instruct the Kuomintang in the methods of revolutionary propaganda and party discipline. In 1924, the Whampoa military academy was established with Russian advice and instruction. In 1925, however, Sun-Yat-sen breathed his last and with his death the period of Sino-Soviet cooperation gradually came to an end. It survived, however, for 2 more years till Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Whampoa military academy and the leader of the right wing of the Kuomintang party, expelled the Russian advisers.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen left a rich legacy and his death transformed him into a symbol of China's aspiration. He was transformed into a legendary figure and his drawbacks as leader of the Chinese revolution were forgotten. Henceforth, he became the rallying point for all parties and shades of opinion. Dr. Sun Yat-sen had left behind him not only a name but a programme. In his three principles of nationalism, democracy and livelihood he provided the goal to be pursued for the regeneration of China.

Just after his death the Nationalist forces under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek gained significant triumphs over warlords and asserted the authority of Kuomintang all over China. In 1928 Peking was conquered and henceforth it was called Peiping. The capital was taken to Nanking which contained no foreign concessions. The success of the campaign against warlords was largely due to the able planning of General Blucher, the Russian adviser, and the swelling of the national movement due to Kuomintang propaganda. But the main architect of this grand victory was Marshal Chiang Kai-shek.

Chiang Kai-shek was born in 1888. He received four years of military training at Tokyo and served as the secretary of Dr. Sun-Yat-sen for nearly 7 years (1913-1920). Thereafter he was sent to Moscow to study the latest military technique. On his return from Russia he became the head of the Whampoa military academy. He

became the leader of the Kuomintang and brought the northern campaign to a successful end in 1928. The Nanking government now received recognition from the outside world.

The Kuomintang now adopted a provisional constitution in 1928. This constitution was known as the Organic Law for the Nationalist government of China. The State Council or the highest administrative unit under this constitution elected Chiang Kai-shek as the President. Chiang Kai-shek in course of time virtually monopolised all power in his hand.

China—Civil War and Japanese Aggression. The victory over warlords materialised a long cherished aspiration of Sun-Yat-sen. But the fruits of this victory were marred by the decision taken by Chiang Kai-shek to break with the Soviet Mission. Chiang had also successfully countered an attempt of the left Kuomintang and the Communists to organize a government at Hankow. Just before his break with U.S.S.R. in 1927 Chiang Kai-Shek had purged Shanghai and Canton of communists by wholesale arrests and execution. The slaughter of communists and the brake with Sovietism made Chiang Kai-shek a renegade in the eyes of the Communists and left politicians including Madam Sun-Yat-sen. Chinese troops took possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway and diplomatic relations with U.S.S.R. were severed. It was resumed only in 1929 by the Khabarovsk Protocol which restored status quo ante.

China's unity and the progress of the revolution increased Japan's anxiety. But the apparent unity was illusory and Japanese politics was directed in delaying the unity of China under the aegis of the Kuomintang. In June, 1928 the Kuomintang Manchurian warlord Chang Tso-lin was killed due to a bomb explosion and Japan, it was rightly suspected, had a hand in it. He was succeeded by his son Chang Hsueh-liang. Japanese politics was propelled now by militarists and Japanese trade was hard hit by the Depression of the thirties. Manchuria proved in the Japanese eye as the only ground of expansion. The pre-occupation of the Western powers created the opportunity for Japanese aggression in Manchuria. It could not have been better planned for China, too, was divided. With the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in September, 1931, following the alleged destruction of a short stretch of Manchurian railway line by the Chinese and the murder of a Japanese Captain, began a series of wars which merged ultimately in World War II. In response to Chinese appeal the League sent the Lytton Commission. The Japanese army quickly occupied a large part of China and the Western powers through

the League of Nations merely gave moral support to China.[4] Japan occupied Jehol and areas South of the Great Wall. In May, 1933 Japan signed a truce at Tangku. Under Pu-Yi, the ex-Manchu ruler, Japan organized and occupied Manchuria into a puppet regime and renamed it as Manchuko.

Throughout this struggle against unprovoked Jap aggression Chiang Kai-shek displayed unusual passivity. He was a victim now of the dilemma which he had created for himself. Faced with two enemies—the growing communist influence in the country and the Japanese aggression—he had decided to strike down the communists first before organizing the country against Japanese aggression.

In central China there existed numerous local soviets under the Chinese-Soviet government organized by the communist party of China led by Mao Tse-tung. Chiang Kai-shek carried on ruthless campaign against Hunan and Kiangsi—the pockets of communists. These campaigns compelled the Communists in 1934 to leave their strongholds and move to the north. Thus by 'Long March' the communists retreated and two years later the twenty thousand survivors emerged at the new base in Shanshi. "It was an exploit which eventually turned retreat into victory".[5]

In China patriotic feeling ran high and nationalists felt strongly that the guns directed against the communists should be aimed at Japanese aggressors. All over China patriotic fervour rose to high pitch. There was a widespread boycott of Japanese goods. The government, under public pressure, resumed its diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. In China most of the leaders and patriots desired to bring about the unity of K.M.T. and communists and to resist Japanese aggression. Chiang Kai-shek, however, wanted to delay the inevitable struggle against Japan till he could unite the country under K.M.T. leadership. Impatience with his policy induced Chang Hsueh-liang, the patriotic warlord of Manchuria, to kidnap Chiang Kai-shek on December 12, 1936. Thereafter Chiang had prolonged discussion with the communists and a *modus operandi* for K.M.T.-Communist alliance against Japanese aggression was found out.

The days of China's weakness due to disunity were now over. Japan viewed the situation with disfavour and in July, 1937, taking advantage of a minor clash between Chinese and Japanese troops at

---

4. For details about Japanese invasion on Manchuria and its international reactions see below.

5. Chester Bowles—Op. cit., p. 104.

the Marcopolo Bridge near Peking, declared war on China. This event which is also known as Lukou-chiao incident started a new Sino-Japanese conflict which continued till the surrender of Japan in 1945.

In November, 1937 the Chinese were driven out of Shanghai. In December of the same year Japanese forces moved up the Yangtze valley and captured Nanking. But in the meanwhile China received support both moral and material from Russia and America, though compared with her needs she received very little help from the outside world. The Soviet Union concluded a treaty of non-aggression, and sent aid in men and material. The United States government moved to grant China gold reserve in exchange of her large silver reserve. Thus the Chinese received help from outside but still the Japanese forces were uniformly successful and the K.M.T. government moved first to Hankow and then to Chungking. The Western powers followed during this period a policy of appeasement and offered no check to Japanese aggression in the Far East. Even the United States accepted Japan's apology for an attack on U.S.A. gun boat Panay without pursuing the matter any further. Prince Konoy, the Japanese Prime Minister, dreamt of a new order in East Asia. Japan inaugurated a policy of the Asia for the Asiatics. After the fall of France the prospects of victory for Germany became nearer and Britain was too weak to resist Japan. Only the United States stood on the way to the realization of Japanese dream. So on December 7, 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and thus the Sino-Japanese war was merged in a general conflict with the Axis powers.

The Second World War and After. With the outbreak of the World War II the efforts of Japan to establish her hold on China were redoubled. Apparently her efforts were crowned with success. The tide of Japanese advance overwhelmed China. Chinese coastal cities were under Japanese control. Chungking was cut off from the rest of the world. On July 18, 1940 Great Britain had agreed under Japanese pressure to close the Burma road—China's vital link with the outside world. The Yangtse valley was under the control of the Japanese who set up a puppet regime under Wang Ching-wei. Manchuria and the northern provinces were under Japanese rule. But in reality Japan found herself bogged in the Chinese theatre and found it increasingly difficult to hold the areas under occupation in effective control. Behind the thinly held Japanese line the invaders were baulked by the peasant partisans. The communists with their vast experience of partisan warfare virtually held most of the Japanese occupied provinces. In the meanwhile following the

Tripartite alliance between Japan, Germany and Italy, the Burma Road was reopened by Britain in October, 1940. The Allied powers specially U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. helped China to win the war. General Stilwell was sent by U.S.A. in 1942 to act as the chief of staff in Chiang's army. In 1944 he was replaced by Wedemeyer and Maj. Gen. Patrick Harley became Roosevelt's special agent in China (later ambassador to China).

But even when the struggle against Japan was going on in full swing the clash of interest between K.M.T. and communists continued. The communsits alleged that nearly 200,000 K.M.T. forces were employed to blockade communist held areas. Chiang Kai-shek turned a deaf ear to all demands for an all party coalition. Chiang Kai-shek became more and more alarmed at the growth of the strength of the communists. Not only were they backed by superior discipline and training but by the end of 1943, the communists held areas which had a population of nearly eighty million souls. After the defeat of Japan with Russian connivance the Chinese Communists secured surrendered Japanese arms. The race for the occupation of Manchuria had already started and the civil war between the Nationalists and the Communists broke out in October, 1945. The United States had airlifted half a million Nationalist troops to North China to prevent its occupation by the Communists. But when the prospect of a civil war became apparent General George Marshall, one of the ablest statesmen of America, was sent to China to mediate between the Nationalists and the Communists.

Civil War and Emergence of Communist China. On the failure of the Marshall Mission a civil war, which lasted for nearly three years (1946-1949), followed. Chiang Kai-shek initially had all the advantages on his side. He received $2 billion worth of supplies and financial aid from America. The Nationalists had an army of nearly three hundred divisions. Though a large part of it was ill-trained and ill-disciplined, yet a hard core of nearly sixty divisions had received training under expert American advisers. But by 1947 the military situation turned in favour of the communists.

Among the several causes ascribed for the success of the communists, the failure of K.M.T. to rally behind it the majority of the Chinese people is the most important one. In the post-war period the K.M.T. leadership had hardened into a lot of reactionary Junta interested only in advancing personal ambition. The graft and corruption of K.M.T. officials became proverbial. The inefficiency of K.M.T. regime resulted in failure to solve the financial problem. Inflation increased and with it the unpopularity of Chiang. More and

more Chiang lost the support of the middle class. He became anti-liberal and haunted down all progressive and liberal ideas. The success of the communists was due not so much to their efficiency but to the graft, corruption and paralysis in the K.M.T. areas. Chiang Kai-shek identified himself with the landed gentry and looked back to old China.

The increase of the popularity of the communists was not due to their programme but due to the liberal character of their reforms. The peasants were interested in their policy of breaking up large estates. The middle class and traders liked their lax control over trade.

Another cause of success was Marxist indoctrination. The organization and training the communists had received prepared them for their further struggle against the Nationalists. Chiang did not lack in men or material, but the moral of the Nationalist troops was very very low. 'Lack of spirit',[6] to borrow a phrase from General Wedemeyer, mainly accounted for their failure. In December, 1949 the Chinese People's Republic was announced.

Communist China.—The Cultural Revolution. The establishment of the communist regime in China did not result in internal peace. Mao-tse-tung had predicted long ago that the success of the revolution after its victory over Kuomintang would not give any rest to the revolutionaries who must be prepared for another long march to gain the laurels of establishing a really people's government in China. The 9th Party Congress designated Lin Piao as Mao's successor.

Before the cultural drive and the associated purge, there was plenty of evidence, that some, mainly those in position of power, were enjoying more privileges than others in a state which declared its intention of eliminating classes. It is also alleged that backed by no less a person than Liu Shao-chi, China's head of the state, there was an attempt to take the road back to capitalism. In February, 1967 Liu Shao-chi and Teng Shiao-ping were shorn of all power and authority. Subsequently Liu was removed from his position as head of the state. How far these allegations are correct is still debatable. But Chinese Red Guard accounts published merciless narration of those in privileged position. The new regime was acclaimed by Moscow. In February, 1950 a twenty years alliance with Russia was signed. Within four months of its assumption of power the Chinese volunteers encouraged by the government entered Korea to check the extension of American forces beyond the 38th parallel. The Korean

6. Chester Bowles—op. cit.

war proved to China "a good testing ground of Western (and especially American) intentions".[7] The advance of the U.N.'s thrust towards Yalu river called for intervention of China in late 1950. No Chinese government whether communist or not could view with equanimity the advance of a hostile force in Korea. But by late 1952 the Korean war had become a strain on the Chinese and they favoured the Indian resolution for truce.

The Korean war was, however, the beginning of a series of aggressions undertaken by Communist China in order to assert what it considered to be rightful claim. The fact is that China never forgets the vaguest claim from whatever source she may pretend to have inherited it. So long as China was weak she never dared to put them forward. But as soon as the communists united the mainland the Chinese government revived these claims. The consequence of such a policy naturally disturbed the balance of power in South-East Asia. This policy can be clearly seen in Tibet. Since the time that Tibet accepted Mongol Suzerainty in 1239 there was no pretension to territorial authority. But soon after the communists came to power the Chinese liberation army entered Tibet in 1950. Other powers including India had to accept the Chinese authority in Tibet. But the internal situation in Tibet was never tranquil and following an uprising in March, 1959, Dalai Lama took shelter in India. What is fundamentally oppressive is that following a large-scale occupation the Tibetans may find themselves in minority in Tibet as the Manchus are in Manchuria and the Mongols in Mongolia. Lhasa is connected, today, with China by road so that Tibet's century-old isolation has come to an end.

The danger of this kind of expansionism hardly needs to be emphasised. Every country which is China's neighbour may find the situation intolerable. China tried to exploit the volcanic situation in South-East Asia in her favour. Thus in Indo-China the Chinese rendered valuable aid to Ho-Chi Minh in driving out the French and establishing the communist regime in North Vietnam. The American bombing on North Vietnam as retaliatory measure against Vietcong guerrilla activities in South Vietnam is largely directed against Communist China. The Maoists took the view that "the ruling circles" of the world were trying to forge an "unholy anti-China alliance". Many countries including Ceylon, Burma, Switzerland, Kenya and Italy found it difficult to maintain normal diplomatic relations with China. On October 31, 1967 China announced the withdrawal of its

7. Fredrick H. Hartman—The Relations of Nations, p. 612.

economic aid mission in Burma and the suspension of diplomatic relations with Indonesia. In June, 1967 Kenya expelled the Chinese envoy for interfering in her internal affairs. However, Tanzania, Mali, Guinea, Congo (Brazaville), and Zambia continued to maintain good relations with Peking and Albania remained its most loyal ally. The United Kingdom was among the first nations to recognize Communist China in 1949, but since then relations had been maintained only with charge d'Affaires in London and Peking. When the British government took repressive measures in May, 1967 to put down labour trouble in Hong Kong China described it as "fascist atrocities" and strongly protested against such actions.

Communist China and America. The deep antipathy felt in the United States against Communist China is largely due to a sense of frustration. The large contribution made by the Americans to prop up the regime of Chiang Kai-shek in the mainland proved in the long run to be a bad speculation. Moreover, United States foreign policy even in the hey-day of isolationism never lost interest in the developments in the Far East. The Americans felt that their security depended upon maintaining the balance of power in the Far East. Britain, which in the post-World War II period was reduced to the position of a third rate power, desired a revival of trade with China. France has extended recognition to the Communist China and felt practically the same way. The United States felt otherwise and pursued a 'strong line' against the communist regime in China. The United States still recognise Formosa (population 9 million), where in 1949 Chiang Kai-Shek established the seat of his government, as the representative of China. Due to U.S. opposition Communist China still remains outside U.N.

American dislike of communism together with the fact that Taiwan (Formosa) constitutes a valuable link in the chain of Western defence system has induced U.S. policy makers to follow a policy of containment with regard to this Island fortress of Chiang Kai-shek. From a legal point of view Formosa together with Pescadores belonged to China according to the decision taken at Cairo in 1943 and Potsdam in 1945. But the question is to which China—Communist or Kuomintang—it should belong. When Chiang took shelter in Formosa and the Korean war intensified the 'Cold War', President Truman ordered the American Seventh Fleet to neutralize Formosa-Pescadores. The Republican administration went a step forward and ordered the Seventh Fleet to permit Chiang Kai-shek to invade the mainland. Thus the situation remained tense and when threats from a mainland invasion increased the United States concluded a pact of

peaceful competition. From this fundamental difference others naturally followed.

But behind this smoke-screen of ideological difference there are many questions which have nothing to do with ideology. The situation is further complicated by the dependence of China on U.S.S.R. China though bellicose has tolerated foreign pockets in Hongkong or Portuguese Maco and Mao advised North Vietnam to accept American bombing as a price for freedom. In the ultimate analysis national interest is the guiding factor in foreign policy and China as well as Russia are no exception to this rule. Russia finds it expedient to be on good terms with U.S.A. and with India, but on bad terms with German Federal Republic. China finds it expedient to be on bad terms with America and India and on good terms with Pakistan.

The breach between China and Russia came to the forefront in 1958 and by 1959 the Chinese began to attack Soviet policy in their press indirectly. In 1961 two important meetings took place—one at Bucharest and another at Moscow. In the 22nd party Congress held in Moscow in 1961 Khrushchev attacked the Albanian party which was receiving support from the Chinese party. Khrushchev's stand against Stalinism did not receive support from the Chinese. The breach between the Russian and Chinese viewpoint was outwardly healed by conciliatory statements from both the parties. But events in Cuba in 1962 brought out the differences between the two again on the surface. Enough literature has been published since then to show the finer points of ideological difference. Attempts at reconciliation in 1963 and again in 1965 between the two most leading parties of the Communist world have failed so far. On October 15, 1964 Nikita Khrushchev was removed from premiership by the Soviet Communist Party. He was replaced by Alexi Kosygin as Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Many concluded that this was a concession to the Chinese. But so far there is no sign of any change of the attitude of the Soviet Union on the basic issues which have embittered her relation with China. Russia even accused Peking of blockading aid to Hanoi and warned the Chinese for their frequent attack on Soviet embassy. Sino-Soviet quarrel flared up again in July 1967 when the navigators of Soviet merchantship 'Svirsk' were insulted by Red Guards at port of Darien. Peking condemned the intervention of the Soviet Union and her Warsaw Pact allies in Czechoslovakia in August, 1968. China has refused to sign the Nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In the preparatory meeting for World Communist Conference held in Budapest in 1968 China, North Korea, North Vietnam, Albania and Cuba did not

send their delegates and Rumania withdrew her delegation for difference of opinion. Chinese attempt to reassert resulted in border clashes in Damonsky island (1959). The Sino-Soviet rift has split up international communism. Sino-Soviet relations have reached a new stage and Soviet Union has started branding Mr. Mao as 'Fake' with no original contribution to Marxism-Leninism. China, on the other hand did not hesitate to call the Soviet people to rise up against the present revisionist leadership. In fact China now considers Soviet Union together with U.S.A. as its enemies. China and Russia have entered in a sort of a new 'Cold War' for the Leadership of the Communist World. Both are eager to convince the fraternal parties about the correctness of their respective views on ideology. But basically the breach has resulted from clash of material interest. It has resulted in splitting up communist movement in every country into two schools of thought and action.

Sino-Indian Relation. India is one among the few other non-communist countries which accorded recognition to the new regime in China at its inception in 1949. The communist regime in China received not only formal recognition but also warm support from the Government of India. In this of present Government was merely pursuing the traditional policy of friendship which India has been following towards China throughout ages. China during her life and death struggle against the Japanese invaders had the support of the Indian people expressed through the immortal writings of Poet Rabindranath Tagore. The Indian National Congress sent a Medical Mission to serve the Chinese people. This policy of friendship and co-operation remained unaltered even when China went under the Communist regime. India incurred the displeasure of the Western powers by advocating the rightful claim of Communist China to U.N. membership. This policy remained unchanged till the out-break of the Sino-Indian War on October 20, 1962.

India acquiesced in the Chinese occupation of Tibet and in 1954 signed the Tibetan trade agreement with China. Besides this agreement the Prime Ministers of India and China issued a joint communique. This communique enunciated the famours Five Principles or Pancha Shila. These principles are: (a) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (b) Non-aggression; (c) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (d) Equality and mutual benefit; and (e) Peaceful co-existence. The Bandung Conference of April, 1955 proved to be a tremendous success for the Chinese diplomacy and it was followed by the establishment of more cordial relationship between China and other countries in South-East Asia.

But the principles enunciated in the Pancha Shila were respected only in the breach. The development from Bandung to Bomdila is marked by growing tension on the Indian border. This border was settled in a conference of the representatives of China, British India and Tibet at Simla in the year 1914. After the Simla Conference Sir Arthur MacMahon was appointed to delineate the Sino-Indian border. The delineation was done according to the traditional line of demarcation and followed the main watersheds of the Himalayas. It is known as the MacMahon line.

The MacMahon line so long remained as the frontier. It was accepted by India, China and Tibet. It remained in force till China decided to violate it unilaterally on the ground that the agreement is an inheritance of the past and is not binding upon New China. On the same ground it may be argued that the Chinese suzerainty upon Tibet is also an inheritance of the past and should not have been claimed by the masters of Communist China.

Between June 1955 to July 1962 Chinese forces intruded upon the Indian border at some thirty places and India sent some four hundred protest notes but without any avail. The climax was reached on 20th October, 1962 when a full scale war between India and China flared up at all points on the Sino-Indian border. After few days of the armed clash China proposed a mutual withdrawal of all forces behind 20 kilometres of the actual line of control. But, what was meant by the actual line of control remained undefined. The Chinese had entered 40 to 60 kilometres in the Indian frontier and a withdrawal of 20 kilometres would still have left a considerable Indian territory under their control. The Government of India, therefore, insisted that the Chinese forces should be withdrawn to the line which existed on September 8, 1962—a line that would restore the old border as demarcated by MacMahon. On December 9, 1962 the Chinese enforced their unilateral decision of withdrawing the Chinese army to a line well inside the MacMahon line. But this unilateral decision has kept Sino-Indian border dispute alive.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, erstwhile Premier of Ceylon, convened a meeting of the neutral nations at Colombo on December 10, 1962 to mediate on the Sino-Indian dispute. This meeting was attended by Ceylon, Ghana, Cambodia, Indonesia, Burma and U.A.R. The Colombo proposals virtually accepted the Indian point of view. So far, in spite of the praiseworthy efforts of Mrs. Bandarnaike, China has refused to accept these proposals.

While Chou En-Lai refused the Colombo peace proposals he actively encouraged Pakistan to enter into a close relation with Com-

munist China. In March, 1963, Pakistan and China signed a treaty which handed over a large part of Indian territory in Kashmir under illegal possession of Pakistan to China. In a recent meeting with Sheikh Abdullah, Chou En-Lai has invited Abdullah to visit China. Pakistan a near authoritarian State and a member of the S.E.A.T.O. has for self-interest become a friend of Communist China. China extended hearty support to Pakistan during the recent Indo-Pak confrontation. The Pindi-Peking axis has proved the truth of the old proverb which says 'politics makes strange bed fellows'. The relation between India and China deteriorated sharply when on June 14, 1967 two secretaries of Indian Embassy at Peking were subjected to mob violence at Peking airport and one of them was declared a spy. In New Delhi demonstrators broke through police cordon and attacked the Chinese embassy staff in retaliation and the Government of India expelled a Chinese diplomat. On July 17, 1967 China exploded the 'H' bomb. Government of India, however, has refused to manufacture nuclear arms though like China she stated her unwillingness to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. The offer made by India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi to settle the differences with China has been branded as hypocritic by the latter country. Negotiation is not a one way traffic. Naturally Sino-Indian dispute remains alive.

China, it appears, has an endless mission. She wants to assert herself as a Great power. She has acquired the secrets of 'A' and 'H' bombs. China has refused to sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and called it a plot to protect "Big Power monopoly". No barrier, not even ideology, is respected by the new masters of China. China's policy makers have entered into rivalry with Moscow for the leadership of the 'Marxland'. In South-East Asia she is determined to fill up the power vacuum.

The Rise of Japan. The phenomenal rise of Japan to the position of a Great power, in the end of the nineteenth century, had earned for it the name of 'the Rising Sun of the East'. Japan consists of a group of islands around four main islands of volcanic origin. Japan has an area of 142,000 square miles and a population of nearly 70 million. "The significance of that figure and the national strength it represents can be realized only when contrasted with the nation rediscovered by Commodore Pery in 1854—less than thirty millions, living a meagre existence, economically still in the Middle Ages."[9] Japan's contact with the West was at first very unhappy.

9. **Vinacke, Harold M.**—A History of the Far-East in Modern Times, p. 496.

The Japanese had refused the Dutch request for trade, but in 1854 she was forced to sign the Treaty of Kanagwa due to the threat held out by Commodore Pery. The Treaty forced Japan to open two ports to American trade. Great Britain, Russia and Holland soon followed suit and forced Japan to extend similar privileges to those powers.

The penetration of foreigners by force aroused strong anti-foreign sentiments. The rule of the Shogunate or the Mayor of the place who wielded the real power in the state, from the thirteenth century until the restoration of the Emperor in 1867, was discredited. The Shogunate found its position quite untenable when on the face of insistent demand June 24, 1863 was fixed as the date of expulsion of the foreigners. The anti-foreign elements started firing on foreign ships. The country was divided and Allied fleet of U.K., U.S.A., Holland and France bombarded in retaliation. The Shogunate fell after an unsuccessful attempt to retain power and the way was open for Meji restoration (1868).

The Meji restoration marked not the end but the renewal of contact with the West. The Emperor gave the new forces unassailable authority for planning a new society and state free from foreign dominance. In the endeavour to strengthen Japan and raise her to the status of European nations the policy makers of Japan introduced industrialization without weakening her agricultural basis. Western methods were adopted to train the Japanese army and navy.

The period following Meji restoration is marked by an unexpected development of Japan's strength which enabled her to break completely the chains imposed upon her by the West. The Japanese leaders were determined to follow Western methods in building a colonial empire and thus to provide the rapidly growing Japanese industry with markets and raw material. In 1894 Japanese attempt at expansion resulted in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-1895. By the treaty of Shimonoseki the war was brought to a successful end. Japan occupied Formosa and Pescadores and forced China to recognize the independence of Korea. But Japan soon realized that the West was united in its efforts to put a brake to Japanese advance. China had ceded to Japan the Liaotung peninsula but as soon as this was known Russia, France and Germany united together to force Japan to relinquish her right over Liaotung. Japan nourished her grievances and awaited a suitable opportunity to teach a good lesson to each of the powers mentioned above. The first trial of strength was sought with Russia. In the meanwhile the Western powers also presented a united front against Japan's efforts to secure the modifi-

cation of the unequal treaties. Japan gradually regained her full sovereignty and by 1889 Japan eliminated the extra-territorial rights exercised by the Western powers.

By the Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1875 Japan had renounced her claim over Sekhalin in exchange of the Kurile Islands. The significance of this treaty and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 lies in the fact that it placed Japan in the category of a power standing in a footing of equality with other Great powers of the world. In internal developments too Japan took steps to enhance her prestige by adopting a constitution in which the Diet copied the British model of a House of Commons and a House of Peers. Thus Japan took her place in the community of civilized nations.

But the emergence of Japan as a first grade power became evident to the rest of the world when she inflicted a crushing defeat on Russia in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. This war was the outcome of Russo-Japanese rivalry over Korea. It was encouraged by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902) concluded by Britain to balance the might of Russia in the Far East. Japan acquired Russian right over Manchuria and paramount interest in Korea. Russia also gave over her lease on the Liaotung and ceded southern half of Sakhalin. Within a short time Japan established protectorate over Korea and finally annexed it in 1910. In 1912 Japan's Meji Emperor, in whose reign Japan emerged from feudal isolation to the status of a first rate power, breathed his last. His successor Yoshihito (1912-1926) was a weak ruler and his reign facilitated the strengthening of militarist forces in Japan.

Japan and World War I. The outbreak of World War I presented to Japan a golden opportunity to assume leadership in the affairs of the Far East and to grab the German settlements in China and the Pacific. Japan entered the war on the side of the Allied powers and occupied the German colonies in South Pacific including Marianas, Carolines and Marshal Islands. In China Japan occupied Shantung and eliminated German interest in China. The Japanese were, however, eager to consolidate their gains by diplomatic sanction from other powers. Japanese diplomacy secured for herself the Lansing-Ishii Agreement which reaffirmed the open door policy and recognized Japan's special interest in China.

The Peace Conference was a disappointment for Japan. Because President Wilson refused to accept Japanese claim and lent sympathetic ear to Chinese. It was with the support of France and Britain that Japan gained the points at least nominally. The refusal of the Chinese to sign the Versailles Treaty further complicated mat-

ters. The World War I had facilitated the scope for establishing hold on China and Japan had forced the twenty-one demands on President Yuan Shi-kie.

The end of the First World War saw an enormous increase of the power and prestige of Japan in the Far East. The United States eager to restore the disturbed balance in the Far East called the Washington Conference of 1921. The Washington Conference restored the balance for ten years. American leadership in the Pacific was made secure, Japan agreed to restore Shantung to China and in the Nine Power treaty to respect the territorial integrity of China. The Washington conference was a turning point for Japan. It convinced her about Western hostility.

Internal Politics of Japan. After the Washington Conference, with the exception of the years 1927-1929, in which Baraon Tanka formed the Government, the policy of Japan towards China was on the whole conciliatory. Baron Shidehara, the Japanese Foreign Minister, stated in 1927 that, "it is not territory, but markets that we have in view". The economic situation of Japan together with the realization that Japan must be prepared to face "the united opposition of the entire West",[10] to further her scheme, made this conciliatory policy imperative. Japanese politics after 1922 showed the tendency of a greater control of the government by the political parties. It appeared that the Army and the Navy were under control of the liberal element. This resulted in a settlement with Soviet Russia and the evacuation of northern Sakhalin occupied by the Japanese forces during the war of intervention following the Russian revolution.

During this period the government was controlled by capitalist interest. The Minsetio Party represented industrial interest. The Zaibatsu family coalition of industrial and banking interests consisted of Mitsu, Mitsubishi, Asano, Sumitoma, Shibusawa, Yasuda, Okura and Suzuki. The Seiyukai originally dominated by the old aristocrats also became in part spokesman of the capitalist class. The Seiyukai under Hara, a statesman of great ability, became advocate of a cautious policy. The general line of policy, after the Washington Conference, was influenced by capitalist interest. Economic expansion in Korea, Manchuria, North China and South East Asia had convinced the Army of the need for cooperation with high finance.

This burgeoise supremacy in Japan was only an outward show. In actual reality during the period from 1924 to 1931 the Army was taking matters in hand in Manchuria and in North China. The

10. Pannikar, K.M.—Asia and Western Dominance, p. 225.

assassination of Hamaguchi, the Premier, in 1930, made it clear that the young Army officers were discontented with the liberal and pacifist policy. Premier Inukai was next slain. The army now made it clear that it would not accept any Government that refused to toe its line of promoting the glory of Nippon. Patriotic societies and militarists took control of matters. The recurrence of violence in Japan was a revival of the pure Nippon doctrine. In early 1936 a fresh orgy of political assassination took place in which Admiral Saito, Finance Minister Takahashi and General Watanobe were killed. Then came the Ministry of Prince Konoye. In the meanwhile ultra-patriots and militarists dominated politics at home and dictated foreign policy abroad. During the thirties Japanese politics was marked by violence. The character of this violence has been aptly described by Sardar K. M. Pannikar in the following words—"with disillusionment in respect of the West, following the Washington Treaty and the social and economic disturbances caused by the change-over to an industrialized society, with the depression which affected the peasantry from whom the armed forces were recruited, the doctrine of pure Shinto revived again in a new form."[11] The ultra-patriots and militarists now used the catch slogan of 'Revere the Emperor and expel the foreigner'. The expulsion of foreigner also meant expulsion of parliamentary democracy from Japan.

Japan in Manchuria. The Japanese warlords justified violence at home by following an aggressive foreign policy abroad. This was all the more urgent for solving the problem of Japan's shrinking foreign trade caused by the depression of the thirties. The depression had increased the unemploymnt figure in Japan and in the thirties it stood at 1,000,000. The population explosion in Japan induced her to seek expansion at the cost of China. The Japanese national debt was nearly doubled since 1920. Japan had to find an answer to her ever-growing need of food supply and raw material. To Japan the prosperity of international trade was a vital issue. Japanese export of raw material to the United States formed one of the chief items of export trade. It suffered a severe blow due to the depression of the thirties. Another source of Japan's prosperity—the trade with China—received setback owing to the frequent boycott resorted to by the Chinese customers. Several expedients, including the depreciation of Yen which helped Japan to capture new markets by cutting down prices, failed to improve the economic situation. By 1931 Japan's attempt to solve the problem of her foreign trade and

11. Op. cit., p. 231.

ease the internal economic crisis had failed completely. The only solution appeared to be an advance in Manchuria. A beginning in this line had already been made in the twenty-one demands presented to China in 1915.

Japan's interest in Manchuria was deep rooted. It was the meeting ground of Russia, China and Japan. Manchuria proved to be tempting to Japan economically, politically and strategically. It had plentiful resources in coal and iron and contained considerable deposits of oil-shells. It served as the basis of supply for such essential raw materials as soyabean. The march of K.M.T. forces north-wards threatened the interest of Japan. The Manchurian warlord Chang Hsueh Ling threw his lot with Chiang Kai-shek and thus threatened vital economic and strategic interest of Japan in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia which were so long virtual protectorates of Japan. The latter was prepared to maintain her *rights* by force. Japan's decision to maintain her hold by force was strengthened by the rapid increase of the Chinese population in Manchuria. The Chinese attempt to consolidate their hold in Manchuria was demonstrated when they began to construct three railway lines financed exclusively from China. The time factor worked in favour of the Chinese. Japan, therefore, decided to strike as early as possible because Manchuria was indispensable to her. The unification, at least theoretically, of China under Kuomintang increased the tension in Manchuria. The heightening of the tension was largely due to the fact that in the thirties political power in Tokyo slipped out of the hands of the politicians to that of the army. In the Kwantung army—the Japanese garrison in South Manchuria—the extreme nationalists were dominant and they decided to force the issue. A number of incidents caused friction between China and Japan during this period. Of these incidents the most outstanding are two. The first involved the murder of Captain Nakamura, an officer in June, 1931 by the Chinese and the second an explosion of the South Manchurian Railway on September 18, 1931. For both incidents Japan blamed China and immediately afterwards the Japanese troops occupied wide area of Manchuria.

Reaction of the Chinese and the Role of the League of Nations. Japanese attack on Manchuria produced a wave of national feeling in China. Soon a powerful students movement demanded reconciliation of Nanking and Cantonese leaders in face of foreign invasion. Chiang Kai-shek went to temporary retirement only to effect a stage back to resume control in January, 1932 of a unified Government. The Japanese attack contributed to the unity in China. In the meanwhile the people of China started a powerful boycott movement

against Japanese goods. More than anything else this boycott movement hit Japan adversely by reducing her export trade. Japan's export to China was reduced by nearly 68 per cent within a year. On January 28, 1932, under the pretext of protecting Japanese citizens, the Japanese marines landed in Shanghai. The Japanese troops were sent as a reprisal measure against the boycott movement in Shanghai. The Chinese regular troops showed unexpected resistance and held the ground in face of overwhelming odds for thirty-four days. The truce in Shanghai was signed on May 5, as a result of a mediation affected by Sir Miles Lampson.

The Japanese soldiers quickly occupied Mukden and over-ran the whole area from Changchun to Port Arthur. The former city was renamed as Hsinking and made the seat of government for the Japanese sponsored republic of 'Manchoukuo' under the presidency of Henry Pu Yi, the ex-Manchu emperor. The Sino-Japanese relations now became a matter of international importance though Japan claimed it to be a local issue to be settled by direct negotiation.

The international reaction of Japanese attack on Manchuria produced a Western solidarity against Japan. Fortunately for Japan most of the powers including the United States were involved in their domestic problem of fighting the effects of the depression and were extremely unwilling to take any action. But this became apparent only in a later stage. For the time being the solidarity of the Western powers was demonstrated by the willingness of the United States to participate in the deliberations of the League Council though the United States was not a member of the League. Mr. Gilbert, the United States representative, was instructed to participate only with regard to Kellogg Pact and to act otherwise as an observer. Soviet Russia—a power most interested in the Far East—was not a member of the League. During this period after repeated failure to get Japan sign a non-aggression pact, Russia at last re-established diplomatic relation with China on December 12, 1932.

The Japanese attack on Manchuria was a breach of the Covenant of the League. Japan by her aggression violated the Nine Power Pact signed during the Washington Conference. The Kellogg-Briand Pact which renounced war as an instrument of policy was flagrantly breached. Thus Japan stood guilty in the bar of world public opinion. The League appointed a Commission presided over by Lord Lytton. The Commission of Enquiry was appointed at the suggestion of Japan. The Chinese who had applied to the League, under Article 11 of the Covenant, now invoked Article 10 and 15 of the Covenant. But the Anglo-French powers were not in favour

of applying sanction. This encouraged Japan.

The Lytton Commission report admitted Chinese sovereignty over Manchuria and its findings went against Japan. The report, however, was a compromise and advocated a recognition of her rights. The League Assembly approved the report based upon the findings of the Commission and disapproved of Japanese action in Manchuria.

The American contribution in condemning Japanese action consisted in the Stimson doctrine of non-recognition of any de facto situation such as Japanese occupation of Manchuria. This doctrine could not alter the situation, but most nations eagerly grasped this doctrine as the second best alternative to justify their inaction. Japan, however, found in it an attempt to build up anti-Japanese front by the West and decided to give up League membership.

While China received sympathy in the League and outside, she lost territories in northern China. Under the pretext of preventing further Chinese raids into Manchuria Japan attacked and occupied the province of Jehol, rich in oil. Japanese forces penetrated south of the Great Wall. Japanese forces now threatened Peking and China had no other way but to sign an armistice at Tangku (May 31, 1933). This truce resulted in the creation of a demilitarized zone between the Great Wall and a line drawn from Tientsin to Peking.

Japan decided by a statement issued in April, 1934 to formulate a Monroe doctrine in China and warned foreign powers that any attempt to send assistance to China would disturb peace and order in Eastern Asia. The statement clearly stated that Japan would oppose any such project. The Japanese action created the first breach in the League system of collective security. Japan carried out a war of intervention by violating the League Covenant, the Pact of Paris and the Nine Power Treaty and defied the world successfully. In 1935 Japan acquired Russian rights in Manchuria in return for compensation. The North and South Manchurian Railway both were now under Japanese control.

The relapse into War. Japan was determined to take advantage of the weakness of Kuomintang government and the bitter Kuomintang-Communist civil war to impose upon China a complete domination. She encouraged separatist tendencies among Mongol princes. The Japanese encouraged the formation of the Hopei-Chahar political council under Japanese patronage (1935).

But the formation of the united front of Kuomintang and Communists following the Sian coup induced Japan to strike at once before the united front materialised. The Chinese decision to resist further aggression and the ascendency acquired by the ultra-patriots and

militarists in Japan by the coup of February, 1936 made Sino-Japanese conflict inevitable. The result was the 'incident' at Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge) where Japanese and Chinese forces exchanged shots (July 8, 1937). This event led to a full scale Japanese invasion of China. Japan was fully aware that, if China was allowed time to organise a national government, the prospect of Japanese domination over China would end for ever. Therefore, it was necessary for her to act immediately. The Japanese aggression of 1937 ultimately merged after 1941 into World War II.

International developments in Europe had convinced Japan that at long last the opportunity for breaking Western opposition to Japanese aggression in China had arrived. The rise of Hitler in Germany and the formation of the Rome-Berlin axis after the Ethiopian adventure of Italy induced Japanese militarists to join hand with Fascism and become a party to the Anti-Comintern Pact of November 25, 1936. Anti-Communist slogans of Japan favourably impressed the West. China had appealed to the League. At the Brussels Conference of November, 1937 Nine Powers including the United States condemned Tokyo. In reality, however, their inaction encouraged Japan to carry out a devastating war in which she occupied the region enclosed by the Yellow River. All the important cities including Hankow, Canton and Nanking came under Japanese rule and the seat of the Chinese government was transferred to Chungking. But Japanese rule did not extend beyond points under actual occupation and was constantly threatened by Chinese guerrillas. Japanese rule in China proved to be costly and disastrous.

The Japanese attack on China and her expansion in the Far East concerned U.S.S.R. In Soviet frontier with Manchukuo and in the Outer Mongolian frontier frequent clashes between the Japanese and Soviet troops took place between 1935-1936. In 1937 two Russian gun boats were sunk by the Japanese. In May, 1939 a sort of undeclared war took place between the Russian troops and the Japanese. The Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact alarmed Japan. Japan became convinced that continued neutrality of U.S.S.R. was an essential precondition for Japanese expansion in Asia.

Japan and World War II. The outbreak of World War II presented Japan with a difficult choice. The Japanese Premier Konoye had declared after the capture of Canton that it was Japan's policy to establish a New Order in East Asia. The alliance with Germany in 1940 had left Japan free to pursue her aim. The Japanese statesmen refused to be drawn in Hitler's plan in 1940 which required Japan to attack Britain. Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuok visited Rome

and Berlin in the spring of 1940 and became convinced about the impending German attack on Russia (although Hitler kept it secret). Japan immediately afterwards concluded a five-year non-agression pact with U.S.S.R.

With the Nazi assault on Russia Konoye gave way to Tojo as Premier. There were three alternatives before Japan. She could either join with Hitler in an attack on Russia or pursue her schemes in South-East Asia by declaring war against Britain or force a showdown with U.S.A. which stood in the way of Japanese expansion in South-East Asia. Japan started negotiations with U.S.A. and in return for a Japanese promise of stopping further infiltration in South-East Asia and South Pacific demanded the restoration of steel and oil exports, recognition of Japan's position in China and withdrawal of the order to freeze Japanese assets. When the United States in reply demanded withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and Indo-China negotiations broke down. Japan now decided upon the third alternative and on December 7, 1941 attacked Pearl Harbour and destroyed U.S.A. fleet in the Pacific by a surprise blow.

For some time Japanese army and navy seemed to carry everything before them. The Western powers were swept from Eastern seas and Japan stood before the gates of India. Japanese now raised the slogan long familiar in Japanese propaganda of the 'Greater Asia co-prosperity sphere' in which all the liberated people of Asia would co-operate for their mutual advantage. The first of these was Manchoukuo, and next came China where a puppet regime was set up under Wang Ching-wei, the renegade K.M.T. leader and a third was South-East Asia. Here Japan found allies in nationalist elements to whom she promised independence. The dream of Japan was, however, shattered by the tremendous war efforts of the United States. At Yalta Russia also agreed to declare war against Japan. Finally the U.S.A. used 'A' Bomb to crush Japanese resistance. On August 6, 1945 the population of Hiroshima and two days later of Nagasaki were erased from the face of the earth by 'A' Bomb. Japanese resistance was already giving way before Allied war efforts and the 'A' Bomb tragedy could have been easily avoided.

Post-war Japan. Japan surrendered and an Allied Council, consisting of representatives of U.S.A., U.S.S.R., Britain and China, was created for Japan. The real power, however, was concentrated in the hands of MacArthur who ruled Japan as the Supreme Commander of the Allied forces. A Far-Eastern Commission with the representatives of eleven nations including the Four powers together with France, Holland, India, Philippines, Canada, Australia and New

Zealand, was created.

In the period immediately after occupation the aim of American policy was directed in democratizing Japan. In 1946 Japan adopted a complete democratic constitution and renounced war as an instrument of policy. Trade trusts were broken, war criminals were tried by special tribunals, school books were reformed and a peacefully inclined and responsible government was established in Japan. The American objective in the early phase which lasted from 1945—1947 was to destroy the militaristic tradition and to carry out far-reaching social, economic and political reforms. Japan during the post-war period following her surrender suffered from war devastation and trade dislocation. She had virtually lost three-fourths of her industry and all her resources of raw material. The United States had to pay for ninety-five per cent of Japan's exports in order to help Japan to meet both ends. Mr. Dodge, General MacArthur's economic adviser, aptly described the condition of Japan when he stated that Japan in the days immediately following her surrender suffered from "too many people, too little land, and too few natural resources."

The United States policy in 1947 took a turn because it was evident that Japanese economic structure would collapse completely if U.S.A. decided to withdraw and withheld her aid and protection. Under the circumstance U.S.A. decided to stay, but American policy was reversed now. The Zaibatsu and the Trusts now reappeared and were encouraged to rebuild Japan's industry. Strikes were prohibited. With the rise of Communist China and the coming of the Korean war American policy took a further turn. In spite of strong pacifist tendencies in Japan itself she was turned into a base of American defence and was forced to recreate a defence force.

In 1951 Japan signed a peace treaty with all other participants in World War II excepting U.S.S.R. and Formosa. This treaty allowed re-armament and restored her sovereignty. For many years Japan depended upon U.S.A. for her economic survival. The Korean war improved Japanese trade due to U.S.A. off-shore purchases. As the Korean war trailed off Japan's economic situation became desperate. In 1954 Japan became a donor member of the Colombo Plan. The trade barrier with the Commonwealth countries was removed in 1955. The trade with South-East Asia and Britain was re-opened by Japan.

Another difficulty of Japanese trade was the attempt of U.S.A. to hold back Japan from establishing trade relation with Communist China. Japanese Prime Minister Mr. Eisaku Sato in a statement (Jan. 27, 1965) asserted that he will continue to separate trade from politics. This is another way of expressing a strong desire to establish

trade with Communist China which has proved so profitable to Britain and France. In recent years Japan has largely recovered her position as a rival of Western powers in Far-Eastern trade. But her economy largely depends upon import of raw materials and unless she can find a way out for expansion of export trade she would fail to solve the problem of meeting the deficit which in current fiscal year may be as much as £300—400 million. In 1963 Japan's import bill shot up by 35% against an increase of half that figure in export. Under the circumstance Japan may try to expand her trade with Asian countries including India.[12] Japan has successfully overcome her trade difficulties to a large extent and Japanese economists have estimated that in the gross output of the basic industrial items Japan has exceeded the G.F.R. by 50 per cent, Britain by 100 per cent, France by 150 per cent and Italy by nearly 200 per cent.

But the growing wealth of the monopolies in Japan, just as in France, does not mean that the workers are better off. The fact remains that as regards per capita national income and the living standard, Japan still lags far behind many other countries, even comparatively small ones with far weaker economic potential.

Japan's internal politics during the period following her surrender do not present an optimistic picture. Politics revolved round personalities rather than political parties. Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, who, with a short break of nearly a year, remained the Prime Minister from 1946 to 1954 maintained himself in power by intricate manoeuvres. In 1955 Mr. Hatoyama showed greater independence by re-establishing relation with U.S.S.R. and by concluding peace treaty with Russia. Russia released Japanese war prisoners, agreed to Japan's membership of U.N. and restored two occupied islands. Hatoyama's policy was frowned upon by U.S.A. He was replaced soon by Ishi-bashi and the latter gave way to Nabusuke Kishi. Kishi followed a policy of close collaboration with U.S.A. and signed in 1960 a new security treaty with the United States. This treaty was accepted by the Diet while 50,000 anti-pact demonstrators paraded outside. It caused so much discontent that a scheduled visit of President Eisenhower had to be cancelled. In 1962 Kishi gave way to the leader of the liberal and democratic party Hayato Ikeda. Mr. Ikeda has been replaced by Mr. Eisaku-Sato, who though anti-Communist favours a revival of trade with Communist China though he "has no wish to see Peking extend its hegemony". Japan is at the same time trying to strengthen ties with other Asian countries including India. In the General Elec-

12. See Statesman dated January 29, 1965.

tion held in Japan in 1967 Mr. Sato became the Prime Minister for the second term.

The presence of U.S.A. Nuclear Warship enterprise in Japan sparked off a violent student movement of the ultra radicals in January, 1968. The students of Tokyo University defied police for two days on January 17 and 18, 1969 as a protest against Japan's defence ties with U.S.A. The police crashed this movement after battling against petrol and acid bombs. U.S.A. planners have long range plans to withdraw strategic air-base from Japan.

Korea. In the war time Conference held at Potsdam in 1945 the decision of the Cairo Conference of 1943 was confirmed and it was arranged that Japanese rule in Korea should end. It was further decided that the Soviet zone and the American zone should be demarcated at the 38th Parallel. All subsequent efforts to unite the two ended in failure. South Korea became republic in May, 1946 through a election held by a U.N. Temporary Commission, and Syngman Rhee became the President of the Republic of South Korea. In North Korea a Soviet styled Democratic People's Republic was established on May 1, 1948 with Pyongyong as the capital. All foreign troops—American and Soviet—were withdrawn from Korea.

On June 25, 1950 the U.N. Commission in Korea reported about an 'all-out offensive' of the North Korean forces against South Korea. President Truman reacted strongly and ordered the sending of American forces from Japan to cover South Korea and the Security Council endorsed his view. Since the U.S.S.R. was abstaining from the Security Council as a mark of protest at the refusal to admit Communist China, the Security Council resolution condemning North Korea as an aggressor was adopted without opposition. On June 27, the Security Council adopted a resolution to effect military sanction against North Korea and called upon its members to assist South Korea in repelling aggression. A Korean united command was established under U.N. Flag and General MacArthur was made the Supreme Commander of the U.N. forces. Some fourteen countries responded to this call and provided armed forces by February, 1951. Subsequently Ethiopia and Luxemburg two more states actively sent help to U.N. forces in Korea. In reality, however, the United States' contribution to U.N. forces in Korea constituted nearly fifty per cent of the total armed forces. South Korean forces constituted forty per cent and the other ten per cent was contributed by the rest of the states.

Soon the U.N. forces achieved their objective and drove out the North Korean army to its own soil beyond 38th parallel. The deci-

sion to cross the 38th parallel was taken by the U.N. forces in spite of strong warning from India against this action. The U.N. troops soon reached the Yalu River and on November 5, the Chinese volunteers jointed in the Korean war though China did not formally declare war. The result was disastrous at first for the U.N. army which faced the possibility of being driven back from the peninsula. Eventually, however, communist forces were driven back again by sea-borne landing behind their forward posts. Ultimately a military stalemate was produced at the 38th parallel. From a political point of view it is natural that China should react against the establishment of an 'enemy power' on its border.

Eventually armistice talk started and ceasefire agreement (June 23, 1951) was reached as a result of the removal of MacArthur who advocated strong action against Communist China and the appeal of Jacob Malik, Russian representative in U.N. The peace talks negotiated on the basis of status quo ante bellum lasted for nearly two years. The main difficulty in the way of settlement presented itself on the question of prisoners of war. The United States refused to hand over prisoners on the ground that many of them were against the Communist regime. Ultimately it was agreed that charge of handling the question of willingness or otherwise of communist prisoners to return home should rest upon a Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission. A time limit of sixty days was set for making the decision. At the end of this period nearly twenty thousand prisoners—Chinese and Koreans—signified their unwillingness to return home. But this did not result in much loss of prestige to China which through manipulation had avoided worst effect. India rendered commendable service as Chairman of this Commission. Other members of the Commission were Sweden, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia.

The problem connected with the P.O.W. issue was settled by September, 1953 and in the Geneva Conference of 1954 (mainly called for settling the affairs of Indo-China) attended by Britain, Russia, U.S.A., Communist China and other powers, the 'Korean' question was discussed at length. It was agreed that the two Koreas should be united through election supervised by an International Commission (not an United Nations body). But this was made conditional upon the withdrawal of foreign troops. As this condition was unacceptable to the West the unification of Korea could not be achieved. The United States has entered into an agreement with South Korea to defend her against future aggression. Meanwhile Rhee was ousted from power as a result of internal revolt in April, 1960.

A second uprising drove out his successor Posun Yun and General Chang Hee Park was made the President of the Republic. In North Korea Kim Il Sung continues to enjoy the Premiership from the inception of the Democratic Republic. U.S.A. spy ship Pueblo was arrested by North Korean coastal defence Naval forces. North Korea claimed that Pueblo had crossed its territorial waters on January 23, 1968. U.S.A. denied the charges and demanded the release of Pueblo and the 83 men aboard. The Soviet Union turned down U.S.A.'s request to intervene for the release of Pueblo and opposed the calling of a meeting of the Security Council which was convened at the request of U.S.A. North Korea not only refused to accept Security Council resolution for investigation but warned the World body against becoming embroiled in a second Korean war as a "tool of the U.S.A." The release of Pueblo and its men was obtained subsequently when U.S.A. offered apology to North Korea.

Korea—Some Conclusions. The Korean War was waged under the flag of the United Nations. It was sanctioned by most of the members of the U.N. The brunt of the war, however, was borne by the Americans and it assumed the character of a war pursued in American interest. Had the United States not been a member of the U.N. it would have still participated in this war in order to enforce the policy of containment. At the bottom, from U.S.A. viewpoint, it was a war to maintain the balance of power in Asia. Till the intervention of China it was a great success. The Chinese intervention came as a result of its attempt to save national interest. The initial American intervention came from dictates of balance of power and it coincided with the need to enforce Collective Security.

Once Communist volunteer troops intervened the Korean War became in the words of MacArthur 'a new war'. The establishment of an enemy power on the border was naturally objected to by Peking. The U.N. could not make much headway against Communist China and had to agree to an armistice. The United States also agreed to an armistice because it was not prepared to launch a full-scale attack against Communist China such as MacArthur advocated The prisoner of war issue was raised to show to the rest of the world that communism is not willingly accepted by the masses. This effort gained only partial success. But the U.N. in taking action against North Korea and China failed to punish these countries and demonstrated to the rest of the world that it has been influenced by the issue of the cold war which has sprung up between the two superpowers in the post-World War II era. Russia remained throughout in the background. The initial blunder of Russian policy in boycot-

ting Security Council meeting was amply compensated by the later gain. Russia not being a party to the war was able to impose peace in Korea. The significance of the Korean war lies in the fact that it brought to the forefront the fact that U.N. has been affected by the 'Cold War'. The United Nations under the influence of the American policy makers waged war against North Korea and then against Communist China.

SUMMARY

Far East denotes a widely separated area from Siberia to India. Western contact with the Far East resulted in the imposition of commercial economy and far-reaching changes in every aspect of life. In the post-World War II period the rivalry between two super-powers—Russia and America—has brought the Far East in the sphere of the 'Cold War.' The tension between Communist China and the Soviet Union has introduced a new element in the Far Eastern politics.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Britain forced the Manchu rulers (1644-1811) to conclude unequal treaties. Hongkong and other ports were conceded after the opium war (1842). Other nations followed and China conceded extraterritoriality rights, concessions and lease rights. Russia, France, Germany and subsequently Japan gained such rights. The only reason why China was not completely subjugated to foreign rule was the vastness of her size and the rivalry of powers which prevented any one to absorb China. China's reaction to foreign dominance produced the Taping rebellion (1848-1864) and the Boxer uprisings (1900).

The revolution of 1911 under Sun-Yat-sen's (b. 1867) leadership resulted in the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. The revolution inspired by Westernized intellectuals sought to change millennial tradition of government and imposed a republican constitution upon China. In 1912 Sun-Yat-sen, the President-elect, had to relinquish power and Yuan Shi-kai, the most renowned general of the Manchu period, attempted to establish monarchy. After his death in 1916, the Kuomintang—the nationalist party roganized by Dr. Sun—established a republican form of government at Canton. The Three Principles of Dr. Sun—Nationalism, Democracy and livelihood—became the guiding principles of the Canton government. Taking advantage of the pre-occupation of Western powers in World War I, Japan presented in 1915 the twenty-one demands to Yuan Shi-kai. These demands virtually established Japanese paramountcy in China to the exclusion of other powers. Yuan Shi-kai accepted it. Western Powers acquiesced in Japan's special position in China (for instance Japan and U.S.A. concluded Lansing-Ishii agreement). Japan occupied the German settlements in China including Shantung. China joined the Allied powers in declaring war against Germany with the hope of regaining her rights in the Peace settlement. But in this she was totally disappointed.

The Washington Conference of 1921 resulted in a Nine Power treaty which guaranteed China's sovereignty. The Conference also resulted in other treaties which restored the balance of power in the Far East and

established American leadership in the Pacific.

In th meanwhile China had two governments, one at Canton and another at Peking, while the war-lords ravaged the country. But Nationalist forces gained momentum and gradually swallowed the anti-nationalist forces. In 1924 the Kuomintang National Congress extended party membership to Communists. To strengthen China Dr. Sun accepted Russian advisers like Borodin. Russia agreed also to give up all concessions gained from China. The Whompa military academy was established with Russian aid and Chiang Kai-shek became its head. In 1925, Dr. Sun breathed his last. He left a rich legacy and his death transformed him into a symbol of China's aspirations. Just after his death Nationalist forces triumphed under Chiang and succeeded in uniting China. The Russian advisers were expelled by Chiang and in 1928 the Kuomintang adopted the Organic law or constitution.

China—Civil War and Japanese Aggression. Chiang broke with the Communists in 1927. Meanwhile China's apparent unity induced Japan to strike. Manchuria provided an attractive colony for growing Japanese need in face of depression of the thirties. Japan launched her attack on Manchuria under a flimsy pretext in 1931. The League of Nations sent the Lytton Commission and Western powers verbally sympathesised. But China was forced to sign the armistice of Tongku in 1933 and accept Japanese puppet regime in Manchuria.

While Japan was trying to impose her hold Chiang Kai-shek was busy suppressing Communist pockets in Hunan and Kiangsi. This forced the Communists to set up a new base at Shansi. But patriotic fervour demanded united front against Japan. Chang Hsueh-liang, the pro-Kuomintang Manchurian warlord, kidnapped Chiang in December, 1936 and the latter agreed to join hands with the Communists to fight Japan.

In July, 1937 taking advantage of a clash near Marcopolo Bridge Japan launched a full-scale invasion on China. This Sino-Japanese conflict merged with the World War II and ultimately resulted in the surrender of Japan in 1945.

Even when this patriotic war was going on the clash between the Communists and Kuomintang developed. At the end of the World War II the two forces of Nationalists and communists waged Civil War for three years (1946-1949). The success of the Communists was not so much due to their popularity as due to the graft, corruption and inefficiency of the Kuomintang regime.

Communist China. The success of the Communists forced Chiang Kai-shek to take shelter in Formosa under the protective shield of U.S.A.'s Seventh Fleet. Within few months of its establishment Communist China felt strong enough to intervene in the Korean War against U.S.A. This was the beginning of a series of conflicts which seriously disturbed the balance of power in South East Asia. Tibet was occupied in 1950 and Ho-Chi Minh was rendered sufficient aid to establish his regime in North Vietnam in 1954. Border clashes with India which had always followed a friendly policy towards China developed into a full-scale war in 1962.

American policy towards China is one of non-recognition of the Communist regime which has created many international complications. Recently there has been an attempt to open a line between Peking and

Washington via Warsaw. The rise of Communist China was welcomed by the policy makers of Moscow. But soon differences developed with far-reaching consequences on the communist parties of other countries. Moscow defended Khrushchev's stand on the possibility of peaceful co-existence with capitalism and in the victory of socialism in peaceful competition. Peking has taken its stand on the theory that a war with imperialism is inevitable. But apart from ideology national interest has dictated the policy of both Moscow and Peking. Russia favours co-existence with America, China follows an anti-U.S.A. policy. The breach between China and Russia which became obvious in 1958 came out in the open in the Moscow Conference of 1961 and matters were brought to a head with the Cuba incident of 1962. Several attempts at compromise through conferences of fraternal parties in 1963 and 1965 have failed to solve the deadlock. Peking has condemned Russian interventions in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

Chinese policy towards India is an illustration of the methods of the People's Republic. India had accorded recognition to Communist China at an early date and signed a treaty of friendship in 1954 which declared the Five Principles (Pancha Sila) as the guiding factor in the mutual relations between the two countries. China, however, violated Indian frontier near MacMahon line several times which ultimately developed into a full scale war against India. China has established cordial relations with Pakistan and is following a policy which has disturbed the peace of South-East Asia.

Japan. Japan was opened to the West by the gun boat of Commodore Pery in 1854. The rule of the Shogunate or Mayors of the palace was discredited and in 1867 the power of the Emperor was restored by the Meji restoration. Japan was determined to copy the West and as a result became powerful enough to force China to relinquish Korea by the Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895). An Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 and the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905 marked the rise of Japan as a power to be reckoned with in Far-Eastern politics. In 1910 Korea was annexed.

The World War I saw the phenomenal growth of Japan. The German colonies in China (for example Shantung) and the Pacific came under Japanese control and the West acknowledged Japan's special position in China by secret agreements. The 21 demands established Japanese predominance in China. The Peace Treaties recognised Japan's right over the German colonies in China. The Washington Conference of 1921, however, administered a check upon Japan's ambition.

Sino-Japanese Wars. Internal weakness and Western opposition forced Japan to follow a conciliatory policy. But the ultra-militarists and patriots together with the army became impatient with this policy. With the murder of Premier Hamaguchi in 1930 a series of political assassinations removed liberal politicians from the scene and Japanese policy became bellicose to the extreme. To Japan hit by the Depression of the thirties and faced with Chinese boycott the occupation of Manchuria offered the only solution. The possibility of China's unification under Kuomintang prompted Japan to take immediate action. Thus the Manchurian war started. Manchuria was quickly occupied and turned into a puppet

state. Japan left the League following the moral support given by the international organization to China. China was forced to sign the peace of Tongku (1933) and Eiji Amau declared the Japanese Monroe doctrine by stating that Japan was the principal protector of China. Thus the League system of Collective Security was breached.

Again the sian coup alarmed Japan about the possibility of K.M.T. Communist alliance against Japan. Japanese militarist coup of 1936 prompted Japan to adopt an aggressive policy and the Marcopolo Bridge incident led to the outbreak of fresh Sino-Japanese conflict which merged into the World War II. Japan had already joined the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis by signing the anti-Comintern pact (1936). The Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact alarmed Japan.

Japan and World War II. With the outbreak of the World War II Japan had difficult choice to face. Japanese army was bogged in China and in 1940 she became convinced about Hitler's impending attack upon Russia. Japan concluded five years' non-aggression pact with U.S.S.R. in order to pursue her scheme in South East Asia. The United States, however, insisted upon Japanese withdrawal from China and Indo-China. Japanese assets in U.S.A. were freezed and supply of strategic material to Japan was stopped. The U.S.A. was a barrier to Japan's scheme of conquest and on December 7, 1941 Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and became an ally of Hitler against democracies. She maintained a precarious peace with U.S.S.R. till at Yalta, Russia agreed to declare war against Japan. The U.S.A. decided to bring Japan to the knees by the use of 'A' Bomb and on August 6, 1945 the population of Hiroshima and three days later of Nagasaki was earased from the face of the earth by 'A' Bomb. Japan was forced to surrender.

Post-War Japan. During World War II Japan had swept the Western powers out of the Eastern sea and had dreamt of a 'Greater Asian Co-prosperity Sphere.' But after the war her dreams were shattered and she herself lived under the heels of General MacArthur. U.S.A. followed a policy of democratization and Japan renounced war as an instrument of policy in the new constitution adopted by her. Trusts were broken, education was reformed and militaristic tradition was destroyed. With the outbreak of the Korean war Japan became a base of operation. U.S.A. now encouraged powerful trusts like the Zaibatsu to reconstruct Japanese industry. Japan became a vital link in the chain of Western defences. In 1951, Japan signed a peace treaty with all other participants of the Pacific war excepting U.S.S.R.

Japan depends upon import of raw material. In the early years of occupation which ended with the peace treaty of 1951 she depended largely upon U.S.A. In recent years she has recovered her position as a rival of Western powers in Far-Eastern trade. Japan is eager to develop he trade with Asia. Her desire to revive trade with Communist China has been frowned upon by U.S.A. But Japanese Premier Mr. Sato in a statement (January 27, 1965) asserted that he will separate trade from politics. This is another way of expressing a strong desire to establish trade with Communist China.

Japan's internal politics during the years following her surrender do not present an optimistic picture. Mr. Shigeru Yoshida who enjoyed Pre-

mutual defence with the Kuomintang regime. In reply to such an act of overt hostility Communist China demonstrated in 1954 and in early 1955 hostile intentions towards the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. This war of nerves around Quemoy and Matsu subsided with the declaration of Chinese Foreign Minister Chou-En-Lai's intentions to negotiate with U.S.A. But the fate of the two offshore islands is still undecided. The United States is following a policy of containment towards Communist China in a bid to save Asia from international communism and maintain status quo. A major issue continues to be the question of the recognition of Communist China and the seating of her delegates in the U.N. There seems to be three alternatives before U.S. with regard to China, *viz.*, either to follow a policy of containment or a policy of normalization or of negotiation. "The dilemma", says Charles P. Schleicher, "facing the United States, indeed, seems to be how to abandon the policy of containment through isolation without capitulation in a policy of establishing relations on Communist China's terms." Peking, too, has shown some inclination to open dialogue with Washington via Warsaw in recent times.

Communist China has recently demonstrated her unwillingness to take up the challenge of U.S.A. brinkmanship in South Vietnam. This is most probably due to the strained relation between U.S.S.R. and the People's Republic of China. While the Peking government is now in possession of the nuclear weapon it is still not in a position to face the American giant, though Mao branded the latter as 'paper tiger'.

Sino-Soviet Relations. Khrushchev, the maker of the Soviet foreign policy until recently, did not agree with Mao's view and retorted that 'the Paper tiger' possessed 'nuclear teeth'. The difference between the viewpoint of the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Communist Party is, however, deeper than mere difference in outlook between two leaders about U.S.A. The root of this difference is to be sought in the history of the communist movement in these two countries. In Russia the state power was seized by a revolution which relied mainly on urban workers. In China the revolution achieved its final success due to the peasant armies organized by Mao. The Chinese Communist Party in its struggle to grab power received aid from U.S.S.R. Mao Tse-tung and other Chinese leaders admitted of their indebtedness to the Soviet Union. But on many points they showed their determination to follow the Chinese way disregarding advice from Moscow. Mao's break with Kuomintang after Japanese surrender in World War II was disliked by Mos-

cow. The achievement of the Chinese was received with much enthusiasm. But the fact that Mao differed from Stalin was never pointed out. It may be either that the differences did not exist or Mao was tolerated because he could not be eliminated.

China and Russia have common boundaries in Mongolia, Manchuria and Sinkiang. Russian influence in this area increased rapidly due to Chinese weakness prior to the establishment of the People's Republic. The formation of the People's Republic of Outer Mongolia and its severance from China illustrates the sort of influence that Russia exerted in China. The emergence of Communist China has brought to the forefront the border question between the two countries. Russia is prepared to adjust minor frontier disputes with China but is unprepared to change the facts of history. Russia and China began discussing the boundary dispute in 1964 but the talks have not led to anything and China has been warning Russia against air intrusion. Outwardly Sino-Soviet solidarity was demonstrated and in the name of unity and solidarity China negotiated an agreement in 1950 which set up no less than 141 enterprises in China under joint boards of management, half Russian and half Chinese. The Treaty of Friendship with Soviet Union in 1950 provided for mutual defence in case of aggression. On December 31, 1953, Moscow agreed to relinquish property rights in the Manchurian railways. Russia yielded to Peking and agreed to leave Port Arthur by a treaty negotiated in October, 1954. This treaty provided for a Russian credit amounting to almost a billion roubles. The Soviet Union also agreed to relinquish its shares in the mixed companies.

But behind this apparent show of solidarity of the Communist World there developed differences between Russia—a Euro-Asian power and China—an Asian power.[8] Their basis for ideological unity is provided for by their allegiance to communism, their basis for material unity flows from their opposition to America. But racial and national differences soon began to affect their relations. Ideological differences came with the coming of Khrushchev to power. Khrushchev promulgated a policy of peaceful co-existence and competition. In the face of the possibility of nuclear war he desired to avoid a major war. The Chinese accused Khrushchev of cowardice and claimed that communism can survive a nuclear war. The Chinese party stuck to the orthodox view that clash with imperialism is inevitable while the Russians foresee the possibility of a victory over capitalism in

8. See also chapter 15.

miership from 1946 to 1954 with a slight break, followed a policy of close collaboration with U.S.A. His successor Hatoyama signed the peace treaty with U.S.S.R. in 1955. But Japan again reverted to a strong pro-U.S.A. policy under Kishi who signed a security treaty with U.S.A. in 1960 in face of popular opposition. In 1962 Ikeda became the Premier. At present he has been replaced in Premiership by Eisku Sato.

Violent student demonstrations broke out in Japan in 1968 and in the following year against Japan's defence ties with U.S.A.

Korea. Korea was divided into two zones Soviet and American at 38th parallel according to Potsdam decision. Efforts subsequently to unite the two failed and a U.N. Temporary Commission set up the Republic of South Korea in 1946. In 1948 a Soviet styled Republic was set up in North Korea. On June 25, 1950 U.N. Commission in Korea reported about North Korean aggression and U.S.A. at once sent forces to South Korea. The Security Council (from where U.S.S.R. was abstaining temporarily as a mark of protest for refusal to admit Communist China) endorsed the American stand. The Security Council adopted a resolution to effect military sanction and General MacArthur was made the commanding Officer of the U.N. forces in Korea.

Fourteen nations provided armed forces by February, 1951 and two more responded subsequently. But in reality U.S.A. shouldered the bulk of the responsibility. North Korean forces were beaten but as the U.N. forces approached Yalu River Chinese volunteer troops intervened and the war took a turn. The fortune of the war now changed like weathercock till the frontier was stabilized at the 38th parallel. Ultimately an armistice was arranged on a Soviet proposal of June 23, 1951 and after nearly two years of negotiations 38th parallel was accepted as the demarcating line between two Koreas.

Difficulties arose about handling the question of the willingness or otherwise of the communist prisoners of war about returning home. A Neutral Nations Commission with India as Chairman was charged with this responsibility. About 22 thousand prisoners signified their unwillingness to return home. At the Geneva Conference of 1954 the Korean question was finally settled. It was decided to hold an election to unite the North and the South. But unwillingness of the West to withdraw troops has resulted in the failure of this Scheme. In 1960 President Rhee had to resign as a result of internal rebellion. In 1961 General Chang Hee Park became the head of the R.O.K. In North Korea the government of Premier Kim-Il-Sung still continues to rule unhindered. In 1968 a U.S. spy ship Pueblo was 83 men aboard was held by North Korea which rejected Security Council resolution for investigation. The Pueblo and its men were released subsequently when U.S.A. agreed to apologise.

The Korean War though sanctioned by the U.N. was largely an American responsibility. With the intervention of Communist China it took a new turn and the U.S.A. unwilling to launch a full scale invasion on China agreed to negotiate peace. The Korean war clearly demonstrated that the U.N. has been influenced by the issues of the 'Cold War.'

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Bowles, Chester : The New Dimensions of Peace.
2. Crankshaw, Edward : The New Cold War—Moscow vs. Peking.
3. Clyde, Paul H. : The Far East
4. Dutta, Vidya Prakash : China's Foreign Policy.
5. Edwards, Michael : Asia in the European Age.
6. Hardy, Gathorne G.M. : A Short History of International Affairs.
7. Pannikar, K. M. : Asia and Western Dominance.
8. Poplai, S.L. : Asia and Africa in the Modern World.
9. Vinaike, Harold M. : A History of the Far-East in Modern Times.

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FOR WOMEN
Dept. of Extension SERVICES
CALCUTTA-7

Chapter 19

South-East Asia

The strategic importance of South-East Asia cannot be over-emphasised. It provides the passage-way from the Pacific to the Indian Ocean and is the 'stepping stone' between Asia and Australia. If this area goes completely under the influence of any one power bloc the balance of power in Asia will be completely altered.

This area also provides important strategic material. Thailand, Burma and Indo-China have been considered for long as the rice-bowl of Asia. Malaya and Indonesia account for 90 per cent of world's natural rubber and 60 per cent of tin. Around South-East Asia today, therefore, has developed the 'Cold War' which may also develop into a 'hot war' if peace is not established and good sense does not prevail. South-East Asia has become the Balkan of the East.

The term 'South-East Asia' includes Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Malay, Indonesia and the Philippines. It is inhabited by over 192 million people. Peasant families and village communities are the mainstay of the population. Nearly every Asiatic country including India, China and Japan and Western nations such as U.K. and U.S.A. have economic stakes in South-East Asia. Among the newly independent states in South-East Asia, Burma, Cambodia and Indonesia are following a neutral policy. Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapur, Laos, Thailand and South Vietnam are pro-Western and the rest is pro-Communist in alignment.

The birth of nationalism in South-East Asia—a product of Western contact—generated during the period of Western domination caused the destruction of imperialism. The birth of nationalist movement, in the post-World War II era, resulted in the liberation of these countries from foreign domination. In fact, it is the struggle

against foreign rule that strengthened the forces of nationalism in South-East Asia. Another factor which influenced South-East Asia deeply is the October Revolution. In most of the countries of South-East Asia the Russian Revolution had a tremendous influence. In many parts of this vast region communism has been married securely with nationalism. The consequence of such an alliance has been disastrous for the West. The rise of Communist China produced far-reaching consequence on the politics of South-East Asia. The existence of 15 million Chinese people in this area has provided a likely source of friction in South-East Asian politics.

In the post-war era the clash between Malaysia—a federation of Malay, North Borneo, Brunae and Sarawak—and Indonesia had created tension in South-East Asia. The policy of the United States striking down Viet-cong guerrillas by bombing north of 17th parallel is a challenge to Communist China. The power of Communist China, tested in Korea, probes from Ladakh to South Korea and is likely to influence the politics of all South-East Asian countries. It has been the aim of United States foreign policy to stabilize the situation in favour of democracy in all the South-East Asian countries either through military or economic aid or through both aid to intervene directly such as in Vietnam or Korea. The role of the United States has become all the more important in view of the proposed British withdrawal from all the bases east of Suez, except Honkong by 1971. In spite of the formation of SEATO in 1954, "the logic of British withdrawal indeed of all that has happened since World War II is that South-East Asia must bear the burden of its own defence." India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, in a press statement on 20 May, 1968 stressed this point when she said, "There is no question of any outside power coming in to fill the so-called vacuum. It is up to the States in the region to strengthen themselves." Britain has assured help to the South-East Asian Nations in case of emergency even after her withdrawal. But neither British help nor whatever could replace them could possibly meet a nuclear challenge. The United States, therefore, continues in its policy of containment by aiding SEATO Powers and in case of non-aligned nations economic assistance. But "An imbalance favouring the military, such as in Laos or Vietnam, does not seem to have provided the desired result." It seems that regional co-operation, such as Colombo Plan and Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) consisting of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore is not likely to succeed. Competition for external assistance and markets may ruin such organisation. Malaysia-Filipino dispute over Sabah is already causing tension between

two members of the ASEAN. Again Russia is taking an increasing interets in this area: the possibility of peace in Vietnam, the intended British withdrawal and events in Indonesia offers the possibility of Russian infiltration. Russia frowns upon the neo-colonial policy of the West and claims that Soviet presence can stabilize Asia. Thus in their attempts to win the people of South-East to their respective blocs—'Marxland' and 'Freeland' is facing today the possibility of open armed clash with consequences fraught with danger for the rest of the world.

Indo-China. The French had established their hold over Indo-China with its separate areas of Coachin China, the empire of Annam and the kingdom of Cambodia and the principality of Laos by a treaty concluded with the Annamite Emperor in 1874. In 1886 China abandoned her authority over Tongking and her suzerainty over Annam by a treaty. But during World War II the French authority in Indo-China received a serious blow as a result of her humiliation and defeat in Europe. The Japanese moved in Indo-China after the fall of France in 1940. The defeat of Japan brought back France in Indo-China with a desire to slap those who had taken advantage of their temporary eclipse to declare themselves free.

The French had to leave it to other forces to take over from the defeated Japanese in Vietnam—to the British in the South and Centre and in the North, to the Chinese troops. The Viet Minh nationalist party which under the leadership of Dr. Ho-Chi Minh had established a provisional government in the North could not be won over and in December 1946 fighting began which resulted in 1954 in the expulsion of the French.

Indo-China provides a typical example of the forces at work in South-East Asia in the post-World War II era. One important factor which contributed to the rise of nationalism in this area was the series of defeats inflicted by Japan upon Western nations. It was a blow from which the Western imperialist countries could not recover. The Japanese policy of Asia for the Asiatics and the anti-Japanese resistance movement, which had become the core of nationalist movement, made it next to impossible for the French imperialism to effect a stage back in Indo-China. The anti-Japanese resistance movement was organized in Indo-China by Ho-Chi Minh, a veteran communist leader. In Indo-China, however, the Communist movement was so securely married with the nationalist movement that his party "the Viet Minh could not be described as a Communist Organisation until its eventual success".[1]

1. Crowley, D. The Background to Current Affairs, p. 276.

Ho-Chi Minh, though a communist leader, received support from nationalists and when the French attempted to return he negotiated with them for the recognition of his Democratic Republic established in the North. The French aimed at strengthening anti-Ho forces in Indo-China and sought to set up Bao-Dai, the ex-Annamese Emperor, as the head of a nominally independent Vietnamese administration. The choice was unfortunate because Bao-Dai had already acted as a 'colonial puppet' under Japanese rule.

The French had reached a settlement with Ho-Chi-Minh in post-World War II era but before the agreement could be implemented war broke out between the French and Viet Minh forces in December, 1946. By the end of 1949 the Viet Minh forces had become a serious menace to the French in Indo-China. In December, 1949 the French tried to strengthen the position of anti-Ho elements by formally recognising Bao-Dai as the head of the State of Vietnam. Henceforth Ho-Chi-Minh's Democratic Republic of the North was referred to as Viet Minh. Bao-Dai's Government received recognition from U.K., U.S.A. and other Western nations and Indo-China became a pawn in diplomatic chessboard of cold war politics.

The French who had no hope of victory against Ho-Chi-Minh continued to fight till their military position became quite untenable with the fall of the key fortress of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. As Indo-China formed a vital area other Western powers were thoroughly alarmed. The West became eager to maintain the precarious balance of power in South-East Asia. The Communist bloc showed willingness to hear overtures of peace, and it was arranged that the issue of Indo-China should be included in the agenda of the Geneva Conference of 1954—called to establish peace in Korea.

The Geneva Conference. Repeated defeat and huge waste in men and materials had made France eager for peace in Indo-China. But the policy makers in U.S.A. were unwilling to shake hands with the representatives of Communist China and Ho-Chi-Minh at Geneva. Mr. Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, advocated strong policy and threatened the use of 'A' Bomb. His policy of brinkmanship was however unacceptable to other Western powers specially France. The French Premier Mr. Mendes France fixed 20 July as the dead line within which he announced his intention of establishing peace in Indo-China, otherwise he proposed to resign.

The Geneva Conference discussed the Indo-China issue in spite of American unwillingness either to participate or to sign the agreement subsequently. The United States Government, however, defined its attitude by an unilateral declaration by which she agreed to

accept the settlement arrived at Geneva. It was issued after an agreement was reached over Indo-China at the Geneva Conference.

The settlement arrived at provided for the division of Indo-China along the 17th parallel with Ho-Chi Minh ruling in the North and Bao-Dai in the South of the line of demarcation. An International Commission composed of the representatives of India, Poland and Canada was set up. It was agreed that within July, 1955, discussions, regarding the holding of elections in July, 1956, to unite the country, under the auspices of the Commission, should be held. The Commission in arranging for the election should work by a majority vote. The two smaller states of Laos and Cambodia were to be free of all foreign troops—French and Viet-Minh. The Pathet Lao in Laos—a pro-Communist armed movement—was to be given some recognition in Northern Laos, under the aegis of the central government.

The four governments agreed not to enter into any military alliance.

The United States by an unilateral declaration agreed not to take any action to subvert the agreement arrived at Geneva. Any breach of the above agreement, the declaration added, would be viewed with grave concern.

Vietnam Since Geneva Agreement. Internal and international development in Vietnam had changed completely since the signing of the Geneva Agreement. The French influence has been substituted by American. Bao-Dai, who preferred the 'flesh pots of French Riviera' to the realities of South Vietnam, was removed by a plebiscite from the office of the Emperor by Ngo Dinh Diem. The latter was the Premier of Bao-Dai after whose removal he became the President of the Republic of Vietnam in 1955. The Geneva Conference had proposed that the two governments should confer in July, 1955 to discuss about arrangements for holding election for the whole country within a year. But the Diem government supported by U.S.A. refused to hold election.

Chaos in South Vietnam. The internal situation in South Vietnam has undergone far-reaching changes since the Geneva Settlement. There have been frequent changes of government in South Vietnam since the fall of Diem in 1963. It is very difficult to predict now whether further changes would not take place again. The Diem government which was a family show of Diem and his brother Nu became extremely unpopular due to its anti-Buddhist policy. In Saigon frequent demonstrations of the Buddhists led by politically-minded monks (some of whom embraced death by burning) were

staged in protest of the anti-Buddhist policy of Diem and his Christian Junta. Diem followed a pro-American policy and complained that the Communist guerrilla activity in South Vietnam was the outcome of infiltration from the North. Internal disturbances staged by the Buddhists, however, made his position untenable and on November 1, 1963 Diem and his brother were overthrown by a military coup led by General Dan Van Minh. Madam Nu later on complained that his fall was largely due to the failure of U.S.A. to support Diem.

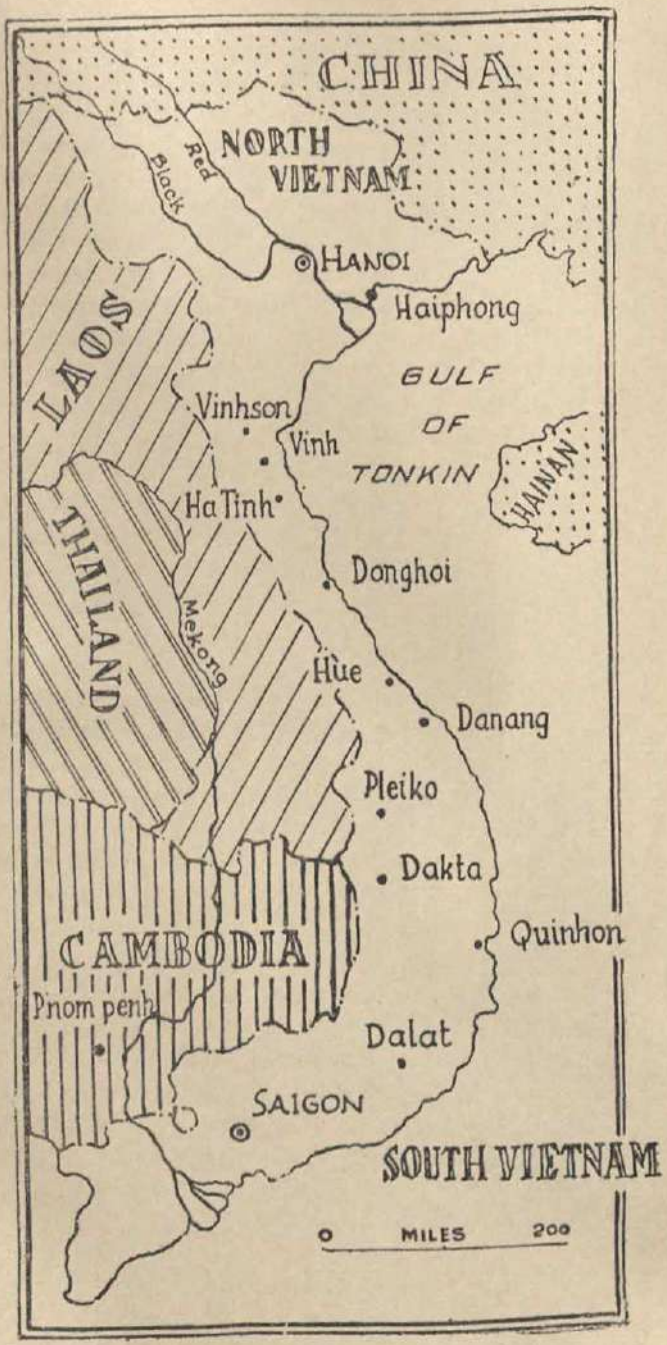
Since 1963, however, the political scene in South Vietnam has not stabilized. After the fall of Diem nearly nine coups have taken place in South Vietnam. Even American observers have been constrained to call these frequent changes in South Vietnam as 'Vietnamese pocket game.' But General Maxwell Taylor, the U.S.A. Ambassador and Mr. Bundy, Presidential envoy, cannot escape their responsibility for the unstable political situation in South Vietnam. Internally, two factors—the movement of politically-minded Buddhist monks and the attempt of the young army generals or 'Young Turks' (as they are called) to dominate the political scene—have resulted in recent times in frequent changes of government. These changes resulted in the overthrow of Dang Van Minh or Big Ming by General Khanh (January 30, 1964). The attempt of Khanh to establish personal rule was challenged by massive demonstration of the Buddhists at Saigon (August 22 to August 25, 1964) and the former agreed to establish civil government. The civil government in its turn was overthrown by South Vietnamese generals or 'Young Turks' and the Prime Minister Tran Von Huong was driven out of office. The Buddhist hierarchy agreed to expel politically-minded monks.

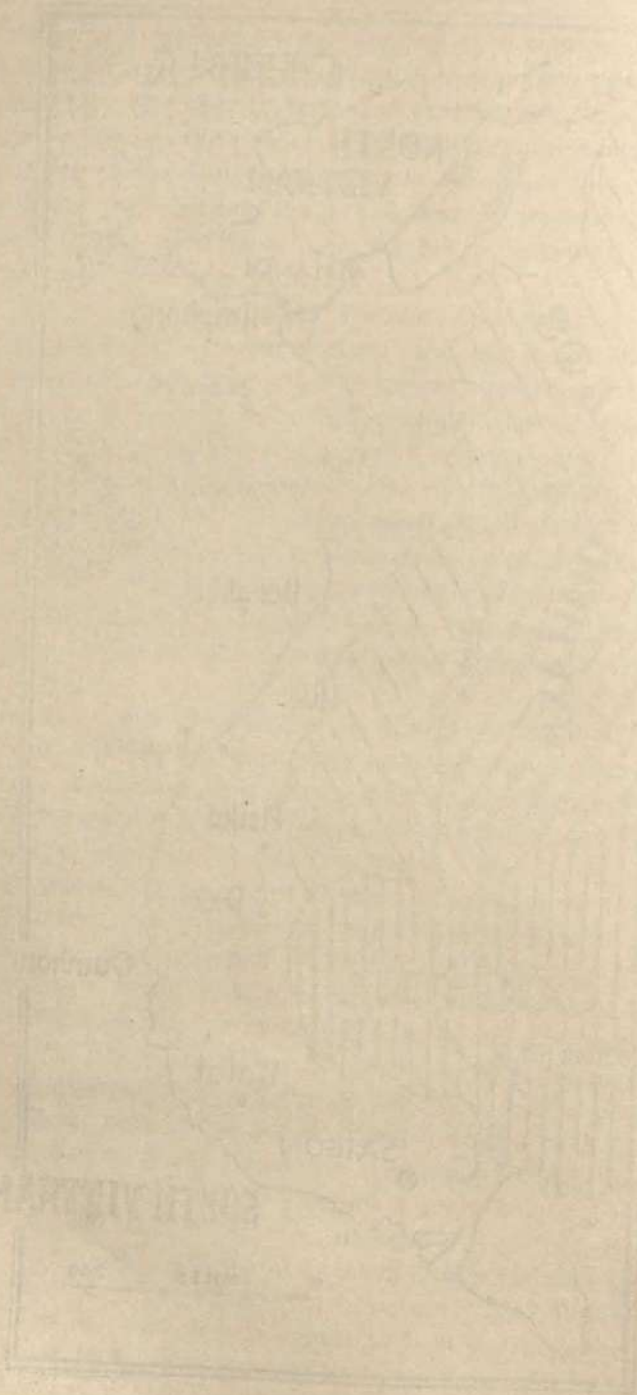
In February, 1965 the government experienced a further shake up due to army coups staged by discontented officers. As a consequence of the recent changes Major General Tran Von Minh (Little Minh) was made the supreme commander of the armed forces. The situation in South Vietnam is still fluid and the South Vietnamese government headed nominally by Mr. Phan Khuc Sun still lacks stability. The acting Premier Dr. Quat's government was overthrown again by Air Marshal Kao Ki. Thus after the fall of Diem the South Vietnam experienced nine coups. After four years of emergency military rule a new constitution was promulgated and in the election that followed in 1967 Naguyen von Thieu became the President and Naguyen Cao Kye was sworn in as Vice-president. Six of the unsuccessful presidential candidates claimed that the election was "fraudulent."

Thieu was opposed to the stopping of bombing in North Vietnam for peace talk which President Johnson announced on November 1, 1968. He also claimed that the National Liberation Front, formed in 1960 as the political wing of Vietcong, should be regarded as member of the Hanoi delegation in the Peace talk. "Our side", said Thieu, "will include the U.S.A. and if necessary other allies". Neither U.S.A. nor Hanoi nor the N.L.F. accepted the position. Thieu's objections were overruled.

Amer'can Policy in South Vietnam. South-East Asia to use a popular phrase is a 'power vacuum' and the threat of international communism in this area poses a serious problem for the United States. In South-East Asia following the Geneva Conference the United States pursued a policy of containment. Generous American aid was given to South Vietnam and the United States sought to strengthen internal stability. The Manila Pact created the S.E.A.T.O. and South Vietnam became a designated protocol state under the Manila Pact. The need for securing the political independence and territorial integrity of South Vietnam prompted U.S.A. to send American troops to help Saigon against Communist Viet-Cong guerrillas.

In early 1965 U.S.A. policy underwent a radical change. In fact signs of an impending change of U.S.A. policy were discernible from the summer of 1964 when following an alleged attack on U.S. fleet in the gulf of Tonkin (August, 1964) American air force struck at strategic objectives in North Vietnam. The United States policy makers gradually changed their policy of containment to a policy of confrontation. On February 7, 1965, following a raid against U.S. installations, 100 miles east of Pleiku, the United States and South Vietnam government took 'military action' against North Vietnam by conducting air-strikes on selected targets posing a direct challenge to the Soviet Union and China to put their cards on the table. The sense of confrontation posed by the American action became all the more greater because the Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Kosygin during his visit to Hanoi (when the Americans raided the capital of North Vietnam) emphasised that his country would come to North Vietnam's aid in case she was attacked. "The major part of the U.S. military task", said Mr. Macnamara in October 1963, "can be completed by the end of 1965". In September, 1965 President Johnson in his San Antonio formula agreed to stop bombing for a ceasefire dialogue if Hanoi stopped aid to Viet Cong. But this reciprocal response was not forthcoming from Hanoi. On November 1, 1968


CHINA
NORTH VIETNAM
Red
Black
HANOI
Haiphong
GULF OF TONKIN
HAINAN
LAOS
Vinhson
Vinh
Ha Tinh
THAILAND
Mekong
Donghoi
Hue
Danang
Pleiko
Dakta
Quinhon
CAMBODIA
Pnom penh
Dalat
SAIGON
SOUTH VIETNAM
0 MILES 200



after three years of bloodbath the United States agreed to stop bombing and the way was paved for the Paris peace talk.

The logic of commitment had thrust the Americans ever deeper in the Vietnamese tangle and they acted merely as advisers to South Vietnamese. In 1961 the first large influx of U.S. troops was sent to Vietnam. It was not long before that Vietcong supply bases were bombed. The number of American troops in Vietnam on the eve of the Tet or New Year's invasion of the Vietcong on Saigon on 30th January, 1968 was more than five lakhs and General Westmoreland demanded two lakhs more to meet the new thrust of the Vietcong which was repeated on about hundred and twenty towns in May. The Americans are certainly waging a grim war. Their use of a series of deadly lethal weapons which range from very cruel form of anti-personnel missile to vomiting gas and napalam has been condemned by many including Bertrand Russell. On 31st July, 1967 U Thant said that "the war in Vietnam was not a war of communist aggression but a war of national independence against all foreigners, particularly Americans". U Thant also branded the war as "totally unnecessary".

International reaction. In view of the opinion held by prominent non-communists like U Thant and Russell American policy of escalation stands condemned in the bar of World public opinion. 'The Pleiku doctrine' of striking at the hostile neighbouring country which encourages subversive activities in a friendly state is of doubtful value. This policy of confrontation is a new departure in American foreign policy which discouraged so far any such provocative attitude. The French raid on Tunisia, for instance, on February 8, 1958 to crush Algerian revolutionaries was condemned by Senator Kennedy (later President) and others.

The Russians who have discarded their policy of retreat from South-East Asia since the fall of Khruschev reacted strongly against United State's action in Vietnam. Mr. Kosygin speaking at a State's rally in Moscow on February 12, 1965 stated that "the Soviet Union, China and the Korean Democratic People's Republic are unanimous in their desire to curb the aggression to prevent the extension of hostilities in Indo-China". So far, however, both China and the Soviet Union have abstained from taking any action in Indo-China to counter American move.

In view of the recent American proposal for peace talks the situation has eased down to a certain extent. Yet the overall picture is now uncertain. The Chinese who did not send any direct help to Hanoi have condemned the American proposals as hypocritic. The

Soviet Union, due to its cleavage with Peking, is faced with a difficult situation in North Vietnam. The American policy makers have landed themselves in a dilemma and are facing the prospect of pursuing an endless mission from which escape in immediate future is difficult.

The incidents in North Vietnam have been viewed with gravity by India which as a Chairman of the International Control Commission has special responsibility for maintaining peace in Indo-China. Already the Government of Hanoi has requested I.C.C. to withdraw from its territory in view of the new developments. India favours a Geneva type conference to restore peace in Indo-China and as a precondition desires an immediate suspension of all provocative actions. In the U.N. debate on Indo-China, both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. blamed each other, but no solution to ease the situation was evolved. To end escalation in Vietnam President Johnson agreed to open dialogue with North Vietnam and on 13 May, 1968, preliminary talks between U.S. delegation led by Mr. Avarell Harriman and North Vietnamese delegation led by Mr. Xuan Thui were inaugurated in Paris. On 1 November, 1968 President Johnson announced a complete cessation of American air, naval and artillery bombardment on North Vietnam to open the way for full-scale political talks between the U.S.A., North Vietnam, South Vietnam and the Vietcong. The Vietcong delegation at the Paris peace talk was headed by a forty-one year old woman, Mrs. Nguyan Thi Binh who stated that "the population of South Vietnam earnestly wishes for peace but their peace cannot be disassociated from independence and liberty." South Vietnam, however, demanded that the N.L.F. should be regarded as member of the Hanoi delegation. "Our side", said President Thieu, "will include the U.S.A. and if necessary other Allies." Neither U.S.A. nor Hanoi nor N.L.F. accepted the position. Thieu's objections were overruled but it had the effect of stalling the talks at Paris. Another minor difficulty which postponed the opening of the Paris peace talk for some time was the disagreement regarding the type of table to be used during the meeting of the four delegations. Happily a solution has been worked out and the peace talk after settling procedural matters is well on the way for serious dialogue. Mr. Harriman has been replaced in January, 1969 by Mr. Henry Cabbot Lodge appointed by President Nixon to head the American delegation. The six member South Vietnamese delegation is headed by Mr. Qham-Ang Lam. The outcome of Paris peace talks will have far-reaching effect on World peace.

Laos. Laos is one of the three former Indo-China states and is

stretched over 600 miles from north to south. The Laotian Kingdom was under the Thai ruler from the eighteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century when the French became masters of Laos. Japan in continuation of its policy of building 'Greater co-prosperity sphere in Asia' declared the independence of Laos, under King Sisavong Vong in April, 1945. When after World War II the French attempted to enforce colonial rule on Laos, the Issrak or Free Laotians formed a provisional government and moved to Bangkok. The government was headed by Prince Petsarah. His brother Prince Souvanna Phouma assisted him while his another brother Prince Souphanouvong went underground to resist the French.

In 1946 the French signed an agreement with the King of Laos in accordance with which the independence of Laos was promised and a National Assembly was convened on 11 May, 1947. In 1949 Laos became an Associated State within the French Union. The Free Laotian government at Bangkok was dissolved and Prince Souvanna Phouma returned to Laos to become its Prime Minister. Souphanouvong, however, refused to co-operate and organized resistance on Viet Minh lines. He announced the creation of a Laotian people's united front in 1950.

The Free Laotion forces (Pathet Lao) gained substantial success and in the beginning of 1954 reached within a striking distance of the Capital Luang Prabang. The Geneva Conference of 1954 restored peace in Laos. The Laotian government was recognized by the Communist countries and most of the members of the U.N. Laos obtained U.N. membership in December, 1955. In the Geneva Conference of 1954 it was agreed that all foreign troops were to be withdrawn. The Pathet Lao forces were to move into two small areas (Phong Saly and Sam Neua) until political questions were settled. An International Commission was set up to supervise and control the imposition of peace. Unfortunately turmoil in the country compelled the Commission to withdraw in 1958.

Developments after Geneva Conference. The election in 1958 was boycotted by the pro-Communist Pathet Lao and resulted in the formation of Rightist government and renewed disturbances in the country. The government in 1959 denounced the Geneva agreement to open the path for American aid. China and Russia accused U.S.A. of aiding the Rightist regime. On the other hand the U.N. appointed a sub-committee to enquire into the complaint lodged by the government about North Viet Minh infiltration in Laos. Elections held in 1960 strengthened the Rightist regime. The government arrested left leaders including Souphanouvong.

Captain Kong Lae, a supporter of the neutralist leader Prince Souvanna Phouma, now took action against the government and was supported in his action by the Lao Haksat (Political Organization of Pathet Lao). By 1961 the Pathet Lao and left troops captured many important strategic centres. India now proposed the convening of the International Commission to establish peace and was supported by Britain.

In the meanwhile Kong Lae's actions had resulted in the election of the neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma as the Prime Minister. Western support, however, went to the rightest leaders General Nosa Van and Prince Boun Oum. With U.S. aid they were able to drive out Prince Souvanna Phouma to Bangkok. Kong Lae's troops, however, proved a serious problem and Boun Oum government became eager to negotiate. Ultimately the differences between the various parties and groups were settled by an agreement signed on June 7, 1962 and a coalition government was formed. But it did not restore peace in Laos. The assassination of the leftist Foreign Minister in 1963 gave fresh signal for disturbances. The left forces in the country accused U.S.A. of complicity. The Pathet Lao troops aided by Viet Minh forces continue the struggle against the right wing forces. Kong Lee's troops defeated the rightist forces in the field of Jars. On February 15, 1965 the Pathet Lao troops captured Hona Mong, an important government base in the north. Now General Nusavan in his turn has been forced to seek shelter in Bangkok.

President De Gaulle had offered to mediate in Laotian dispute and the Soviet Union has revived the proposal of an urgent reconvening of the Geneva Conference to establish peace in Laos. This tiny kingdom has assumed vital importance due to 'Cold War'. The establishment of either a pro-Communist or a pro-Western government in this area would affect events in Indo-China, Cambodia, Thailand and Malaysia. Therefore, the establishment of peace and a neutralist government here is urgently needed in order to ensure peace in other parts of Sourth-East Asia. In the election of 1967 Prince Souvanna Phouma remained Prime Minister. The Pathet Lao boycotted election. Clashes with Pathet Lao troops is an everyday affair in Laos.

INDONESIA

The Indonesian territory is a conglomeration of innumerable scattered islands of which the most important are Java, Sumatra, South Borneo, the Celebes, Bali, Lombok, Flores, part of Timor, the Molucca islands and West Irian. The Dutch became the masters of Indonesia after they had successfully ousted the British in the end

of the seventeenth century. The Dutch rule in Indonesia, however, came to an end, when with Japanese participation in World War II, the area went under Nipponese control. After the fall of Japan in August, 1945 the Dutch attempted to effect a stage back. The Indonesians who had achieved independence during Japanese supremacy in South-East Asia refused to surrender to the Dutch imperialists. The result was an out-break of hostilities between the Dutch and Indonesian Republic. A temporary truce signed at Linggadjat (October, 1946) proved unavailing and the U.N. Security Council intervened on August 1, 1947 to impose a truce. On December 19, 1948 there was a fresh out-break of hostilities. The Security Council called for an immediate cease-fire (December 24, 1948). It became impossible for the Dutch to go it alone owing to American and British diplomatic pressure. A Fifteen Nations Conference met at New Delhi and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Dutch. The Dutch agreed to negotiate and on December 27, 1949 after long negotiations Indonesia became independent.

In 1934 Sukarno who later became the President of Indonesia had correctly pointed out that "when we got our freedom our real trouble will begin". Indonesia, immediately after independence, was threatened with rebellion from extremists including extreme Muslim fanatics as well as Communists. South Moluceas declared independence in April, 1950. These rebellions together with the Dutch attempt to stir trouble by maintaining their hold over West Irian (formerly West New Guinea) created trouble for Indonesia. After long negotiations the Dutch under the double pressure of resurgent Afro-Asian nationalism and international Communism had to give way. In 1962 West Irian was finally transferred to Indonesia. In 1954 the proposed union between Holland and Indonesia was finally abandoned.

Indonesia adopted a democratic constitution. But internal conditions proved unfavourable to the working of democracy. National integration in face of marked particularism became difficult. Lack of capable administrators and efficient police service proved another stumbling block. There are nearly forty-two political parties out of which the Communists (who failed twice in their attempted rebellion in 1948 and again in 1965), the Masjumi with distinctly Islamic character, the Nationalist party (P.N.I.) and the Socialists stand out as prominent. The working of the democracy was further hampered by the revolt of the army officers in Sumatra and Celebes at the end of 1956. This chaos and confusion led to a suspension of full demo-

cratic rights in July, 1955 when President Sukarno established with the help of the army a 'guided democracy'. The latter term virtually implies dictatorial power for President Sukarno. The Parliament in Indonesia has been relegated to back-ground with only 'consultative role'. But it was not until 1958 that some amount of order could be established by the central government guided by President Sukarno. The latter was ably seconded in this task by General Abdul Harris Nasution, his chief of the army staff. Indonesia has left the U.N. following the election of Malaysia to the Security Council. She established a close tie with Communist China until President Sukarno survived a squalid and sordid struggle for power by his followers on 30 September, 1965. The PKI—Parti Kommunist Indonesia—in its efforts to gain power killed six out of seven top ranking generals. It was encouraged by China. The revolt has been suppressed and PKI has been declared illegal in Indonesia whose relation with China has deteriorated. The Army is now in supreme control in Indonesia. Indonesia's relation with India was strained in 1965 because she promised Pakistan aid in her recent confrontation with India. Following the failure of the communist uprising members of the PKI were haunted down by the police and military forces. Even Dr. Subandrio, Sukarno's Foreign Minister, did not escape punishment for his complicity in the plot. President Sukarno himself was removed from power in February, 1967 and General Suharto after enjoying emergency power for a long period was elected by the People's Congress as President of Indonesia for five years. General Suharto wants to steer a middle course in Indonesian politics. The failure of the February coup has resulted in an improvement of relation between Indonesia and Malaysia. The confrontation with Malaysia had resulted from Sukarno's opposition to the formation of Malaysia and the order issued to the Indonesian army by the President on 2 January, 1964 to crush Malaysia. No major clash took place between the two countries yet the situation remained explosive till on 7 March, 1967 Suharto revised the 1959 treaty of friendship with Indonesia. This treaty provided for regional security and Indonesia, today, is member of the ASEAN together with four other South-East Asian countries. Indonesia's relation with India and the Western nations has become more cordial but with China Indonesia's relation has become bitter. The Soviet Union also denounced the policy of Suharto to haunt down members of the PKI. Politics in Indonesia has borne out the truth of the following statement of Mr. Friedman in his book *World Politics*—"Of all the Asian States which have at-

tained political independence after a long period of colonial rule, the future of Indonesia appears the most uncertain."

MALAYSIA

Malaysia is a federation created by the merger of Malaya, Singapore, Brunei, North Borneo and Sarwark. Malay had become independent on February 1, 1948 by a treaty between Great Britain and nine rulers of Malay states to which Pennang and Malaccas were joined. The Federation of Malaysia was originally proposed in 1961 and in 1963 Malaysia was made an independent Commonwealth country. Singapore has recently decided to break away from Malaysia and she is now an independent state. Indonesia considers the states (excepting Malay) above mentioned as an integral part of the Republic. The attempt to unite them with Malaya has been regarded by Jakarta as a part of the conspiracy of the colonial powers especially Britain and America to perpetuate their hold on South-East Asia. Malaysia is really a pawn in the neo-colonial policy of the Anglo-American powers according to Dr. Sukarno.

This attitude of Indonesia had resulted in a policy of confrontation. The creation of Malaysia also caused anxiety in Manila. President Macapagal of Philippines together with Sukarno of Indonesia made some efforts to reach a compromise with Tengku Abdul Rahman, Premier of Malaya, by the signing of an agreement. On August 5, 1963 the three statesmen met at Manila and agreed to join in a confederation of the three states to be designated as 'Maphilindo'.

But the proposed confederation did not materialise and Indonesia's attitude became threatening when in 1963 Malaysia came into being. Malaysia, however, was offered protection behind the shield of the British navy. On January 2, 1964 President Sukarno issued to the armed forces of Indonesia orders to crush Malaysia. Since then Indonesian troops have infiltered in different parts of the territory of Malaysia. No all out offensive however was taken by either Indonesia or Malaysia against each other.

The situation was further complicated by the decision of the Anglo-American powers to back Malaysia which in the opinion of the Western powers forms a bulwark against growing communist menace in South-East Asia. Following a short visit of President Sukarno to Moscow in October, 1964 a joint communique was issued supporting Indonesian viewpoint against Malaysia. The communique said—"The Soviet people are coming out against neo-colonialist plans for Malaysia" and added, "in agreement with the viewpoint the Soviet people are assisting and helping Indonesia in its struggle against neo-colo-

nialist plans". Indonesia's determination to fight Malaysia was backed by Communist China also. Thus the Malaysian problem became a part of the 'Cold War' in South-East Asia.

Further proof about Western patronage to Tengku Abdul Rahman became evident when Malaysia was elected as a member of the Security Council in the end of 1964. Indonesia took it as an affront and declared her intention to withdraw from the United Nations. This decision to withdraw may affect the whole structure of the United Nations. Other states disagreeing with the international organisation may decide to follow Indonesia. In fact in the U.N. Charter itself there is no provision for withdrawal.

From the point of view of collective security the dispute of Indonesia and Malaysia was perhaps more vital than even the Indo-China problem. There are very good reasons why Indonesia and Malaysia should seek peace and after the failure of the Communist coup in February, 1965 Indonesia agreed to sit in conference to settle her differences with Malaysia peacefully. Indonesian confrontation has increased internal pressures, particularly racial animosities in Malaysia. Following Malaysia's support to India in the Security Council debate on Indo-Pakistani dispute, the diplomatic relations between the two countries were strained. Following British decision to withdraw East of Suez (excepting from Hongkong) in 1971 a five nations conference attended by Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Malaysia and Singapore was held at Kualalampur at the invitation of Tengku Abdur Rehman, Malaysia's Prime Minister. The conference decided to set up an integrated air defence system covering both Malaysia and Singapore. Britain, it is said, assured that she would maintain more than general capability in Europe to be able to come to the aid of this region in case of emergency. This assurance was repeated in the subsequent meetings of the above mentioned five powers. Britain, however, stood in the way of purchase of Mirage planes from France in January, 1969 by Malaysia. Britain told Malaysia that in case if she materialise her intention to purchase French aircraft British planes would not be sold to Malaysia.

Philippines has claimed Sahab as an integral part of that State. Sabah—formerly British North Borneo and now a part of Malaysia—thus became a bone of contention between two members of ASEAN leading to diplomatic tension in South-East Asia. The Bangkok talks (August, 1968) between Malaysia and the Philippines on the Sabah issue had ended in failure. Malaysian Deputy Premier Tien Abdul Razak and the Philippine Foreign Secretary Mr. Ramos, however, agreed to consider ways and means of reconciliation on the Sabah

issue after a cooling off period. In September, 1968 President Marcos signed a bill annexing Sabah. This did not bring any real solution to the problem. "Manila-Kualalampur tie", said President Marcos, "will not be servered" in spite of the passing of the annexation bill. The two countries are keenly desirous of restoring friendly relations.

BURMA

Burma was annexed to the British Indian empire at the end of the nineteenth century. During World War II and the Japanese occupation (March, 1942 to August, 1945) Burma suffered considerable loss of life and property. The Japanese sponsored a government under Dr. BaMaw. The Anti-Fascist People's League came into existence in the year 1944 under the leadership of Aung San. The British returned to Burma in September, 1945. Great Britain attempted to rebuild Burma's economy or at least that part of it which was dominated by British interest. The prospect of Burma's independence became bright only when the Labour Government came to power in 1946 and negotiations were opened with the leaders of the A.F.P.L. The latter organization still under Aung San now experienced split and the Red Flag Communists denounced the negotiations. The White Flag Communists who were also members of the A.F.P.L. were expelled from the organization for their opposition to some of the terms accepted by Aung San during negotiations.

The agreement for Burmese independence was signed in January, 1947 and a Constituent Assembly met to decide Burma's future. Unfortunately Aung San and some of his colleagues were assassinated by the armed agents of U. Saw, a former Premier, on July 19, 1947. Aung San was replaced by Thakin Nu (later known as U Nu) and Burma achieved independence on January 4, 1948.

In the post-independence era Burma had to face innumerable problems. The revolt of the Red Flag and White Flag Communists and the Karen rebellion in February, 1948 posed serious problem for Burma. In the meanwhile Burma adopted a republican constitution and left the Commonwealth.

In 1949 nearly ten thousand K.M.T. troops fleeing from Communist China entered Burma. In 1953 Burma complained to the U.N. and the K.M.T. forces were gradually withdrawn as a result of an agreement with Chiang Kai-shek, the United States and Thailand. The internal situation in Burma improved markedly by 1957 and nearly ninety per cent of Burmese territory came under the control of the Central Government at Rangoon. The success achieved by

the Government was largely due to the split in the opposition and the support of the peasantry. The Government efforts to reclaim land-ownership from Indian 'Chetiars' gained wide popularity. In industry too a steady nationalization policy was pursued from 1949 to 1958 by U Nu. But this policy of nationalization brought about a split in A.F.P.L. and U Nu handed over power to General Ne Win. Ne Win carried out a policy of purification of the administration and relinquished power. He resumed it again in March, 1962.

Burma pursued from the beginning a policy of non-alignment. In 1954 U Nu in a joint statement with the Chinese Premier Chou En-lai accepted the Pancha Shila as the guiding principle of Burma's foreign policy. Later on in the same year U Nu in another joint statement with Ali Sastroamidjojo, Indonesian Premier, agreed to work for easing world tension. Burma concluded treaty with China for demarcating its frontier and participated in the Bandung Conference held in 1955. General Ne Win took an active part in the Colombo Conference of Neutral Nations called for mediating in Sino-Indian dispute on December 10, 1962. General Ne Win who visited India recently has agreed to consider favourably the question of safeguarding the property of the Indians in Burma. Relations of Burma with Communist China cooled down in June 1967 when Chinese students defied government ban against the wearing of Mao badges. Peking characterized government action against Chinese as fascist action.

Cambodia, Thailand and Philippines. Cambodia is a small kingdom comprising of 70,000 square miles area and a population of nearly 3,750,000. It is bound on the north and west by Thailand and by Vietnam in the north and east. Its culture was strongly influenced by Hinduism. In the eighteenth century the country came virtually under the protection of Thailand. In 1863 the French protectorate was established.

After the out-break of World War II the French protectorate in Cambodia came to an end. At the end of the war the French signed an agreement with the King which gave the French a large amount of control in administration. A new constitution came into force in 1947. It declared that all power emanates from the King and the National Assembly (elected by universal vote) only exercised power in his name. Cambodia was declared to be an independent state within the framework of the French Union in 1949. In 1953, however, the King assumed all powers directly by dissolving the National Assembly and the government of the Democratic Party. It was in the same year that Cambodia declared itself independent. The

Geneva Conference of 1954 provided for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the country and Cambodia became a fully independent state. The personal rule of the King was approved by a referendum.

The foreign policy of Cambodia since then has been one of non-alignment. Prince Norodom Sihanouk on behalf of Cambodia participated in the Colombo Conference of six neutral nations in December, 1962. This Conference was called for bringing about a peaceful solution of Sino-Indian dispute. In December, 1963 tension developed between U.S.A. nad Cambodia following a report about a radio broadcast from Cambodia expressing satisfaction at the death of President Kennedy. Diplomatic relation between the two countries was severed temporarily. Recent development in Vietnam due to the American policy of confrontation has resulted again in creating tension between U.S.A. and Cambodia which has recognized G.D.R. and Revolutionary South Vietnam.

In January, 1968 Prince Nordom Sihanouk requested the International Control Commission to watch out for violation of the Cambodian border by the belligerants in Vietnam. Again, in August of the same year the prince warned U.S.A. of the possibility of war if the American forces threatening to occupy a Cambodian province were not withdrawn. A categorical assurance to respect Cambodian border was given by the U.S.A. through Mr. Chester Bowles who visited Cambodian capital Phnom Penh. While Mr. Bowles was talking with Prince Sihanouk, his Foreign Minister was in Hanoi talking to Dr. Ho Chi Minh who assured all help to Cambodia to resist U.S. aggression. In November 1968 Prince Sihanouk said that he did not see any objection to the Americans staying in the countries of the region where the U.S. presence was welcomed. Explaining his policy he further stated—"Circumstances compel me to wish now, for the survival of a neutral Buddhist and independent Cambodia that the communist influences (Sino-Vietnamese) and that of the free world (U.S.A.) will after the Vietnamese war, neutralize themselves in our South-East Asia." Mr. Nong Kimny, Cambodian Ambassador in India, asserted on January 17, (see *Statesman* letter to the editor—22-1-69) that the popular socialist community in Cambodia is a national movement embracing all political tendencies including and not except the communists.

Thailand. Thailand or Siam has an area of nearly 198,247 square miles. The Thais forced out of South-West China by the invasion of Kublai Khan settled in this country in the middle of

thirteenth century. Thailand came into contact with the West in the end of the nineteenth century. But Thailand escaped the experience of being occupied by a foreign power because she always gave way to Anglo-French pressure and granted the concessions demanded so that the Western zone of Thailand became a British sphere of influence while the Eastern zone went under French control and only in the central part of Thailand the Thais had full control. A military coup in 1932 ended the absolute rule of the King and real power was usurped by a military Junta. During World War II Thailand gave way to Japanese pressure and declared war against the Allied powers (1942). But in 1945 the Thai government declared that the war against the Allied powers was an act imposed upon it by Japan. From 1947 to 1957 Thailand was ruled by Marshal Pibul Songgram with dictatorial power. In 1957 he was forced to resign and Marshal Sarit took his place. At present the government though nominally a monarchy is really in the hands of a military Junta. Thailand became an active member of the ASEAN.

Thailand has a pro-Western government and is a member of the SEATO. One-sixth of the population is Chinese and Thailand is interested in keeping them out of Peking's influence. In 1952 the communist party was declared illegal. Thailand received considerable military and economic aid from U.S.A. in recent years.

Philippines. On July 4, 1946, after four hundred years of Spanish rule and nearly fifty years of American, Philippines became independent. The promise of independence was given in the Tydings-MacDuffe Act in 1936. But this act had provided for the protection of American business in Philippines. When the Republic was created in 1946 Philippines faced tremendous economic problems. Manuel Roxa who was elected President in 1946 represented the Liberal Party backed by landlords and big businessmen and patronised by U.S.A.

The government had to tackle the problem of shortage of food and solve the housing problem. The sanitation and public health arrangements were in a shocking condition. The communist inspired Hukbalahap terrorists earned popularity among land hungry peasants and became a menace to the new government.

The liberal administration of President Raymond Magsaysay after 1953 carried out a number of urgent reforms. The peasantry was gradually won over and the Huk rebellion subsided. Magsaysay's reforming zeal was disliked by the vested interests. He was unfortunately killed in an air crash in 1957. His successor Carlos Gracia failed to carry forward his legacy and was defeated in 1961 election.

President Macapagal who was elected in his place proposed to carry forward the agrarian reforms. In the election held in November, 1965 Macapagal lost the election to Senator Ferdinand who has been elected President. Philippines is connected with U.S.A. by a Mutual Defence Treaty and is too much dependent upon U.S.A. economically and militarily to pursue any independent foreign policy. But the creation of Malaysia has evoked protests from Philippines where anti-American sentiment has become markedly vociferous in recent years. President Macapagal had joined hands with Sukarno and Tengku Abdul Rahman in signing an agreement (August, 1963) for the formation of Maphilindo. But the proposed confederation of Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia did not come into being. American patronage to Malaysian Federation has caused discontent in the Philippines. Philippines claimed Sabah—formerly British colony of North Borneo—as an integral part of her territory. After the failure of Bangkok talks with Malaysia on the Sabah question in August, 1968 President Marcos passed a bill annexing Sabah. Philippines' relation with Malaysia has been thus strained though both of them are members of the ASEAN.

The Bandung Conference took place in response to a persistent and widespread demand among the peoples of Asia and Africa to play their proper role in solving international tension and for promoting world peace. This Conference is the outcome of the desire of the Afro-Asian countries to co-operate in the international field. The factors favouring such a conference are deep-rooted in history. The newly liberated nations of Asia and Africa made their voice felt in the post-World War II period in and outside the United Nations. When the Dutch took police action against Indonesia in 1949 fifteen nations met at New Delhi to register their protest against neo-colonialism. The Dutch had to withdraw from Indonesia largely owing to the pressure exerted by Afro-Asian states. The Afro-Asian groups protested against racialism in South Africa and supported the U.N. resolution for self-determination in Tunisia and Morocco. In the Korean war the Afro-Asian neutral nations played a prominent part in preparing the basis for peace.

The Colombo powers (including India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon) who met in regular meetings for some time, decided in their Bogor (Indonesia) meeting in December, 1954 to call a full-fledged meeting of the Afro-Asian states in April, 1955. The venue of the meeting was fixed at Bandung in Indonesia. The purpose of the meeting was two-fold. Firstly, the meeting was called to discuss matters of special interest to the Afro-Asian peoples including racia-

lism, colonialism, and national sovereignty. Secondly, the meeting was called for viewing the position of Africans and Asians in the world today and the contribution they could make for world peace. Among other things the agenda included the cultural, economic and social problems of the countries concerned.

The Conference invited the Foreign Ministers of all independent states of Asia and Africa but South Korea, Formosa, South Africa and Israel were excluded from the list of countries invited to attend the meeting. Their omission was due to the pronounced antipathies that existed between these governments and a large number of Afro-Asian states. Russia was taken to be primarily an European power and was not invited to the Conference.

The Bandung Conference was attended by China's Prime Minister Mr. Chou En-lai. At her first appearance in Afro-Asian Conference the Chinese People's Republic professed peaceful intentions and inclinations for solving her dispute with U.S.A. and Indonesia. The delegates to the Conference were hardly aware of the real intentions of Communist China at Bandung. India's Prime Minister Pandit Nehru attended the meeting and proved himself to be the most mature statesman of the Conference. The principle of Co-existence and Panch Shila found acceptance in the Conference. The need for World Peace was stressed in the resolutions accepted in the Conference.

Economic development being the prime need for the underdeveloped countries of the two continents that met at Bandung, the resolutions accepted here approved of outside help, through international agreements, for the economic upliftment of Afro-Asian countries. The anti-Colonial sentiments of the peoples of Africa and Asia was expressed through the resolutions of the Conference which asked Imperialism to quit the African and Asian continents. The racial discrimination practised against coloured people was denounced by the Bandung Conference.

The need for cultural co-operation among nations of Africa and Asia was stressed at Bandung. The Conference resolutions declared the necessity of promoting cultural exchange among Afro-Asian countries. The Bandung Conference declared the right of all peoples to self-determination. The delegates passed resolution reiterating their faith in the Charter of the United Nations and supporting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Western point of view was presented in a rather crude way by Sir John Kotelawala, Premier of Ceylon. The Ceylonese Prime Minister attacked Communist China in general terms. The pro-

Western viewpoint was also represented in the Conference by Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. The chief exponent of neutralism was undoubtedly Pandit Nehru who dominated the scene.

The Bandung spirit did not last for long and with the Chinese invasion of India in October, 1962 the principle of non-alignment was put to hard test. But India remained true to the Bandung spirit of peaceful co-existence and neutralism.

The Neutral Nations Conference. In 1961 twenty-five neutral nations held a summit conference at Belgrade. At Belgrade summit conference all the twenty-five nations were unanimous about the necessity of following a policy of non-alignment in a world divided by the rivalry of super-powers. Non-alignment, it was agreed, should not lead to the creation of a 'Third Force'. But there was considerable difference of opinion about the definition of neutralism. There was difference of opinion about whether pritority should be given to peaceful co-existence or to the struggle to end racialism and colonialism. Pandit Nehru who was the chief exponent of the first viewpoint was supported by President Nasser, Premier U Nu, President Makarios of Cyprus and King Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Our late beloved Prime Minister rightly advocated that to save peace the super-powers should resolve their differences by peaceful discussion. Mr. Nkrumah of Ghana, on the other hand, declared that no important question connected with war or peace can be finally solved unless colonialism comes to an end. He was supported by Sukarno and East-African states.

The advocates of the second viewpoint are in favour of a second Bandung. India, however, supported a second conference of the non-aligned nations which took place at Cairo on October 2, 1964. One interesting feature of this Conference was the refusal of the delegates to allow the Congolese Prime Minister, Tshombe, to attend the meeting. The agenda included the problem of liquidation of anti-colonialism and neo-colonialism. India was represented by her late Prime Minister Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri. He "showed the amazing power of his built-in native genius and measured up to the expectation of the Conference". He made himself extremely popular by his simple but effective approach which distinguished him from the rest of the world's leaders. Yugoslavia has proposed another conference of Neutral Nations at Belgrade in 1969.

The second Afro-Asian Conference scheduled to open in Algiers in the end of 1965 has been postponed sine die. The real cause behind this postponement is the fear of Arab and African states

to be involved in a Sino-Soviet brawl which would have surely worked up at the Conference. There is little chance of a second conference of the Bandung style in near future unless the Chinese switch back to sanity.[3]

SUMMARY

South-East Asia is the passage-way from Pacific to the Indian Ocean and is the stepping stone between Asia and Australia. Its strategic importance has reduced it to the Balkan of the East. South-East Asia comprises Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, (South and North) and Laos. The first three are neutrals, the second three as also South Vietnam is pro-Western and the rest pro-Communist.

The two factors that have influenced strongly South-East Asian politics in the first half of the twentieth century are the birth of nationalism and the October Revolution. In the second half of the present century the rise of Communist China and the influence of 'Cold War' produced far-reaching consequences in South East Asia. Several questions such as clash between Indonesia and Malaysia and the American policy of confrontation in Vietnam has disturbed the peace of this area. Since the British declarations about Britain's withdrawal from all basis east of Suez (except Hongkong) smaller nations have been become anxious for regional security to which Britain has assured her assistance. American policy of containment, growth of China's influence and increasing Soviet interest has complicated South East Asian politics. For regional co-operation the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) with Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand has been created in 1967.

Indo-China. Indo-China came under French control at the end of the nineteenth century. The French rule came to an end during World War II due to Japanese action. After the fall of Japan, France tried to effect a stageback but was opposed by the Viet Minh forces organized by Ho Chi-Minh—a veteran Communist. The French attempted in vain to set up Bao-Dai, the ex-Annamese Emperor, as a rival to Ho Chi-Minh's government of the North. All efforts to arrive at a negotiated peace having failed, the French and Viet Minh forces clashed in Indo-China (1946-1954). The outcome of this struggle became certain with the fall of the French stronghold of Dien Bien Phu in 1954. In a conference called at Geneva in 1954 the French discussed the Indo-China issue, in spite of U.S. opposition. In the Geneva Conference it was agreed that Vietnam should be divided into two—at the 17th parallel. The North remained under Ho Chi-Minh and in the South Bao-Dai remained nominally the head of the Government of South Vietnam. An International Control Commission with India as Chairman was appointed to supervise election for the unification of the North and the South in 1956. The proposed election never took place due to the opposition of the South. At Geneva it was further agreed that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from Laos and Cambodia.

---

3. See Blitz—Nehru Special, November 14, 1965.

Since Geneva Conference, however, much has changed specially in the South. The French influence has been replaced by the American. Bao Dai was removed from power by Ngo Dinh Diem in 1955. In 1963 Diem fell from power and since then the movement of politically minded Buddhist monks and the attempt of the young army officers to dominate the political scene has resulted in frequent changes in government. The latest coup was staged when on 19 June, Dr. Quat the Prime Minister was deprived of power by the Army Generals. President Thieu became the Chief of the State in 1967 through an election which the opposition branded as 'fraudulent.'

The United States followed a policy of containment in South Vietnam and sent strong economic and military aid to South Vietnam against the powerful Vietcong guerillas. The policy of containment was gradually changed into a policy of confrontation. On February 7, 1965 following a Vietcong raid on U.S. installations, 100 miles east of Pleiku, the United States and South Vietnam took military action against North Vietnam and started bombing strategic areas in the North. American action has created strong reaction in Communist China and Soviet Russia. But due to the difference between Russia and China in recent years no action has been taken so far to counteract U.S.A. aggression. India as the Chairman of I.C.C. demanded immediate restoration of peace in this area. Recent American proposal for peace has not eased the situation. To end escalation in Vietnam President Johnson agreed to open dialogue with North Vietnam and on 13 May, 1968 preliminary talks between Mr. Avarell Harriman, representing U.S.A. and Mr. Xuan Theu head of the North Vietnamese delegation was inaugurated at Paris. The announcement of the complete cessation of U.S. bombing on North Vietnam by President Johnson on 1 November, 1968 paved the way for full scale political talks between the U.S.A., North Vietnam and the Vietcong. Mrs. Nguyan Thi Binh joined the conference as the chief delegate of National Liberation Front. South Vietnamese delegation is headed by Mr. Qham Ang Lain while Mr. Henry Cabbot Lodge replaced Harriman as head of the American delegation. After some preliminary difficulties about procedure the delegates have settled down to serious discussion about how to bring about peace in Vietnam.

Laos. The kingdom of Laos was occupied by the French in the beginning of the present century. During World War II Laos declared independence. After the war the French in 1946 arrived at an agreement with king Sisavang Vong and prince Souvanna Phouma became the Prime Minister in 1949. His brother Souphanouvong, however, headed the pro-Communist Pathet Lao forces and went underground to resist the government. In the Geneva Conference the independence of Laos was recognized. The Pathet Lao troops confined themselves in a small area (Phong Saly and Sam Neua).

The increase of the influence of the pro-Communist forces led to a rightist reaction and in 1960 election a Rightist government was formed. Its repressive measures led to the revolt of General Kong Lae—a supporter of the neutralist leader Souvanna Phouma. The West supported the rightist leader Prince Bounoum. The confusing civil war went on till in 1962 the three princes patched up their differences to form a coalition

government. But peace was not established in Laos and political differences between different parties have resulted in the recurrence of civil war.

Indonesia. Indonesia—a former Dutch colony—came under Japanese occupation during World War II and became independent in 1949 after fighting successfully the Dutch attempt to reimpose colonial rule. Her post-independence problems included the attempt of extremists including Communists and Orthodox Muslim fanatics to raise standards of rebellion and the Dutch attempt to retain West Irian or West New Guinea (it finally came under Indonesia in 1962). The democratic constitution did not work happily and in 1955 President Sukarno established his guided democracy. It was not before 1958 that Indonesia could achieve some amount of order. The failure of a communist (PKI) uprising on 30 September, 1965 has created in the establishment of a rightist government under General Suharto who has been elected President in 1967. Indonesia has improved her relation with Malaysia and the West

Malaysia. The quarrel between Indonesia and Malaysia has created tension in South-East Asia. The Federation of Malay had become independent on February 1, 1948. Malaysia was proposed in 1961 with the addition of Singapore, Northern Borneo, Brunei and Sarwak to Malaya. Many of these have been claimed by Indonesia. Attempt at compromise having failed Indonesia adopted a policy of confrontation and ordered the Indonesian troops to crush Malaysia (January 2, 1964). The Malaysian question has became a part of the cold war with Britain and America backing Tengku Abdul Rahman, Malaysian Premier and the Soviet Union and China patronizing Sukarno. The decision of Indonesia to leave the U.N. following the election of Malaysia to Security Council has not enhanced the prestige of Indonesia. Following Malaysia's support to India in the Security Council debate on Indo-Pakistan conflict, the relation of the latter country with Malaysia was strained. Singapore has cut itself adrift from Malaysia and has become independent.

Burma. Burma achieved her independence in 1948 under the leadership of Aung Sun (killed in 1947 on the eve of independence) representing the Anti-Fascist People's League. U Nu became the first Prime Minister of independent Burma. The revolt of the Communists—Red Flag and White Flag and Karens—disturbed her peace for a long time (till 1957). Burma adopted a democratic constitution and left the Commonwealth. U Nu handed over power to General Ne Win in 1958. Ne Win who relinquished office after some time resumed it again in 1962. In internal affairs Burma is following a policy of steady nationalization while in external relations she has followed a policy of non-alignment.

Cambodia, Thailand and the Philippines. The former territory came under French protectorate in 1863. The French had established a large amount of control in Cambodia which finally came to an end by the decision of the Geneva Conference in 1954. Cambodia has pursued a neutralist policy and has refused to submit to U.S. pressure in 1963 and 1968.

Thailand (Siam) has the unique experience of having escaped colonial rule. Thailand has a pro-Western government and is a member of the

S.E.A.T.O. It has received considerable aid, economic and military, from the United States.

The Philippines ahieved its independence on July 4, 1946 after four hundred years of Spanish and fifty years of American rule. In the first few years following independence Philippines faced various problems including the uprising of the pro-Communist Hukbalahap. President Magsaysay (1953-1957) followed an enlightened policy of reforms. President Macapagal keenly carried forward the legacy. Philippines is too much dependent on U.S.A. to follow an independent policy. The creation of Malaysia has caused anxiety in Philippines where anti-American sentiment is vociferous in recent years. In 1965 election Senator Ferdinand has won the Presidential election. Sabah—formerly British colony of North Borneo—became a bone of contention between Malaysia and Philippines in 1968. Both countries, however, are determined to gain their end in peaceful method.

The Bandung Conference. In response to the desire of the Afro-Asian people to play their proper role in world politics and their desire of solidarity the Colombo powers (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Indonesia, Burma) called a conference of Afro-Asian states at Bandung in Indonesia in April, 1955. The Conference excluded Israel, Formosa, South Korea and South Africa. The Western viewpoint was presented by Ceylon, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Most of the states, however, were determined to ask Imperialism to quit Asia. Cultural co-operation and need for economic aid for the development of Afro-Asian states was stressed in the Conference. Communist China attended the Conference and offered to settle differences with U.S.A. and Indonesia. The principle of co-existence was accepted by all countries at the insistence of Pandit Nehru, the chief exponent of non-alignment. The Bandung spirit received a setback in 1962 when the Chinese attacked India.

In 1961, 25 neutral nations met at a Conference at Belgrade. Pandit Nehru advocated peaceful co-existence, but some led by Nkrumah demanded that colonialism and racialism must go before peace can be saved. The Belgrade Conference has been followed by the Cairo Conference of 44 non-aligned nations. Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri attended the Cairo Conference. The second Bandung Conference scheduled to be held in Algeria in the end of 1965 was postponed 'sine die' due to the reluctance of Arabs and Africans to be involved in Sino-Soviet brawl.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Smith, Gordon-Connel : Pattern of the Post War World.
2. Crowley, W. W. : The Background to Current Affairs.
3. Edwards, Michael : Asia in the European Age.
4. Friedman, W. : World Politics.
5. Harrison, Brian : South-East Asia.
6. Hall, D. G E. : A History of South-East Asia.
7. Horowitz, David : From Yalta to Vietnam.

Chapter 20

The Awakening of Africa

The political picture of Afrcia is changing at a very rapid speed. To quote Ronald Segal—"The speed of change is nowhere greater or more significant than in Africa."[1] African freedom battle is the outcome of nationalism. Born in the crucible of a life and death struggle against foreign domination the pan-African movement has forged unprecedented unity and solidarity. The vital question around Africa, today, is what path the newly liberated states in Africa would follow—neutralism, communism or a pro-Western policy. The vast resources of the African continent make this decision an event of overriding importance. Mr. Friedmann has, therefore, rightly pointed out that—"If the revolt of Asia against the West is the most important international development of our own generation, the awakening of Africa may be the major pre-occupation of the next."[2]

A Glimpse into the Past. Africa's first contact with the West began when the Portuguese, five hundred years ago, arrived in Africa for trade, plunder and colonisation. Other European nations including the Dutch, English and the French arrived in the sixteenth century. The Arabs and the Turks began to cause increasing troubles to the Portuguese in the Eastern coast from the end of the sixteenth century. The European rivals of the Portuguese first invaded West Africa which became the springboard for penetration into the hinterland. The religious, political and economic contact of the West resulted in the destruction of native institutions and customs.

Among the European explorers who discovered Africa for the West mention should be made of Mungo Park, the famous eighteenth century explorer, David Livingstone (1813-1873) and H.M. Stanley,

1. See Ronald Segal—African Profiles.
2. Friedmann, W.—op. cit., p. 335.

the American newspaperman who went in search of him and met him in October, 1871 at Ujigi on Lake Tanganyika. John Speke and Richard Burton, Livingstone and Stanley were only few among the scores of European travellers and missionaries who went to the African continent as spearhead of the commercial civilization of the West. Then came the trader and the African began surrendering his personality and eventually became so dependent upon the colonizer that he accepted foreign domination. The West began to exploit the Africans who were completely dispossessed, trampled and desecrated by the usurper.

The partition of Africa, inhabited by nearly 200 million people, started in earnest at the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1890 Africa was almost entirely divided up between different European powers. France, Britain, Italy, Spain, Belgium and Portugal gained the lion's share in the partition of colonial Africa. Thus the scramble for Africa among European nations resulted in the parcelling out of the continent. The major actors in the drama were King Leopold II of Belgium and Bismarck of Germany. The division was settled in a conference held at Berlin in 1884 which accepted the theory of spheres of influence.

For four centuries the blood, toil and tear of Africa enriched the civilization of the Westerners on the other side of the continent. The Europeans distinguished themselves by "avarice, treachery, hypocrisy and brutality". The African personality was crushed and the African received inhuman treatment at the hands of the slave traders. The slave trade was continent-wise and centuries long. Nearly one crore of Africans were sold out in slavery and more than six times that number were eliminated by the white slave traders. The slave trade of the Arabs and others accounted for the expatriation, death or banishment of as many more. Africans protested and faced the cannon with spear. They failed in their attempt but yet they preferred to die in the defence of liberty.

In Angola, Mozambique, Congo, South-West Africa, Rhodesia, in short, all over the African continent thousands of Africans small and great, men, women and children have manured the tree of liberty with their blood. It would not be out of place here to enumerate, for instance, some of the barbarities practised by the European nations to uphold their colonial rights in Africa. In 1952 alone the British soldiers killed nearly 11 thousand Africans in Kenya for their association with the Mau Mau movement. Nearly forty thousand Africans were murdered in cold blood in Madagascar (now independent Malagasy) in 1947. Portuguese barbarity has reduced the whole of Angola

and Mozambique into one vast concentration camp. As a result in the post-Versailles era techniques of launching movement have undergone change. A strong African labour movement developed in the post-war era. The Africans also developed farmer's union like the 'Syndicate Agricole African' in the Ivory Coast and the Uganda African farmer's union.

Factors Contributing the Growth of Nationalism. Africa's freedom struggle took the form of nationalism as a result of her contact with Western ideas. In Africa, as in Asia, the leaders of the national movement were naturally the Western educated youth. Everywhere in Africa the same sentiment operated though the technique differed. Mr. R. M. Kawawa, the Vice-President of Tanganyika, in his address to the university students at Dar-es-Salem on December 28, 1963 has rightly pointed out that "The freedom movements of the different parts of Africa were—and are—simply the local organization of a continent-wide people's movement. They had to operate separately and adopt different tactics only because of the colonial organization. Basically, they were all part of one movement."[3]

But the beginning of a strong national movement for liberation goes back to post-Versaillestera. The First World War gave a tremendous momentum to African nationalism. The Anglo-French powers recruited 650,000 soldiers and 238,000 labourers from Africa to win the war. It broadened the horizon of the Africans and made them realize that their services to the Allied powers were as much needed as they were valuable. The metropolitan powers in order to gain willing cooperation made concessions to the Africans and the economy of all the colonies of the belligerents was put on a war footing. This meant that the Africans had a greater insight into the economic system. In the post-Versailles era the war veterans were promised compensations. Whether these promises were fulfilled or not the African's claim to a better sharing to the benefits of his country was recognised. The end of the First World War, therefore, saw the growth of the movement for Pan-Africanism.

The impact of the Second World War was more far-reaching than the First. The war set the stage for Africa's liberation. During the war the strategic importance of the African continent made the Allied powers eager to gain the willing cooperation of the Africans in their war etforts. Africa became not only an important source of war materials but also the 'bread-basket' of Europe. The war

3. 'Towards African Unity,' Address published by Tanganyika information service.

spread ideas about human rights and loosened Europe's hold over Africa. It forged a new and more radical African leadership and sparked off the probability of the notion of African independence.

The impact of the two world wars created ferment in the African continent and to this was added social dissatisfaction arising out of the contrast between the status, the wealth, the standard of wages, the housing and living condition of the white minority and the native majority. This contrast became more and more unacceptable with the spread of political consciousness and education.

Pan-Africanism. African unity is the logical development of the freedom struggle in which Africa is still engaged. Each country has had its own nationalist movement. But the basic purpose has been the same everywhere. Pan-Africanism aims at achieving the freedom of all Africans.

Pan-Africanism owes much to two outstanding Africans—Marcus Aurelius Gravey and William E. Dubois. The First Pan-African Conference was called in London in 1900. In 1909 that uncompromising enemy of Imperialism and father of Pan-Africanism Dr. William Dubois founded the National Association for the Advancement of the coloured people and it was he who wrote "most men in the world are coloured". Dubois efforts received a staunch support in the person of the Jamaican Marcus Aurelius Gravey. Gravey lifted his call of wake up Africa and started his "Universal Negro Improvement and African Communities League."

The stimulant of African nationalism began to gather momentum and assume new significance with the outbreak and outcome of the First World War. Dubois presented a petition to the Allied Powers to adopt a Charter of Human Rights for the Africans. The meeting of Pan-African Congress called in 1919 demanded that the former German colonies should be placed under international trusteeship as a step towards future self-government. The Congress also adopted a Charter of 'the Rights of the Negro people of the World'. Subsequent meetings of the Pan-African Congress were held at Lisbon in 1923 and at New York in 1927.

The African scene after World War II. The era following World War II set the stage for African liberation. The Bandung Conference of 1955 saw for the first time the participation of independent African states in equal footing in an international gathering. The Conference forged the unity of two-thirds people of the world. Liberated Africa shook hands with independent Asia and condemned Western imperialism in no unmistaken term. The spirit of Bandung inspired the gathering of free African states called at Accra in 1958.

It was the first gathering of independent African states in the African soil. Egypt, Ghana, Lybia, Liberia, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia and Ethiopia met together at Accra to discuss matters of common interest to Africa and the relation of the continent to the rest of the world. This meeting was an event of utmost importance because it signified that Africa is determined to break the bond of imperialism in near future. The Accra Conference passed resolutions condemning colonialism. Such principles as equality of all races and non-interference in the domestic affairs of all nations were accepted at Accra. The Conference resolutions were in conformity with the U.N. Charter.

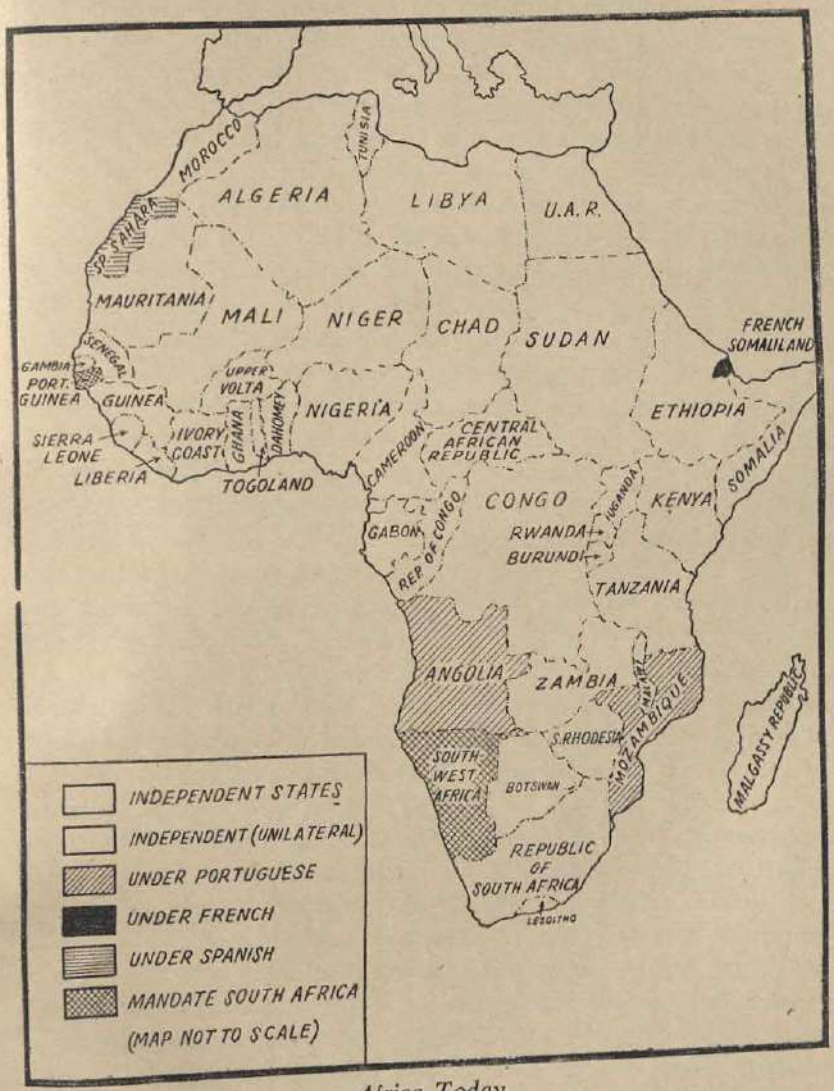
The need for economic unity in Africa and economic cooperation among African states was keenly felt. The Conference also passed resolutions approving the investment of foreign capital in Africa without political strings. The Conference stressed the need for African unity through consultation of the Heads of the States.

The Pan-African movement set in motion at Accra received a new impetus in the Addis Ababa Conference of May, 1963. This Conference crystallized the principles formulated in the earlier conferences. It signified the birth of a new Africa determined to forge unity among all African peoples and to drive out imperialism, racialism and colonialism from the African soil.

The supreme importance of the Addis Ababa Conference lies in the fact that none of the earlier conferences held at Monrovia, Lagos, Accra or Cassablanca had been so impressive numerically or in scope. The Monrovia Conference held in 1961 was attended by representatives of twenty African and Malagasy states. It discussed the problem of inter-African co-operation. The Lagos Conference of Foreign Ministers was held in May, 1962 and the Cassablanca Conference was held later the same year. Both Lagos and Cassablanca charters condemned colonialism and affirmed the solidarity of the African peoples.

The Addis Ababa Conference adopted a charter for African unity and declared the following as the aim of the organization set up for the purpose—(a) to promote African unity; (b) to defend the sovereignty of the African states; (c) to eradicate colonialism, (d) to promote international co-operation; (e) to promote co-operation to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa.

The Conference in an unanimous resolution declared "the urgent necessity of co-ordinating and intensifying their efforts to accelerate the unconditional attainment of national independence of all African territories still under foreign domination." The Conference condemned the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination pursued by



Africa Today

the Union of South Africa. The Conference reiterated its faith in the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and security among nations and its desire to strengthen and support the United Nations. Other items of the agenda included disarmament and problem of economic co-operation. The Conference passed resolution for general disarmament under strict and effective international control and demanded that Africa should be declared a 'denuclearized zone'. The resolution on economic problem urged co-operation in the economic field and rapid industrialization of African countries. The Addis Ababa Conference gave lie to the old theories viewing Africa in terms of 'Muslim Africa' and 'Negro Africa', 'Mediterranean Africa' and 'Africa South of Sahara'. The Pan-African Conferences displayed a striking solidarity of outlook among the representatives who gathered from different parts of Africa.

The Addis Abba Conference did not establish African unity; sovereignty was not surrendered to any one. But it did state quite clearly the African objectives and it established an All-African machinery for co-operation and for the settlement of disputes between African nations. It also laid down the principles which should be observed by all states in their relation with each other and the outside world. It dug the foundation for the edifice of a United Africa and it dug them deep.

The Progress of African Liberation. In the post-Versailles era, barring South Africa, there were only two independent states in Africa, one of them Ethiopia became the object of Italian aggression. Virtually Liberia alone retained her independence on the eve of the outbreak of World War II. The end of the war, however, saw acceleration of the African liberation movement. In 1958 excepting the Union of South Africa, the other independent states in Africa were Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Libya. Since then, however, a number of states achieved independence and the year 1960 has been described as the African year. By 1960 the political map of Africa was completely changed and twenty-five independent African States had come into existence. More states achieved independence between 1960 to 1965 and at present excluding the Union of South Africa there are thirty-eight states which have achieved independence. It means that more than three-fourths of Africa with a population of more than eighteen crores is free from the shackles of imperialism. The rest of Africa will achieve independence in near future.

The Problems to be Overcome. The vestige of traditionalism and tribalism still persists in Africa. The lack of literacy among

large sections of people and their loyalty to tribalism stands in the way of Africa's liberation and offers opportunity for outside intervention. There are among Africans some thoroughly Westernized well-to-do leaders like Tshombe. They provide the disintegrating factors in African politics. The miseries of Congo is a classical example of the dangers from which the newly independent states of Africa are threatened. An instance of how tribal animosity is working against African unity is the civil war in Nigeria. For years prior to and after independence in 1960, animosity between the northern and southern peoples of Nigeria had made real unity as much a hope as a reality. The Hausas and others in the North became suspicious of the Ibos of the Eastern region who had secured administrative and commercial jobs in the North. Stung by what they considered to be an Ibo take-over in the coup of January 15, 1966, which saw the murder of Abu Bakr Tafawa Balewa, Northerners supported the countercoup (July 29, 1966) resulting in the murder of General Johnson Anguiyironsi and the rise of Yakubu Gowon to power. The Eastern region under Lt.-Col. Odenegu Ojukwu declared independence in the last week of May to form the republic of Biafara. All attempts at reconciliation has failed so far. There have been signs lately that after nearly two years of indecisive strife, in which millions have suffered the attitude of both the sides might be softening.

The African states have inherited artificial boundaries. These boundaries were created by the imperialist powers in their scramble for Africa. Within Africa there is not a single border which has been drawn on the basis of dividing different races, tribes or peoples. Neither are there many border lines which run along the natural geographical divisions of the land. The danger of such border line existing between two states has been already demonstrated by several border conflicts including the clash between Morocco and Algeria, Kenya and Somali. Such conflicts did not arise before independence because boundaries then were unimportant; they were administrative divisions. The boundary disputes provide a stumbling block in the way of African unity and create the danger of neo-colonialism.

Africa is too valuable a prize in the eyes of the imperialist powers to be given up without an attempt to retain the substance. No doubt the acceleration of national liberation movement has forced imperialism to strike a hasty retreat in the post-World War II era, yet the colonial powers are ever on the look out to re-enter Africa through the backdoor taking advantage either of an internal or international dispute. If an outside power is interested in selling armaments, destroying a government, diverting a particular economic policy or any-

thing of this sort, then conflict or internal disunity would give the opportunity to intervene. Such an eventuality is fraught with much danger for African unity. Africa in that case may become involved in the global power conflict and cold war and African countries may find themselves in opposing camps. Africa is, therefore, eager to follow a policy of non-alignment. The problem of African unity is that each of the separate nations has the fear that in a United Africa it might become a backward and neglected area, exploited for the benefit of another part. There is also the problem of time and opportunity. The African peoples must be allowed to develop their national outlook and learn how to bring it in line with continental outlook before they are asked to take steps for African unity.

The African peoples have attempted to forge not only an all African unity but also Afro-Asian unity. This is evident from the different Afro-Asian Conferences held at Cairo in 1957, in Guinea in 1960 and at Mosi in Tanganyika in 1963. The unity and solidarity of the Afro-Asian states has been amply demonstrated by their co-operation in the U.N. Outside the U.N. most of the Afro-Asian states have adhered to a policy of non-alignment. No sooner had the African states achieved independence than the social contradictions no longer eclipsed by common struggle for independence began to make themselves increasingly felt. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that the conditions in every tropical African country, where the average annual per capita income is not more than Rs. 100, is bound to bred discontent. The prime causes of the instability of Africa are the legacy left by colonial rule and in particular the appalling poverty which is confounding African leaders of all orientations. The ruling element in some countries, far from breaking with imperialism, virtually seek to perpetuate the old colonial relationship. Popular discontents are crushed down by brutal repressions and when police terror and foreign military interventions are not enough to keep discredited ruler in saddle, military take-over have become a favourite device. The situation is more complicated in countries where the patriotic forces came into power. The latest development in Mali, where in December 1968 President Modibo Keita's government was overthrown by Lt. Moussa Taraore, prompt African patriots and their friends ponder on the relative ease with which progressive leaders in some of these countries have been overthrown. Of the 38 independent states in Africa 17 still possess opposition parties; the rest have single party rule. Countries with single party rule invite coups and counter-coups. Another factor in African politics is the influence of foreign countries. Tanzania, for instance, extended recognition to

Biafara and it is quite possible that she had done it under Chinese influence. The Soviet Union and Britain, on the other hand, are backing Lagos. The attempts of Communist China to influence Africa, ideologically, have not met with much success. There are at least ten independent African countries including Ghana (under General Ariaf) and Sierra Leon (under Lt.-Col. Andrew Jackson Smith) that are today under military dictatorship. While most of the African leaders go in trance over Pan-Africanism their own Rome is burning.

Congo. The miseries of Congo after her liberation on 30th June, 1960 demonstrate clearly the dangers from which the newly liberated states of Africa are threatened.

The unhappiness in Congo according to Western imperialist observers is largely due to the inability of the Congolese people to enjoy self-government. But in Congo, Ronald Segal has pointed out correctly, "It was a calamity in the long run less for the Africans themselves than for a Western world that had decorated its colonial ambitions with claims to the advance of civilization."[5] Congo remained under the heels of Belgium rule for eighty years. Up to 1908 Congo remained under personal rule of King Leopold II. From 1908 to 1960 Belgium government ruled Congo ruthlessly. Out of a population of fourteen hundred million there was in June, 1960 only one African engineer and not one doctor or lawyer. Congo after Belgium's withdrawal was divided into conflicting tribes, rival political parties and self-styled leaders. The population lacked any common bond either linguistically or culturally. The country with its rich deposit of copper, cobalt, diamond and uranium became immediately a prey to neo-colonialism of Western nations which took advantage of the internal dissensions among its leaders.

Among the leaders of Belgian Congo, the name of Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba stands out as prominent. Joseph Kasavubu, the first President of Congo, was born in 1910. He became the leader of the Association des Bakongo (ABAKO), founded in 1950. The Association supported by the Bakango tribe grew rapidly due to the able leadership of Kasavubu. The ABAKO grew in strength at Leopoldville. The leadership of Patrice Lumumba took its root in Stanleville. Lumumba, a staunch nationalist, became the leader of a new party named Movement National Congolias (M.N.C.). Lumumba, a brilliant orator and pamphleteer, was in favour of a unified Congo under a strong central government while Kasavubu

5. Segal, Ronald—African Personality, p. 153.

was entertaining the idea of a federal Congo with much local autonomy.

The independence of Congo came abruptly following widespread disturbance in the country in 1959. The political disturbance was caused by the promise held out by General De Gaulle of autonomy to French Congo in 1958. The decision of Belgium to withdraw was taken abruptly without any consideration of the consequences.

In the election for the National Assembly held in May, 1960 M.N.C. became the strongest party in the Parliament. Patrice Lumumba became the Prime Minister of Congo and Joseph Kasavubu was elected as the President. Five days after its birth (30th June, 1960) the Force Publique revolted against the Belgian officers. The rebellious troops destroyed the life and property of white settlers. Belgium immediately decided to send paratroops to protect the settlers in spite of the protest of the Congo authorities. These troops some 5,000 in number occupied vital strategic centres. Belgium now entered into agreement with Mose Tshombe who was talking of setting up an independent regime at the province of Katanga rich in copper resources controlled by the powerfully foreign owned mining concern of Union Miniere.

Mr. Lumumba broke off Congo's relation with Belgium and called upon the U.N. to drive out the Belgium paratroopers. Anarchy descended in Congo. On July 11, Tshombe decided to secede from the Central Government. In the meanwhile President Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba quarrelled with each other. Kasavubu dismissed Lumumba and appointed Joseph Ileo as Prime Minister. Lumumba in his turn dismissed Kasavubu. The Congolese Senate cancelled both these decisions.

Taking advantage of this difference of opinion between the President and the Prime Minister, Col. Mobutu the chief of staff of the Army seized power in September. In alliance with Kasavubu Mobutu placed Lumumba under house arrest and the U.N. command remained a spectator to all these developments. By February, 1961 all semblence of order disappeared and there was no central authority in Congo. The province of Katanga followed the lead of Mose Tshombe whom Dr. Henry Banda described as the 'Quisling of Africa'. Leopoldville was under the control of Kasavubu and Mobutu. Stanleyville (oriental province) supported Lumumba while the middle south was under Albert Katonji and his Baluba tribesmen.

In this confusing picture the only statesman who could have brought order was Prime Minister Lumumba whose M.N.C. stood for united Congo and commanded the majority in the Assembly.

The U.N. influenced by the cold war, however, did not extend its helping hand to Lumumba. The attempt of Kasavubu to seat his representatives in the U.N. Assembly in November, 1960 was supported by America and Belgium and some of the pro-Western African states like Nigeria and Tunisia. Lumumba was supported as the only legitimate authority in Congo by the Casablanca powers—Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt and Mali. Kasavubu's claim was supported in the U.N. General Assembly. In the meanwhile on December 2, 1960, Lumumba was captured by Mobutu's troops while attempting to escape to Stanleyville. Kasavubu and his aides, as a subsequent finding of a U.N. Commission revealed, handed Lumumba to Mose Tshombe and he was cruelly murdered at Elizabethville. All evidence pointed out to Tshombe and his hired gangsters as the assassins of Lumumba. Antoina Gizenge, a close associate of Lumumba, refused to accept the authority of Leopoldville and set up an independent government at Stanleyville.

Developments after the death of Lumumba. The death of Lumumba caused universal disgust and anger throughout Afro-Asian world. The rest of the parties arrived at an agreement. Tshombe now agreed to attend a meeting at Tanarive (March, 1961) to reach an understanding with the Central Government and the prospects of a confederation of Congo, it seemed, would receive the support of all but Gizenga. But another meeting at Coquilhatville in April, 1961 ended in failure and Tshombe walked out of the meeting. He was put under arrest but obtained his release by agreeing to the terms of the Central Government. Tshombe subsequently refused to comply with the terms he had accepted for regaining freedom.

Negotiations in the meanwhile with Gizenga and the Central Government at Leopoldville resulted in the formation of a 'Government of national unity' with Cryrille Addoula as the Prime Minister and Antoine Gizenga, Jason Sandowe and Jean Bolikango as Vice-Premiers (Aug. 1961). The U.N. forces in their attempt to end the secession of Katanga found Tshombe's white mercenaries well equipped and well supplied with arms. To stop further bloodshed the U.N. Secretary-General Mr. Dag Hammarskjold flew to Northern Rhodesia for peace talks. He was killed by an air crash on September 18, 1961. On 20th of the same month a ceasefire agreement was signed between the U.N. forces and Katanga troops. An attempt to end Katanga's secession by force by the Central Government forces in November, 1961 ended in failure. In the meanwhile Gizenga broke away from the coalition but his efforts to establish a pro-Lumumba regime in Stanleyville ended in failure.

The Acting Secretary-General of the U.N. Mr. U. Thant now called upon the U.N. forces to carry out the resolution of the Security Council (adopted on November 24, 1961) to end the secession of Katanga. The U.N. forces in which the Indian contingent played a prominent role carried out the task in face of stiff opposition. On December 16, 1961 the last stronghold of Tshombe surrendered to the U.N. forces and Tshombe himself left Katanga.

Events in Congo demonstrated the attempts of the colonial powers to utilise the U.N. for furthering their own interest. The activities of Tshombe clearly demonstrated his attachment to Western powers specially Belgium. The work of U.N. officials was hampered due to active interference of Britain and France. Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, the U.N. representative in Katanga, resigned his post on December 1, 1961 as a mark of protest against the activities of the British and French governments who obstructed the implementation of U.N. activities.

The Congo Tragedy. But the woes of Congo continued. The tragedy of Congo deepened when President Kasavubu called on Mose Tshombe to head the Central Cabinet in July, 1964. Tshombe who was in exile did the same gladly and within a short-time demonstrated his attachment to the West by requesting the American and Belgian governments to assist him in releasing white prisoners from the clutches of the rebel Stanleyville government. Nearly five hundred Belgian paratroopers were sent to Stan'eyville. They killed innocent men, women and children in their operation against the Stanleyville regime. This together with Tshombe's past has made him so unpopular that when he tried to attend the Conference of forty-four non-aligned nations at Cairo the delegates refused to do anything with him. In early 1965 Tshombe tried to consolidate his power internally through election. But the proposed election was stopped perhaps because Tshombe was afraid of an adverse verdict. In the meanwhile the Stanleyville government under the leadership of Mr. Soumialot continues to flourish. It is receiving active help from many neighbouring African States who loth the Tshombe regime and through the O.A.U. (Organization of African Unity) protested against the use of foreign mercenaries in Stanleyville. Events in Congo clearly demonstrate that peace cannot be restored in this area unless imperialism is forced to take its hands off Congo. But the Kasavubu-Tshombe honeymoon did not last long. Tshombe was dismissed from the post of Prime Minister by President Kasavubu and Col. Mobutu captured power by a coup. Tshombe who was advertising for troops in South African newspapers was condemned to death for

high treason in absentia. On July 1, 1967 the former Prime Minister's plane was diverted to Algeria where he was kept in prison. On July 5, lone European mercenaries led by Col. Jean Schramme raided Congo most probably to turn the table in favour of Mose Tshombe. In this they have failed miserably.

Algeria. In the French territories of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia the racial problem was acute. These territories were more closely associated with France than any British colony in Africa. Among the ten million inhabitants of Algeria nearly one million were French Colons who enjoyed wealth and power. In fact, Algeria was made part of France and turned into a French department since 1848. Tunisia and Morocco were protectorates of France.

The acceleration of the liberation movement in Africa affected the French rule in northern Africa. The French defeat in Indo-China and anti-Colonial feeling in French colonies in Africa strengthened the anti-imperialist forces. French position became untenable in Lebanon and French imperialism had to beat a hasty retreat from other African colonies also. But this was a painful process due to the French desire to stick to these colonies specially Algeria for economic and strategic reason. Another serious obstacle to the liberation of these colonies was provided by the obstinate and persistent opposition of the French settlers in these colonies. In 1954, however, Tunisia under the leadership of Habib Bourguiba reached an agreement with France. This agreement gave Tunisia control over her domestic affairs. Tunisia had to wait another two years before the French finally agreed to end their protectorate. Bourguiba followed a politics of compromise with France but still the port of Bizerta became a bone of contention between France and Tunisia. The French withdrawal from the port was at last effected in 1961 but not before the attention of the U.N. was drawn to it. The French protectorate over Morocco came to an end in March, 1956 by a Franco-Moroccan agreement. The French at last allowed Sultan Sidi Muhammad ben Yussef to regain his throne.

But the French did not allow the people of Algeria their right to regain liberty before the surge of national movement forced them to do so. The French rule in Algeria dates back to 1830. The national liberation movement was started in earnest after World War II. The credit of organizing the Algerian people in their struggle to win democratic liberties goes to Messali Hadji. But Algerian national struggle gained momentum from the establishment of the UDMA (The Union Democratique du Manifeste Algerian). The UDMA believed in a policy of dynamic compromise and was mainly a party

of middle class intelligentsia. The MLTD (Mouvement poure le Triomphe des Liberties Democratiques) was the mass organization of Messali Hedj. The extremist section of MLTD broke away from Messali Hedj in 1954 and demanded armed rebellion as the only way to drive out the French. Out of this was born the National Liberation Front (FLN) which through its Army of Liberation carried out successfully the task of liberating Algeria from French control. The F.L.N. was joined by Ferhat Abhas who for some time remained its president. Yusuef Ben Khedda replaced Abbas in the leadership of F.L.N. and was in his turn replaced by Ben Bela, who remained until recently the Head of the State of Algeria.

In 1943 Ferhat Abbas appealed to the Vichy government in France to recognize the autonomy of Algeria. This moderate demand in spite of the fact that it had the support of all sections of the Algerian people was rejected. On the other hand as the war was drawing to a close the French tried to regain their hold on Algeria with repressive measures. This had the effect of weakening the moderates led by Messali Hedj and increasing the influence of the extremists who believed in violence. It is the extremists who in March, 1954 organized the Comite Revolutionnaire d'unite et d'Action under the aegis of F.L.N. and gave call for armed rebellion against the French.

The Algerian national movement henceforth overshadowed all other questions. On November 1, 1954 armed nationalists attacked government buildings and police stations in Algeria. The movement henceforth was marked by extreme form of violence and the French government attempted to stamp it out by repressive measures, jails, tortures and wholesale extermination. But in spite of the French attempt to cow down the rebels the movement gained in momentum.

The Algerian national struggle for liberation gained the sympathy of the Afro-Asian people. The Afro-Asian group in the U.N. raised the question of Algerian independence in the U.N. General Assembly and condemned French barbarities in Algeria in 1955. France declared it to be an internal affair of France and refused to discuss the matter. In September, 1958 a provisional government of the Algerian Republic was formed in exile at Tunisia and Ferhat Abbas became its President. Ferhat Abbas defined the attitude of F.L.N. when he declared that "We prefer to be ten million corpses rather than ten million slaves".[6] The French Colons, however, were equally determined not to allow any concession by the French Gov-

6. Quoted from **Ronald Segal**,—African Profiles, p. 298.

ernment to the Nationalists. They replied the terrorism of the F.L.N. by organising a secret terrorist gang. It was known as the organization de l'Armee Secrete (O.A.S.). It had wide support in the European inhabitants of Algeria. It carried on terrorist activities against the local Muslims. The feeling of animosity and hatred became so strong that the French Colons in May, 1958 assaulted Government buildings in Algeria and revolted from metropolitan France. The Fourth Republic collapsed under the pressure of Algerian revolt and General De Gaulle was saddled with power.

Contrary to the expectation of the Rightwing French Colons, De Gaulle held out olive branch to the Algerian rebels. He promised to hold a referendum to decide the fate of Algeria. In 1961 De Gaulle announced his intention of carrying out the verdict of the referendum which went in favour of Algerian independence and her secession from metropolitan France. But before he could carry out his policy De Gaulle had to suppress the revolt of the Army in Algeria led by four Generals, Jouhand, Salan, Challe and Zeller. The revolt which took place on April 22, 1961 was quickly put down. The French Colons now renewed their terrorist activities under the leadership of the O.A.S. But this could not prevent the peace talks of the F.L.N. with the French Government at Evian in 1961, following which Algeria was declared independent (February, 1962). In the midst of the Evian talks Abbas was replaced by Yussef Ben Khedda as the President of the provisional government.

Political developments in Algeria after independence led to dissension among the leaders of F.L.N. F.L.N.'s struggle against French imperialism had forged the unity of F.L.N. leaders. France, therefore, failed to keep Algeria under thraldom. The war in Algeria cost more than £2,500 million and the loss in human life on both the sides was, according to moderate estimate, more than a million. The Algerian revolt revealed the contradictions of the French imperialism. Revolt in the colony resulted in a drastic change of Government at home. The rightwing uprising led to the death of the Fourth Republic. The power of General De Gaulle was established at home and the French citizens had to acquiesce in it.

The revolutionaries after independence could not pull together due to differences which were evident even when the F.L.N. was fighting for its very existence. Ferhat Abbas was replaced by Yussef Ben Kheda because the leaders of F.L.N. disliked the moderate opinion of the former. Ahmed Ben Bella in the post-independence era ousted other leaders of F.L.N. and virtually monopolised all power of the state. On 19 June, 1965 Col. Boumedienne, the right hand man of

Ben Bella, overthrew him by a coup. Some consider him pro-Chinese and others more pro-Arab. In foreign policy Ben Bella's bid for leadership in African politics had induced him to call the postponed 'Second Bandung Conference' in Algeria in June, 1965. His radicalism had induced him to support the Stanleyville regime and had resulted in clash with the neighbouring territory of Morocco ruled by King Hussain II. The apparent reason for the clash is the undefined frontier between the two countries but Ben Bella's opposition to Morocco flowed from his enmity to the slightly democratized monarchy of Hussain II. Bella had banned the Communist party but he had no hesitation in receiving aid from both Moscow and Peking. Political observers believe that Bella wanted to gain 'Third World' leadership and was unwilling to accept control by his creditors. As Messrs. Abbas Belkacim Krim and Khider had been harshly dealt with by Ben Bella he probably expects to be treated no differently after his fall.

South Africa and the Policy of Apartheid. The Republic of South Africa's policy of Apartheid or racial segregation has disturbed the politics of Africa and has created a dangerous situation both for the 'Black' and 'While' race in South Africa. The history of the Republic goes back to nearly 300 years. It was first colonized by the Dutch under Van Riebeck in 1652. The Dutch in South Africa were called Boer. They colonised Orange Free State and Transval. The two British colonies of Capetown and Natal came into existence later. The South African war of 1899 ended in Britain's victory over the Boers in 1902. The Union of South-Africa became a dominion of the British Commonwealth in 1910. General Botha became the first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. In 1934 the 'Status of Union Act' defined the Union as a sovereign independent state with right to secede from the Commonwealth. In 1960 South Africa became a republic by a referendum. In the following year South Africa was forced to leave the Commonwealth.

A peep into the history of South Africa reveals the causes of its attitude regarding racial problem. First, the effect of a society divided horizontally into a slave race and master race created the sense of superiority. Secondly, out of a population of 15 million only 3 million are white. Excepting a small proportion of Cape Colourds (*i.e.*, mixed European and native race) and Indians the rest are Africans. The Afrikaners (whites) are an armed minority in the midst of a hostile majority. The Afrikaners still possess the psychology of a people living in a frontier society because the 200 million peoples of Africa outside are hostile to the Republic. Thirdly, the influence of the

Church which in the early years of colonization encouraged in the white races a spirit of crusade against the pagan Africans. Finally, the Dutch colonists from the days of the Boer war had developed a hostile attitude towards British liberalism of the nineteenth century. The merger of the English and Dutch colonies into the Union of South Africa was looked upon as an act imposed from outside by force. This union did not in any way change the conservative outlook of the Afrikaner; on the other hand racial segregation has been accepted as a matter of fact by the descendants of the Dutch and English colonists. The United Party, which opposes the extreme form of Apartheid, practised by the Nationalist party of Dr. Henrik Verwoerd, also believes in the White domination over the rest of the population. General Smuts speaking in 1945 clearly stated—"There are certain things about which all South Africans are agreed, all parties and all sections, except those who are quite mad. The first is, that it is a fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa".[7]

Apartheid—a background. The Union of the British and Boer colonies instead of liberalising the attitude of northern or Dutch settlements had the effect of turning the south, *i.e.*, British settlements more and more conservative. The march of the northern ideas to the south is proved by the victory of the Nationalist Party in the election of 1924. It marked the beginning of a policy of Apartheid. The next step in the path leading to racial segregation was taken in 1936 when the African voters were given separate representation and the common role (combined African, Coloured and European) was scrapped.

In 1948 Danial Malan of the Nationalist Party inaugurated a policy of complete racial separation in every walk of national life. Malan was succeeded by J.G. Strijdom as Prime Minister in 1954 and he attempted to carry forward this programme. The next Prime Minister Dr. Henrik Verwoerd who, like his predecessor, belonged to Nationalist Party which won their third electoral victory in 1958, energetically pursued the policy of social and political segregation and attempted to deprive the Africans, the Indians and the Coloured of all economic and political security. Not an iota of this policy was changed by Mr. Balthazar J. Vorster who succeeded Dr. Verwoerd who fell a victim to an assassin's bullet. Thus 11 million Africans, 1.5 million Cape Coloured and nearly 500,000 Indians were reduced to the position of spartan helots.

The tragic contradiction of the policy of racial separation lies

7. See Ronald Segal—African Profiles, p. 22.

in the fact that the needs of rapid industrialization demanded the employment of African labour. The policy pursued by the government threatened to deprive the Europeans of the services that they needed from manual and domestic labour. The government, therefore, planned to rehabilitate the Africans and the non-Europeans in 'Native areas'. In 1956 the Tomlinson Committee, appointed to suggest ways and means for rehabilitation of the Native areas, recommended an expenditure of nearly £100 million. The Verwoerd government is eager to carry out a vigorous programme for effecting complete racial separation but for development projects of the 'Native area' it has granted so far only a fraction of what the Tomlinson Committee recommended. The policy has adversely affected the economic prosperity of the white population. But still the Nationalist government is determined to carry it forward.

Apartheid and its implications. The policy of the Nationalist government has been described as Apartheid, *i.e.*, racial separation. The apologists of the South African government often describe it as an attempt to develop two complete self-governing communities—European and non-European—in South Africa. A second interpretation is that it means racial separation wherever possible between the Europeans and non-Europeans. The third and the most reasonable explanation is expressed by the word 'baaskap' which means the maintenance of white domination at any cost.

The 'baaskap' has been carried into effect in South Africa by various measures and acts. For social segregation of the Africans in every public service such as transport and post office, there are separate facilities at all points for the 'Whites' and 'Coloured people'. In the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts the government has provided against the possibility of admixture of races—Europeans and non-Europeans. The needs of European community have barred the possibility of excluding the coloureds completely from urban areas. But law obliges them to carry passes—a humiliation which has evoked much opposition. The native area in the town is separated from the European residential area. The government also control education. "The Bantu Education Act is probably the most blatant piece of ideological legislation ever seen in the educational world. The object is simply to train Africans for their place in South African Society. Its purpose is to prevent African children from ever having access to the knowledge and ideas of the outside world".[8]

8. Hatch, John—Africa Today and Tomorrow, p. 207.

Economically the policy of racial separation has prevented the Africans from either becoming an owner or a skilled worker in the industries of the country. The increase in the number of towns and industries has multiplied the problem. The workers generally come from the reserves and are obliged to return to their reserves after the expiry of the period of contract. This peculiar racial barrier hampers the industries specially the mines. The land acts deprive the Africans of all right to acquire land outside the Reserves.

Politically the Nationalist government has established virtually a Fascist regime with its theory of race superiority. The Africans are deprived of all political rights. The para-military police of South Africa keep the whole population under constant terror. The brutal policy of repression of the South African government was exposed to the outside world when in March, 1960 the police opened fire on a peaceful demonstration at Sharpeville and killed sixty-seven men, women and children and wounded many more. The Africans were given a separate representation in 1936 and their name was removed from the common role. In 1956 the Cape Colourds were removed from the common role by the Separate Representation Act. Thus in South Africa the three million whites dominate over twelve million non-whites who are deprived of the basic rights of democracy.

The apartheid policy has called for protest both inside and out side South Africa. The Congress of Alliance, *i.e.*, the unity forged by the democratic organizations of South Africa including the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured People's Congress as also the White Congress of Democrats have vehemently protested against the policy of Verwoerd Government. Albert John Lutuli, the venerated leader of South Africa and the nobel prize winner for peace (1961), publicly burnt his book and declared March 28, 1960 to be a day of national mourning as a protest against the Sharpeville massacre. Lutuli, like Mahatma Gandhi, believes in passive resistance and his influence over the masses is immeasurable. The Congress of Alliance adopted a Charter of Freedom on June 26, 1955. The Charter claimed that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it". The South African non-whites have launched several campaigns against the "Unjust Laws" of the government. But in each case the Verwoerd Government have tried to repress the lawful movements by the use of brutal force. The Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 1953 provided for severe punishments including whipping for staging any form of protest against the government. Many among South African extremists are therefore losing faith in Lutuli's non-violent methods. South

Africa in future may be rocked with violent clashes between the Europeans and the non-Europeans.

The international reaction to the blatant policy of racial separation pursued by South Africa has been unfavourable. The three million South Afrikaners virtually live in an armed camp amidst a hostile population. The policy of Apartheid has evoked protest from 200 million Africans. The Addis Ababa Conference of 1963 adopted resolutions condemning it. The déclaration of Verwoerd on March 15, 1961 that he would not allow High Commissioners from Asian and African Commonwealth countries to open their offices in South Africa evoked strong criticism and forced South Africa to withdraw from the Commonwealth. South Africa refused to surrender South-west Africa and to modify her policy of racial discrimination in spite of the 29 nations U.N. resolution to the effect. On December 5, 1963 the United Nations Security Council passed a resolution putting arms embargo on South Africa. But Britain which is unwilling to sever her business link with South Africa has bypassed this resolution. The special U.N. Committee on apartheid presented a report to the 1967 General Assembly accusing South Africa of rapidly expanding its security forces to impose apartheid. As a sequel to the U.N. decision in 1966 to terminate South African mandate over South-West Africa and to take over responsibility over the territory, the General Assembly decided in April to establish an eleven member committee to administer the territory. South Africa refused to co-operate with this committee. By a majority South Africa was suspended for her racist policy by the members of UNCTAD-II in March, 1968. The International Olympic Committee had to debar South Africa from participating in 1968 Mexico Olympic owing to the pressure exerted upon it by world public opinion. The Labour government of Great Britain has respected the promise given by its predecessor to South Africa and has supplied the Republic with sixteen bomber planes. Thus the South African government is not without its friends. South Africa has established friendly relation with Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi, Rhodesia and Portugal.

*Rhodesia.** The policy of Apartheid has induced the white settlers of the British colony of Rhodesia to make Unilateral Declaration of Independence on 11 November, 1965. It has been declared illegal by Governor Sir Humphrey Gibbs under orders from Queen Elizabeth. It is the first rebellion of a British colony after 1776. Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Nyasaland (Malawi) and Southern

*See also Chapter 16.

Rhodesia (known as Rhodesia from Oct. 24, 1964) formed into the Central African Federation in 1953. By 1963 however racialism of the whites made political federation impossible. Great Britain granted independence to northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland but Southern Rhodesia nominally remained attached to the Empire, to facilitate white domination through a white majority in the legislature.

Rhodesia's Prime Minister Mr. Ian Smith has been encouraged by South Africa to make UDI. But Mr. Arond Smith, Secretary-General, Commonwealth Association, has voiced the sentiment of Africans and other peoples when he said: "I would not expect nations of the world to stand by idly while another South Africa develops." It is doubtful whether Rhodesia could have withstood the economic boycott imposed upon it by a U.N. resolution but for the co-operation it received from South Africa and Portugal. Petroleum supplies were reaching Rhodesia through these sources. British export to Rhodesia reached £11 million in 1966. British relations with Ian Smith regime, however, continued to deteriorate following the rejection of Rhodesia of the proposals given by British Government aboard the British ship Tiger, in December, 1966, over the interim arrangements for controlling the country during a return to legality. The adherence by the British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Wilson to NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule) and application to the U.N. for mandatory sanctions (agreed to by a majority resolution of the Security Council in December, 1966) lessened the possibility of agreement. A second Wilson-Smith meeting aboard the British warship "Fearless" in Gibraltar Harbour, in October 1968, proved as fruitless as the first one. The "Fearless" proposals contained six proposals. The categorical part of the document was said to be the implementation of the first two principles—advancement of the Africans to a common roll which would thus give them a majority and guarantee against impending their advance through constitutional amendment. The British Government stated that there had been no change of the policy of NIBMAR. But it is alleged that the British Government by expressly accepting the principle of white domination in the interim period has given a long lease of life to the racist regime of Rhodesia. The interim period may extend indefinitely as Mr. Smith himself has asserted. Most of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in their London meeting of January 1969 rejected the British proposals and urged for the use of force. Mr. Wilson, in his turn, made known the limits of British capability in this regard. In May, 1968 the U.N. imposed strict economic boycott on Rhodesia and the Security Council deplored the action of some states "notably Portu-

gal and South Africa which have been rendering support to the rebel regime." The Africans criticised the resolution as weak and for the failure of U.N. to use force. Smith is going in for a referendum (limited to few votes) in June to sanction a constitution meant to perpetuate white rule.

SUMMARY

The African continent with its nearly 200 million population was entirely divided up in the end of the nineteenth century by rival European powers. For nearly 4 centuries Africa was exploited by the Europeans. The partition of Africa into spheres of influence was arranged in the Berlin Conference of 1884. Spain, Portugal, France, Britain, Italy and Belgium took active part in dividing Africa.

Four centuries of European exploitation resulted in the complete destruction of the African personality. "The slave trade was continent-wide and centuries long and an economic, social and political catastrophe probably unparalleled in human history." Africa protested in vain against such assault on her rights.

The struggle for liberation which is continuing even today in Angola, Mozambique and other parts of unredeemed Africa is rushlessly suppressed by the Colonial powers. But yet the tree of liberty manured by the blood of the martyr grew and the liberation movement gained momentum in the post-World War II period. In Africa as in Asia the leaders of the national movement were naturally the Western educated youth. A beginning was made in the post-Versailles era. In World War I African soldiers were recruited to win the war. The need for concession to war-veterans in the period following peace resulted in creating claim for Africans to a better sharing to the benefits of their country. World War II set the stage for African liberation. Economically Africa became 'the bread basket' of Europe. Politically the war spread ideas of human rights. Added to this was the ferment of social discontent which made the African majority more conscious of the disabilities from which they suffered.

Pan-Africanism. Each country in the African continent had its own national movement. But the basic purpose has been the same everywhere. Pan-Africanism was the logical outcome of the freedom struggle of Africa. The first meeting of the Pan-African Congress was called in U.S.A. It adopted a 'Declaration of the Rights of the Negro people of the World.'

Events after World War II moved very fast and the Bandung Conference of 1955 saw the participation of African nations on a footing of equality in an international conference. The Accra Congress was held in Ghana in 1958. Representatives of independent African states, viz., Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and Egypt met for the first time in a Pan-African Congress on the African soil. It gave lie to the old theories viewing Africa in terms of 'Muslim Africa,' 'Negro Africa' and so on. There was a striking similarity of outlook and the delegates in one voice warned the West to take its hands off Africa.

The Pan-African movement was given a further impetus at the Addis

Ababa Conference in May, 1963. The Addis Ababa Conference like that of its predecessor did much to convinve the world that the African peoples were determined to win for themselves their time-honoured rights. The Conference adopted several resolutions condemning racialism and colonialism. An organization of African unity was set up to facilitate co-operation among Africa states.

In the Accra conference only eight independent African states had participated but in 1960 nearly twenty-five independent African states had come into existence and at present there are nearly thirty-eight independent States in Africa. The rate of change in Africa is faster than in any other part of the World.

But the vestige of traditional tribalism is difficult to overcome. The policy pursued by some Western powers has resulted in the encouragement of centripetal forces in certain newly independent states. Some of the Westernized natives patronized by imperialism are causing disintegration in the movement for African unity and liberation. The boundary disputes among African states constitute another danger to African unity and solidarity. The best example of the effects of the policy of neo-colonialism pursued by some of the Western powers is provided by Congo. Tribalism also contributes to African disunity. Biafra seceded from Nigeria and started civil war owing to the clash between Ibos and Hausa. Ten African states are today under military dictatorship—a device adopted by the ruling clique to monopolise power.

Congo. Congo achieved its independence from Belgian rule on June 30, 1960. Patrice Lumumba representing M.N.C. (Movement National Congolais) became the Prime Minister and Joseph Kasavubu representing ABAKO (ASSOCIATION DES BAKONGO) became the President. Soon after independence the Congolese troops refused to serve under Belgian officers and revolted. Belgium at once sent troops to Congo against the express wishes of the Congolese government. Belgium also encouraged the revolt of the province of Katanga, rich in Copper mines and ruled by Tshombe—a pro-Western politician. Matters since then moved very fast and Patrice Lumumba who had called the U.N. to restore order was himself killed after attempting an escape from the capital Leopoldville where he was put under house arrest by Mobutu, the chief of staff of the Congolese Army. Kasavubu had handed him over to Tshombe who brutally murdered him on February 12, 1961.

There were now four governments in Congo. One at Leopoldville under Kasavubu and Cyrille Adoula, the new Prime Minister. A second at Katanga under Tshombe. Gizenga the pro-Lumumbist leader set up a third government at Stanleyville and a fourth one came into existence at the province of Kasai. More bloodshed followed owing to the attempt of the U.N. forces to end the cessation of Katanga and the U.N. Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjoeld was killed in a plane crash while he was proceeding to Nadula for peace talks. The Swedish air company alleged that Katanga had a hand in it. The attempted revolt of Gizenga and the Conference for compromise with Katanga failed. A U.N. resolution authorized the U.N. forces to end Katanga's separation which was accomplished on December 16, 1961. But the miseries of Congo continue. Tshombe, the separatist leader, was appointed as the Prime Minis-

ter and a rebel government was set up at Stanleyville. In 1964 Tshombe authorized Belgian paratroops to invade Stanleyville to rescue white prisoners. This has resulted in the death of many innocent civilians. The hand of the Western powers is clearly visible in the events at Congo. Tshombe has been dismissed by President Kasavubu from the post of Prime Minister in the middle of 1965. At present Col. Mobutu has assumed dictatorial power in the state.

Algeria. Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco were closely bound to France. Algeria has been a French department since 1848. Tunisia was declared a protectorate in 1881 and Morocco in 1912. The World War II sparked off the liberation movement in North Africa. For economic and strategic reasons the French were unwilling to withdraw from Algeria. The French settlers in Africa (nearly 1 million) were the greatest obstacle to her liberation. In 1954 Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia reached an agreement with the French government and Tunisia was granted internal autonomy. She had to wait two more years to gain complete independence. In March, 1956 Morocco achieved her independence under Sultan Sidi Muhammed Ben Yussef.

But the Algerian independence came only after a long and bitter struggle under the leadership of F.L.N. Serious revolts broke out in November, 1954. As the crisis developed extremists from both sides Europeans (organized by O.A.S.) and Algerians (organized by F.L.N.) practised terrorism, while the French government took repressive measures. The revolt of the Colons (French settlers) resulted in the fall of the Fourth Republic and the rise of General de Gaulle as President of the Fifth Republic. In 1961 President de Gaulle announced the results of the popular vote on the question of granting self-determination to Algeria—and declared his intention of granting Algeria full freedom. But the O.A.S. or European terrorist organization opposed him and the Army in Algeria extended its support to O.A.S. The French troops in Algeria revolted. But De Gaulle was able to suppress this revolt. Algeria achieved its independence in the summer of 1962. The leaders of F.L.N. now fell out among themselves and Ahmed Ben Bella was able to monopolise all power in his own hand. Immediately after independence Morocco and Algeria had serious border disputes. Algeria was the venue of the Second Bandung due in June, 1965. Ben Bella was desirous of establishing his leadership over non-aligned states of Africa and Asia. But before he could do so he was ousted from power by a coup on June 19 led by Col. Boumedienne.

South Africa and Apartheid. Four South African colonies including the Boer (i.e., Dutch) colonies of Orange Free State and Transvaal and the two British colonies of Cape Town and Natal were united in 1910 into the Union of South Africa. In 1934 South Africa became a sovereign state within the Commonwealth which she left in 1961. The population of 15 million consists 3 million Europeans and 11 million Africans. The rest are Cape Coloureds and Indians. The policy of Apartheid or racial separation which was pursued by succeeding South African governments from 1936 onwards received a momentum under Dr. Malan who became the Prime Minister of South Africa in 1948. The Nationalist Party which won the election for the third time in 1958 found a cham-

pion of the policy of Apartheid in Henrik Verwoerd. The Verwoerd government was eager to implement the Tomlinson Committee Report (1956) for rehabilitation of Native areas but showed unwillingness to undertake the necessary expenditure. Verwoerd's policy has been carried forward by his successor, the present Prime Minister, Mr. Vorster.

The policy of Apartheid means the policy of maintaining European domination at all points and at all cost. Socially it means racial separation in public transport, post office and so on. The Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts provides against race admixture. In the towns native areas are separated from European residential area. In education the Bantu Education Act provides that the non-whites should not have access to higher knowledge.

Economically, African labour is essential for the prosperity and comforts of the whites. But the Africans are neither allowed to be owners nor skilled workers. The Africans are not allowed to own land outside the reserves.

Politically, the names of the Africans were removed from the common role in 1936. In 1956 the same was done with regard to Cape Coloureds. The para-military police of the South African government has established a terror regime. In March, 1960 at Sharpeville 67 innocent civilians were killed as a result of police firing on a peaceful demonstration.

Protest against such treatment has been staged by such organizations as the African National Congress, South African Indian Congress, South African Coloured People's Congress as also White Congress of Democrats. Albert Lutuli, the most outstanding leader of the African people, believes in passive resistance and received in 1961 the Noble Prize for peace. But there are others in South Africa who have no faith in Lutuli's methods.

The situation in South Africa is explosive. The 200 million peoples of the African continent have condemned Apartheid through the Organization of African Unity. The U.N. also has placed arms embargo on South Africa. South Africa turned down U.N. resolution in 1967 for restoration of South West Africa. UNCTAD-II suspended South Africa in 1968 and she was refused permission to participate in olympics in the same year. But certain friendly nations like Britain are still supplying the Republic with the sinews of war. Extreme racialism has induced Rhodesia—a nation of 217,000 whites and 4 million Africans—to make Unilateral Declarations of Independence on November 11, 1965. Rhodesia is now faced with economic boycott as a result of a U.N. resolution. In December, 1966 Rhodesia refused the proposals of British Prime Minister given aboard the British ship Tiger. The rejection was largely due to Britain's adherance to the principle of NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule). The Security Council in December, 1966 passed a resolution in favour of economic sanction against Rhodesia. A second meeting of Wilson and Smith aboard the ship 'Fearless' proved equally fruitless. But the British Government, it is alleged, had agreed in the 'Fearless' proposal for white domination in the interim period. Britain, however, claimed that she still adhered to NIBMAR and refused to use force as was insisted by Commonwealth Prime Ministers in their London meeting in January,

1969. Meanwhile the Security Council (May, 1968) asked for boycott of Rhodesian trade and deplored the action of South Africa and Portugal who violated it.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. **Hatch, John**	:	Africa Today and To-morrow.
2. **Hutt, W. H.**	:	The Economics of Colour Bar.
3. **Hodson, Robert, D.**	:	The Changing Map of Africa.
4. **Segal, Ronald**	:	African Profiles.
5. **Wal Bank Walter, T.**	:	Documents on Modern Africa.
6. **Savelyev, V. and Vasilyev, G**	:	An Outline History of Africa.

Chapter 21

The Foreign Policy of the United States

Considerations behind American Foreign Policy—Objectives and Role. The United States of America was itself a colony of Great Britain and had to win freedom by a hard struggle against imperialism. But the rebellion of the 'Thirteen American Colonies' would not have been crowned with success but for temporary loss of British supremacy in the sea owing to a combination of continental powers against Britain. The 'balance of power situation'[1] in the continent resulted in the independence of U.S.A. Naturally the United States was safe so long as it did not ally itself with any one power and maintained neutrality. The foreign policy of the United States was directed in maintaining neutrality and pursuing peaceful exploitation of the vast continent.

This neutrality was possible only due to the contradiction between the continental powers and the unbroken peace (excepting the American War against Spain in 1898) that followed the Battle of Waterloo. Britain in her opposition to the other Concert of Europe powers 'called in the New World to redress the balance of the old'. Thus President Monroe in 1823 was induced to enunciate his Monroe Doctrine which declared that any attempt of the European Powers to intervene in the affairs of the American continent would be viewed by the United States as an unfriendly act. For nearly a century American foreign policy revolved round the Monroe Doctrine and neutrality. A third factor in American foreign policy during this period related to Far East. Here the United States tried in vain to induce other powers to accept the principle of equal opportunity to all or in other words the open-door policy. The American partici-

1. **Hartmann, Fredrick:** The Relations of Nations, p. 427.

pation in the First World War was largely due to her efforts to check the attempt of Germany to unite the resources of the continent under the aegis of Germany.

Apart from the need for maintaining balance of power there are many other factors that influence American foreign policy. They appear sometime so competing and contradictory that the objectives of American foreign policy are an enigma to a casual observer. American foreign policy is directed, for instance, against Socialism and Communism. Americans feel profoundly repugnant of Communism yet during the World War II the Soviet Union became U.S.A.'s comrade-in-arms against Hitler and the Axis powers. The American government profess to be in favour of peace and freedom yet it joined two World Wars in the twentieth century and accepted brinkmanship as its accepted policy for administering a check to the progress of Communism. The U.S.A. foreign policy is against balance of power alliance. But this is only a basis of propaganda because the United States concluded military alliances such as NATO and SEATO.

The main purpose of the American foreign policy is directed not towards realising certain idealistic principles but for securing national security and economic well being. President John F. Kennedy on June 10, 1963 in his address to the American Universities declared America's intention to pursue peace. He declared, "What kind of peace do I mean? What kind of peace do we seek? Not the peace of the grave or the security of the slave. I am talking of genuine peace—the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living—the kind that enables men and nations to grow and hope and to build a better life for their children—not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men—not merely peace in our time but peace for all time".

The need for following a policy of containment against Red China and the Soviet Union has led U.S.A. policy makers to conceal their simple, consistent and logical policy of building up military strength and free world alliance in ideological verbiage. Earlier during World War I the need for fighting German imperialism was expressed in Wilsonian idealism. The same need for American security led to American involvement in World War II but the real purpose was concealed behind moral indignation about Hitler and his tyrannies. The Americans were specially indignant about Nazi bombing of the civilian population but they themselves did not hesitate to throw 'A' Bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

In the post-World War II era the relentless march of communism

in Asia and Europe, the ferment in Africa, Latin America, South-East Asia and the Middle East has constituted a challenge to American policy. But the greatest challenge is still the world that lies beyond the cold War. Here America has entered into a competition with the communist world. To meet this array of challenge the U.S.A. has applied the whole arsenal of tools, military, economic and political. America has identified freedom with the system of free enterprise. American aid, military and economic, has been directed towards the development of stable institutions. The United States seeks to extend 'the frontiers of freedom', to borrow a phrase from President Kennedy's message to the Congress (April 2, 1963), in underdeveloped countries as also in Europe by stabilizing institutions. In so doing it serves the deep interest of the United States in building up a strong 'Free World' against the onslaught of international communism. But often this attempt to stabilize leads to the strengthening of reactionary semi-feudal and anti-democratic forces.

The threats of thermo-nuclear war and the needs of the 'Cold War' have imposed upon the United States the heaviest burden in the 'Free World'. The United States together with the Soviet Union have a mutually deep interest in a just and genuine peace and in halting the arms race. The alternative to peace, today, is nothing short of annihilation of the majority of living beings. In a mutual exchange of nuclear weapons the survivors would be jealous of the dead. Therefore, the United States has sought areas of 'cooperation with the Soviet Union'. The best example of such approach for eliminating the possibility of a destructive war is provided by the signing of the nuclear test ban agreement (August 5, 1963) which may be described as 'a step away from war'. While the United States has sought such cooperation it has not neglected or relaxed its vigilance to defend, by force if necessary, the deep interest of America and her allies.

The Foreign Policy of the United States between two World Wars. The United States joined the World War I with no clearly defined idea of furthering her national interest. It was a war in which she found herself involved to strengthen the disturbed balance of power in Europe. The war, however, appeared to be a crusade in the interest of peace by the Wilsonian idealism superimposed upon it. The ideal set before the eyes of the American people was that it was a war to end war. The United States did not seek either to punish Germany for her black deeds by crippling her for ever or to strengthen the Anglo-French powers permanently. From the viewpoint of the United States it was a temporary association of the democracies against the imperialist ambitions of Germany. The Fourteen

points and other declarations of President Wilson, therefore, impressed the needs of a just peace and sought to create Collective Security system through a new international organization called the League of Nations.

But in the Peace Conference of Paris the Allied powers paid only a lip service to Wilsonian idealism. The Peace Treaties were based not so much on Wilsonian ideas as on the secret treaties and agreements concluded by the Allied powers during the war. The treaty of Versailles was inspired by a sense of revenge and the demand for reparation. The right of self-determination was conceded to certain European nationalities but was denied to Germany. The only major concession granted to President Wilson's idealism was the creation of the League of Nations. The association of the League of Nations with the Treaty of Versailles encouraged its critics to describe it as an association of victorious powers.

The United States did not seek a peace directed to cripple Germany and strengthen Anglo-French powers. It was not the sort of peace for which the United States participated in the World War I. The United States, therefore, concluded separate peace treaties with Germany, Austria and Hungary and refused to join the League of Nations which was the creation of President Wilson.

The decision of the United States to revert to a policy of isolation and to refuse the membership of the League of Nations had far-reaching consequences. Due to the former decision the United States became not a participant but a spectator to nearly all the changes in European politics in the post-Versailles era. The reason for the American refusal to join the League of Nations was to a certain extent owing to the unwillingness of the American people to sacrifice the Monroe Doctrine. The Americans disliked also those clauses of the Covenant of the League which sought to extend membership to the British Dominions. Many in America looked upon these provisions as attempt to secure British leadership in the international organisation. Some other clauses of the Covenant including Article 10 was looked upon by many in America as an infringement on the sovereign right of the United States to decide whether she should maintain peace or declare war in case international security is threatened in any part of the world. Article 10 of the Covenant guaranteed the independence and territorial integrity of the member-states of the League. The demands of Collective Scurity and the need to enforce sanctions as envisaged in the League Covenant might enforce decisions vitally affecting the neutralism and isolationism of the United States. The American decision not to undertake European obliga-

tions tended to reduce the League from a global organization to a hemispherical one. The lack of American cooperation with the League weakened the international organization. But during Coolidge and Hoover administration the United States slowly adopted a policy of increasing cooperation with the League. Unofficial U.S.A. observers were sent to the League disarmament and economic conferences. But U.S.A. never considered itself bound to accept the decision taken in these conferences. The unilateralism and isolationism of the United States ran directly counter to the League system of Collective Security.

With the Bolsheviks of Russia the United States followed an equally frigid policy. The Communists, it was felt in the United States, would never be able to establish order out of chaos. In the early years of the Revolution the United States had sent together with other Allied powers an army of intervention to kill the infant Soviet Republic. Normal diplomatic relations with the U.S.S.R. were not established till the United States was brought to recover confidence in the development of normal trade relations with Russia under the Bolsheviks. The threat of Japanese expansion in the Pacific and the Far East also prompted the United States to cultivate friendly relations with Soviet Russia.

America's unilateralism and isolationism was further strengthened by her strained relation with war-time Allies with whom she entered into a long-drawn controversy over the repayment of the Inter-Allied debts. The European war debts to America amounted to $11,000,000,000. This in addition to private investment of the United States citizens to European countries made the United States 'the world's banker'. At the same time American insistence on the repayment of war-debts drew unfriendly criticism from European press which compared the attitude of the United States to that of Shylock. American attachment to isolationism was further confirmed by the findings of the Nye Committee (1934-35) which revealed that the American intervention in World War I was to a certain extent due to the pressure exerted by the owners of the munition factories. The United States joined the World Court with right to withdraw, if the court entertained advisory opinion regarding the U.S.A. in spite of her express opinion against it. The United States cooperated with other continental powers in becoming a signatory to the Pact of Paris which out-lawed war.

This isolationist policy, however, was not universally applied. In those spheres of world politics where American interest was vitally affected, the U.S.A. took an active part in protecting her interest.

One such sphere was the Pacific and the Far East. World War I had resulted in the phenomenal rise of Japan's influence in this area. Among other factors the Anglo-Japanese alliance was one of the main causes which contributed to the growth of Japan's sphere of influence. The Japanese aggression on China caused anxiety in the United States.

In 1921, therefore, the Washington Conference was called. All Great Powers (Britain, France, Japan, Italy) excepting the Soviet Union, and such other powers (including China, Holland, Belgium and Portugal) interested in the Pacific were invited to this Conference. The Conference was called to discuss armaments limitation and Pacific and Far-Eastern matters. The Washington Conference resulted in a Four Power treaty between the U.S.A., the British Empire, France and Japan agreeing to respect each other's insular possessions in the Pacific. The Five Power Treaty on naval armaments fixed the ratio of capital ships of Britain, U.S.A. and Japan at 5:5:3. Thus Great Britain conceded naval parity to U.S.A. and Japan acquired supremacy in the North-West Pacific. The Nine Power Treaty guaranteed the territorial integrity of China.

The Washington Conference restored the balance of power in the Far East for nearly ten years till it was disturbed by the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) and the Japanese military ambition. The Conference brought the United States out of her isolationism which she was consistently pursuing in the post-Versailles era. It destroyed the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 to the satisfaction of other powers.

Another sphere where the United States closely guarded its rights and actively intervened was the countries of Latin America. The Latin American states had developed differences with the United States even before the outbreak of the war. Many of the Latin American states had joined the League of Nations to find a way out of the political and economic dominance of the United States. But the League Covenant had in Article 21 attempted to assure the susceptibilities of the United States by recognizing the validity of regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine. The Latin American states found to their disappointment that the League was more eager to respect the sentiments of the United States than its own Latin American members. Several attempts of the Latin American states to invite the intervention of the League were frustrated by the United States which frowned any such action. Thus in the 1920 Tacna-Africa dispute the attempt of Peru and Bolivia to appeal for League intervention did not materialise due to American pressure.

In the Pan-American Congress also differences cropped up between the U.S.A. and the Latin American states. American marines were landed in Nicargua in 1923 to keep a pro-United States government under Diaz in power and were withdrawn after an agreement with the Sacasa regime in 1933. The acquisition of American property by the Mexican land laws resulted in temporary clash of interest between the United States and Mexico. The Havana meeting (1928) of the Pan-American Congress declared in a resolution that "no state has the right to interfere in the affairs of another". The United States, however, has always interpreted the Monroe Doctrine as an instrument to keeping out European powers and to establish her hold over the Latin American states. The application of this policy sometime has taken the form of 'Big stick', *i.e.*, interventionist measures or Dollar diplomacy or economic control and 'Honest broker' or mediation in the affairs of Latin America. With the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt to Presidency (1933) the United States policy towards Latin America underwent basic changes. The Roosevelt administration inaugurated a policy of 'good neighbourliness'. A number of measures were taken to improve relations with the Latin American states. These measures included the withdrawal of the U.S. marines from Haiti, the recognition of the de facto government of El Salvador, the cancellation of the Platt agreement with Cuba, and the interventionist right in Panama. President Roosevelt, conscious of the need for unity in the American continent due to the dangers that were lurking in the horizon owing to the rise of totalitarianisms in Europe, desired good-neighbourly relations with all Latin American states. The Pan-American Conference of 1938 of the twenty-one republics declared the unity and solidarity of America. In October, 1939 all the American states agreed to declare three hundred miles of the coast in Atlantic and the Pacific as 'zone of security'. The policy of good-neighbourliness helped America to tide off the danger that threatened her on the eve of and during World War II.

On the eve of the World War II. The advocates of neutrality in the United States were in no way united in their opinion as to the method of enforcing it. The rise of Fascist dictatorships in Europe made the Roosevelt administration conscious of the dangers of a new war. But when the Itali-Abyssinian war broke out the Congress by a joint resolution (August, 1935), applied an arms embargo upon both the belligerents. During the Spanish Civil War the same policy was pursued. Such a policy in face of determined aggressors facilitated the triumph of anti-democratic and pro-Fascist forces. Thus Italy obtained oil, steel, scrap iron and other materials not included in

the list of goods prohibited to the belligerents and won the war against helpless Abyssinia. General Franco in Spain obtained all the necessary war supply through Italy and Germany and won victories over the Republican Government.

American policy makers conscious of the disadvantages of the Neutrality Act of 1935 enacted through the Congress the Neutrality Act of 1937 which provided for a 'Cash and Carry policy.' This policy meant in effect that no goods should be exported until paid for and unless carried in non-American vessels. It also authorized the President to declare 'a state of war' or 'civil strife' and prohibit the use of American ports to belligerent nations. It meant safe business for the Americans and helped Western democracies due to their naval superiority. But China which was soon involved in war with Japan could not take advantage of it.

American sympathy for the Chinese cause, however, virtually imposed a moral embargo upon Japan. President Roosevelt did not declare 'a state of war' to prevent an aggravation of the situation in the Far East but desired to establish a 'quarantine' over the aggressor.

The Roosevelt administration now desired (January, 1939) the repeal of arms embargo, a prohibition on American ships entering the war zones and a modified 'Cash and Carry policy.' The Congress did not immediately accept these proposals. With the outbreak of World War II President Roosevelt declared America's neutrality and an arms embargo. But soon in November, 1939 the Congress conceded all that the administration had demanded in the Neutrality Act of 1939. Britain and France could now purchase once more from America.

In response to demands of security the United States now took measures to introduce conscription. In 1940 two members of the Republican Party were taken in the administration.

The problem of American defence now led the United States to seek closer alliance with the twenty-one American states. The Conference of October, 1939, confirmed inter-American solidarity. The problem of 'a two Ocean Navy' led to the rapid building of U.S.A.'s Naval Force. A heavy programme for strengthening the United States Air Force was undertaken by Canada and the United States arranged for a joint defence following a visit of Mr. Mackenzi King, Canada's Prime Minister, to the United States. Bermuda, New Foundland and other bases in the Carribean were acquired from Britain to build military bases for the United States. The Lend Lease Act of 1941 provided for massive U.S. aid to friendly nations.

This act was passed following the re-election of Roosevelt as the President of the United States in 1941.

The measures outlined above affected the relation of the United States with the Axis powers. The United States now had to prepare herself for the eventuality of Axis attack on her ships. When actually such attacks took place the President authorized U.S.A. ships to defend themselves by shooting at first.

The relation of the United States with Japan was rapidly on the wane. With the fall of France and the isolation of Great Britain Japan found her opportunity to realise the dream of a South-East Asia co-prosperity sphere. The conclusion of Japanese non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union freed Japan from the Russian danger.

With the fall of France Japan moved to Indo-China. The Sino-Japanese conflict which was still continuing had made Japan master of a vast and vital area in South-East Asia. Japan now found in the United States her only rival. The U.S.A. had asked Japan to remove her troops from Indo-China and China. Earlier in April, 1940, Secretary of State Hull had declared American determination to maintain status quo in South-East Asia. Japan now found that excepting U.S. all other Great powers were involved in a major conflict. The militarists of Japan were not ready to allow this opportunity to slip away. On December 6, 1941 President Roosevelt appealed to the Japanese Emperor for peace but General Tojo, the Japanese Prime Minister, had already decided to plunge into the abyss. On December 7, 1941, Japan struck at the United States base in Pearl Harbour. Thus the United States became involved in the World War II.

American Foreign Policy Since 1945. The needs of World War II imposed a temporary alliance between the U.S.A. and Western democracies with the Soviet Union. This alliance was forged by the common danger of eliminating the Nazi and Fascist aggression. The wartime alliances resulted in important decisions, specially at Yalta and Potsdam. At Yalta and Dumbarton-Oaks the U.N. charter and principles for the World Organization in the post-war period were agreed upon. At Yalta and Potsdam Stalin agreed to declare war against Japan. In exchange the Soviet Union was promised the restoration of the Kurile islands. The Soviet government recognized Nationalist China and was promised a free hand in Outer Mongolia. The Chinese Eastern Railway and the Southern Manchurian Railways would be jointly operated by China and Russia.

At Potsdam the Allied powers agreed to divide Germany into zones of occupation and the Balkan was divided into spheres of influence by the U.S.S.R. and the Western democracies. In the liberat-

ed areas of Eastern Europe the governments, it was agreed, should contain broadly the representatives of all the parties. The powers agreed to democratize and denazify Germany. Germany, however, was to be treated as a single economic unit.

This period of temporary co-operation immediately following the victory over Germany and Japan did not last beyond 1946. The period of co-operation and accommodation had resulted in the withdrawal and demobilisation of the troops from Europe. This temporary alliance saw the beginning of an attempt in international co-operation through the United Nations Organization. In the Far East it appeared as if China would find peace due to the alliance between the Kuomintang and the Communists. The conclusion of peace with the Axis-occupied countries and Italy and the reform of Germany and Japan strengthened the hopes of a permanent peace.

The Development of Tension with the U.S.S.R. But all these hopes were dashed to the ground due to the growing tension between the two giants of the post-World War II period—the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The first alarm was sounded by Churchill on March 5, 1946 in his Fulton lectures. Churchill demanded that the Anglo-American powers must assume the responsibility of liberating the countries behind 'Iron Curtain', *i.e.*, under the Communist regime. The post-war era of co-operation was cracking under pressure of mutual suspicion. The march of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet pressure on Greece and Turkey induced the United States to adopt a policy of firmness to check further growth of communist influence. The United States had insisted that in Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland free elections should be held. To the Russians, however, the United States attitude simply encouraged the establishment of anti-communist states on the border of the Soviet Union. The two super powers were gradually developing irreconcilable attitude towards each other. Thus from a policy of co-operation the United States was gradually reverting to a policy of military alliances and financial aid to the democracies. The new challenge drew a new response. The task ahead was immensely difficult. The United States now decided to follow a policy which was largely the outcome of a fear of communist expansion.

The Policy of Containment. The Soviet expansion in Eastern European countries and the Soviet pressure on Turkey alarmed the West. The loyalists in Greece were supported by Great Britain against the armed revolution of the Communist party of Greece. On February 24, 1947, Britain decided to withdraw owing to the heavy burden that the Greek Civil War imposed upon it. The mantle of

defending the 'Freeland' as against 'Marxland' in the post-World War II era had developed from Britain to the United States. President Truman, therefore, enunciated on March 12, 1947 his Truman Doctrine. This Doctrine sought to give an ideological colour to the policy of containment which the United States followed henceforth to save the world from communism and growing Soviet influence. The Truman Doctrine declared the intention of the United States "to help free people to maintain free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regime".

The Truman Doctrine marked a turning point in the American foreign policy. It committed the United States to take the responsibility of defending free peoples and free institutions on a global scale against the aggressive designs of totalitarianism by which the Truman doctrine meant Soviet Communism. "I believe", declared President Truman, "that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure...."

The Truman Doctrine, therefore, committed the United States to intervene wherever free people are threatened by armed minorities or outside pressure. Thus the foreign policy of the United States assumed global responsibility irrespective of whether American security was threatened in a particular case or not. The declaration of President Truman clearly pointed out that the United States was not prepared to tolerate any change in the status quo "by such methods as coercion or by such substerfuges as political infiltration". Thus this enunciation of the ideological aspect of American foreign policy ran counter to the ideals pursued by the makers of the constitution of the United States who thought that "it is the right of the people to alter or abolish" a tyrannical government. The immediate aim of the Truman Doctrine, however, was to aid Turkey and Greece for which the Congress agreed to grant $400 million. This task was achieved. The result of this aid was to help "both to recreate and stabilise the existing system" in Greece and Turkey.

The policy of containment aimed at aiding the 'Free land' from recovering from the devastation of the world's most destructive war. Truman Doctrine found corollary, therefore, in the Marshall Plan. On June 5, 1947 Secretary of State George Marshall in his Harvard University address declared the intention of sending U.S. aid to Europe to combat 'hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos'. Eighteen European nations participated in the European Recovery Programme. The Soviet Union and some of the Soviet led countries including Po-

land and Czechoslovakia had accepted the invitation to discuss the U.S. aid programme. This aid, however, appeared to them as design to further the cause of the 'Free World' against Communism and naturally they counted themselves out. The Point Four programme of the United States was meant to send U.S. aid to underdeveloped countries.

The Marshall Plan and successor programmes evoked much opposition in the United States. Critics pointed out these aids were "throwing out money down a rat hole". But in spite of such criticism these programmes achieved the objectives towards which they were directed. President Kennedy in his address to the Congress on April 2, 1963 pointed out that the Marshall Plan made it possible for the nations of Western Europe "to withstand the expansionist thrust of Stalinist Russia and to embark on an economic renaissance".

In spite of the 'bold new programme', however, the developments in Europe, the Far East, and other parts of the globe caused further alarm in the United States. The transformation of Czechoslovakia in 1948 from a democratic state into a Communist one, the Russian blockade of Berlin in 1948 and finally the triumph of the Communists in China induced a further change in U.S. foreign policy.

Military Commitments and Alliances. The United States Senate approved on June 11, 1948 the Vandenburg resolution. This resolution while reaffirming faith in the U.N. stressed the need for collective security programme through regional and other collective arrangements. In accordance with this resolution on March 4, 1949, the United States signed with Canada and ten Western European states the North Atlantic Treaty.

The United States now lost its monopoly of Atomic power and on September 23, 1949, President Truman declared an atomic explosion in Russia. The United States now redoubled its efforts to strengthen the 'Free World'. The economic and military aid was stepped up when on June 27, 1950 war broke out between North Korea and South Korea.

The Increased Emphasis on Military Strength. The impact of the Korean War on American Foreign Policy resulted in the increased emphasis on 'Military strength'. The U.S.A. embarked on massive programme for armament to deter possible bid for world domination by the Soviet Union and its allies. Then followed the rearmament of Germany and Japan. The U.S.A. concluded peace treaty and alliance with Japan on September 8, 1951. The United States extended protection to Formosa. With West Germany the U.S.A. signed separate peace treaty and the West German forces were in-

corporated into West European army under the NATO command. This policy of containment however was considered inadequate by many who desired that the United States should undertake a policy of liberation of enemy countries if possible by methods other than war. President Truman had to dismiss General MacArthur on April 11, 1951 for his advocacy of an all-out war against China.

The Republican Administration after 1953 attempted a new outlook in foreign policy. Their call for 'liberation' promised before election was quietly dropped. Situation in Korea had reached a stalemate, and in Indo-China the French were facing disaster after disaster till the fall of Dien Bien Phou made the French eager for compromise. The change in Russian policy after the death of Stalin made rapprochement possible. The lifting of the Berlin blockade in 1949 paved the path for Great Power discussion.

The Geneva Conference of 1954 and the Berlin Conference of the same year reflected this easing of the international tension. But the United States foreign policy makers were not very happy at the growth of the influence of communism in South-East Asia. In 1954, therefore, the SEATO Pact was signed with Britain, France, Pakistan Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand. Australia and New Zealand signed the Anzus Pact with U.S.A. All these military alliances were an attempt to build up a cordon sanitaire around 'Marxland.'

The developments in South-East Asia leading to Geneva Conference were much disliked in the United States (though she accepted the decisions of the Conference by a unilateral declaration). It had evoked violent reactions in the United States. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles went to the extent of threatening retaliation on Indo-China issue. This brinkmanship of the United States flowed from her desire to check the growth of communist influence. President Eisenhower declared that "we shall never acquiesce in the enslavement of any people to purchase fancied gains for ourselves". The United States policy to check so-called enslavement of other people led to the policy of brinkmanship, i.e., going to the brink of the war. On India-China issue Dulles explained this policy by stating that—"We went to the brink and looked it in the face. We took strong action".

The brinkmanship of Dulles naturally led to further tension between the United States and the Soviet Union. There was a renewed crisis over Berlin in November, 1958. The crisis was tided over by extending an invitation to Khruschev to visit the United States. President Eisenhower and Khruschev agreed at Camp David

not to prolong the Berlin issue and to meet again in May, 1960. But all hopes for discussion were set at naught when the U.S. 'Spy plane U-2' was brought down 1,300 miles inside the Soviet territory.

In the meanwhile serious differences had cropped up inside the NATO powers over the British-French-Israel attack on Suez in 1956. This difference together with the failure of the Hungarian rebels was considered to be a weakness of the United States foreign policy. But the contradiction inside NATO circles continued owing to the desire of General De Gaulle to create a 'Third Force' in Europe. On the other hand the sharp difference between China and Soviet Union helped to strengthen the hands of United States.

New Frontiers of the United States Foreign Policy. Since the election of President Kennedy the United States foreign policy sought new frontiers. The policy of the United States revealed an attempt to seek 'areas of co-operation' with the Soviet Union. By this time a new competition to conquer the space had started between the two super powers. The Soviet Union had launched the first sputnik on October 4, 1957. The United States was able to place a satellite in the space only on January 31, 1958. The development of the hydrogen bomb and the realisation of its devastating effect induced both the super powers to come to an agreement regarding nuclear test ban which was formally signed on August 5, 1963.

President Kennedy explained U.S. foreign policy in his broadcast to the American people on Berlin crisis which developed again in the summer of 1961. He pointed out that (July 25, 1961)—"we will at all times be ready to talk, if talk will help. But we must also be ready to resist with force if force is used upon us. Either alone would fail. Together they can serve the cause of peace". This combination of force and persuasion came to a severe test over the Cuba issue in 1962. Fidel Castro who had established his revolutionary government in Cuba in 1959 by overthrowing the pro-U.S.A. Batista regime became an eye-sore to the U.S. administration. The Cuban revolutionary government could not be overthrown even by encouraging the Cuban refugees to raid Cuban coast from Florida in April, 1961. Fidel Castro now installed a Russian missile. President Kennedy decided to declare 'quarantine' against Cuba to prevent further shipment of arms and demanded that Russia should dismantle the bases. Khruschev complied only on the express promise that the U.S. would not invade Cuba.

After the Cuban affair the United States redoubled its efforts to establish her influence over the Latin American States through the

Organization of American States (O.A.S.). The Punta delEste meeting of the O.A.S. in 1962 decided under U.S. pressure to boycott Cuba economically and to turn her out of O.A.S. The Clay Committee recommendations to expand U.S. effort for economic integration of Latin America and to increase aid to these countries was accepted by Kennedy administration.

The new administration had to face the problems arising out of the ferment in Asia and Africa. The growing communist guerilla activities in Vietnam and the civil war in Laos caused anxiety in the U.S.A. The policy pursued so far was to step up economic aid and strengthen military bases. President Kennedy in the text of the speech which he was to have delivered at Texas on November 22, 1963 stated—"our security and strength, in the last analysis, directly depend on the security and strength of others and that is why our military and economic assistance plays such a key role in enabling those who live on the periphery of the communist world to maintain their independence of choice".

From Johnson to Nixon. President Kennedy never delivered the speech quoted above because he was shot dead while travelling to the meeting at the Trade Mart in Dallas. His successor Vice-President Johnson (afterwards President) reverted to a policy of confrontation in South-East Asia by deciding to bomb the strategic places in North Vietnam to control Viet Cong Guerillas of the South. The offer of President Johnson to peace talks were rejected by Communist China on the ground that the offer placed the aggressor and its victims on the equal footing. Meanwhile India, as the Chairman of I.C.C. (International Control Commission) has expressed regret over the use of gas in Vietnam by U.S. This perhaps offended U.S.A. whose President discourteously proposed a postponement of the scheduled tour of India's Prime Minister late Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri. In the 1965 confrontation between India and Pakistan the latter country has freely used American tanks and planes against India. Yet Pakistan received sympathy in the United States. But in the summer of 1968 following Soviet pledge of limited arms aid to Pakistan the latter country asked America to close its Peshawar base.

In foreign policy the period of Johnson administration was marked by an escalation of the War in Vietnam. Johnson lifted restrictions on targets in the Hanoi-Haiphong area that had previously been off limits. The number of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam was increased to five lakhs and after the Tet offensive launched by the Vietcong on January 30, 1968, General Westmoreland (replaced subsequently by General Abraham) demanded more. Since 1961 U.S. casualty, ac-

cording to the figures published by U.S. defence department on October 31, 1967, mounted past 100,000. On September 29, President Johnson announced in San Antonio Tex that the United States could stop bombing North Vietnam if Hanoi opened productive talks promptly and did not take military advantage of a bombing pause. Hanoi rejected the proposal and demanded unconditional stopping of the bombing. On June 27, 1968 Senator Fullbright directing his criticism against the policy of escalation stated "there is no point in stopping of bombing if we insist on having military victory. We must make a policy decision that we accept compromise somewhat along the line of Geneva accord". Prof. Morganthieu also criticised American policy in Vietnam for confusing a mainly nationalist movement for a purely communist one. In an effort to strengthen the South Vietnamese government U.S. backed election in 1967 was staged and it resulted in the election of Nguyen Von Thieu as President in South Vietnam. U.S. policy in South-East Asia resulted in deterioration of relation between the United States and Cambodia and North Korea. In January, 1968 U.S. spy ship Pueblo was captured off the coast of North Korea and after much diplomatic manoeuvre and a reference to the Security Council the U.S. had to offer apology to get the release of Peublo and its eighty-three men. In August, 1968, Cambodia warned U.S. for encroaching upon one of its provinces and the United States pledged to respect Cambodian frontier in future. But to the Johnson administration goes the credit of inaugurating the peace talk at Paris for peace in Vietnam on May 13, 1968. On November 1, 1968 President Johnson announced a complete cessation of bombing in Vietnam and thus paved the way for a serious dialogue for peace in Vietnam between the United States, North Vietnam, Vietcong and South Vietnam. The outcome of this talk is eagerly awaited though in the meanwhile the term of President Johnson's office has expired and the responsibility of bringing the peace talks to a successful end belongs to his successor, President Nixon. On the eve of the Arab-Israel conflict of June 1967 the United States had ordered the sixth fleet to Mediterranean. The United States also viewed the Arab blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba as "illegal" and "potentially disastrous" to the cause of peace on May 2. President Nasser described America as 'the main antagonist' and made it clear that the USA and UAR are on the opposite side of the barricade. The Arabs feel that during and after the 'June War' the Western Governments specially the United States is very much interested in protecting Israel from Arab reprisals and not viceversa. The United States, however, gave support to the ceasefire

resolution of November, 1968, and supported the Jarring mission. The Security Council resolution which condemned outright Israel raid on Beriut Airport had the unqualified support of the United States. But the United States showed its general sympathy to Israel and sold arms including Phantom-4 bombers to Israel to the detriment of Arab interest. The United States welcomed Soviet peace proposals for settlement of Middle East but regretted the omission in the proposal of a peace treaty between the Arbas and Israel. Al-Ahram commented that the USA had replied to the Soviet Note in a "Very hostile manner from the point of view of the Arab countries". The outcome of the 'June War' has gravely impaired, if not eliminated. Western influence in the Arab world. It remains to be seen how far the Nixon administration can salvage the image of USA as a benevolent neutral in the Arab-Israel conflict and counter Soviet influence in Middle-East.

The United States policy makers were alarmed by the armed intervention of the Soviet Union and her Warsaw Pact allies in Czechoslovakia in August, 1968. In the Security Council the Western nations sponsored a resolution condemning Soviet action in Czechoslovakia and demanding an immediate withdrawal of troops. The resolution was killed by a Soviet Veto. Immediately afterwards the NATO warned the Soviet Union against any such action in future calculated to disturb the balance of power situation in Europe. The infiltration of the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean also caused alarm to the NATO powers who have decided to open a naval arm of the NATO tactical forces.

In Europe Britain in spite of USA backing failed to gain the ECM membership owing to the opposition of the French President.

Nearer home U.S. intervention in 1965 in the Dominican Republic, in favour of President Imbert, who with US patronage had toppled the Government of Dr. Juan Busch, resulted in the formation of an O.A.S. 'Peace Committee' which supervised election. The inter-American peace forces left the Dominican Republic after the election of President Joaquin Balaguer.

On August 24, 1967 the United States and the Soviet Union submitted a joint draft to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons to the 18 Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva. It represented a milestone in the disarmament negotiations that had begun at Geneva in 1962. The United States together with the Soviet Union and Britain agreed to give guarantee of protection against any attack on non-nuclear powers. Communist China and France rejected the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty and some non-nuclear powers

particularly India have strongly protested against the fact that the treaty to halt the spread of nuclear weapons contains no guarantee for disarmament. On June 11, 1968 the U.N. approved the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. It is a step away from war but at the same time it seeks to establish a nuclear monopoly for the two super powers.

In the domestic sphere the era of Johnson administration was marked by growing violence and race riots. On May 6, 1968 presidential candidate Robert Kennedy fell a victim to the bullets of an assassin. Earlier in the year Martin Luther King the Nobel prize winner for peace and the Negro leader had met the same fate. The flight of the American manned space ship Apollo VIII around the Moon and back on December 27, 1968 with Lunarnauts Borman, Lovell and Anders relieved the gloom of the last days of President Johnson who had refused to run the Presidential election.

On January 20, 1969 President Nixon took the oath of his office. In his inaugural address the President called on the Communist world to join the U.S.A. in a "peaceful competition not in conquering territory or extending dominion but in enriching the life of man". Republican administration under President Eisenhower was saddled with the task of bringing peace to Korea and the next republican rule under Nixon is faced with the problem of securing peace in Vietnam and Middle East. If Nixon succeeds in bringing peace in these and other areas of tension then his aim of establishing "an open World—open to ideas, open to the exchange of goods and people, a world in which no people great or small, will live in angry isolation" will take shape and confer immense benefit to a world torn by power politics. President Nixon desires to substitute an era of negotiation in place of confrontation. He declared: "Let all nations know that during this administration our lines of communication will be open". President Nixon admitted that mere wishing does not bring peace, but at the same time he declared that he is prepared to work for it for years by "patient and prolonged diplomacy" which he felt has no substitute. In pursuance of his policy Nixon went to Rumania—a communist country visited for the first time by a US President and declared on August 2, that the USA was ready to respond positively to any proposal for peaceful co-operation.

But during his visit to this country it was clear that the USA intended to stay on in Asia both as a pacific power and in the Indian Ocean. The end of US presence in Vietnam is not likely to come soon despite partial troops pull out. In the Middle-East efforts for settlement have failed so far. The Nixon era, however, has been marked by

the success of American Lunarnauts to reach the moon's surface on July 21, 1969.

Latin America and Inter-American Relation. The name Latin America designates the South American States and they are so called due to their relation with the Latin nations of Europe. Eighteen of them were originally colonized by Spain; Brazil was Portuguese and Haiti was French. The relation of the United States with these Latin American States has not been very happy. The United States, however, was responsible for the freedom of these colonies of the European nations in the nineteenth century. But gradually the Latin American States became objects of vital strategic, political and economic interest to the United States. The economies of most of the countries of Latin America are backward and colonial. The population is increasing at a faster rate than its economy. The food production has actually decreased between 1938 and 1960. Most of the banks, mines and factories are foreign owned. The United States is the largest creditor to these countries. She has been able to exploit and dominate the Latin American countries. Some of the most vitally needed raw material for war and peace such as the oil of Mexico and Venizuela, tin of Bolivia, the wheat of Argentina and Coffee of Bolivia were the objects of American economic interest in the South American republics. The need of the U.S.A. business to sell their products at a profitable price in a market secured by indirect political domination of the United States prompted the extension of U.S. protectorate over this region.

The United States objective in Latin America has been to maintain her dominant position in this region. This policy has been pursued consistently by successive governments since the nineteenth century. This political and financial domination of the United States over an area larger than Europe and the United States and a population of nearly 260 million has resulted in reducing the South-American states to semi-colonial economy and has made their political condition uncertain. In the central American republics alone a single American concern, the United Fruit Company, established in 1872, has secured by questionable methods a virtual monopoly of the banana trade. The United Fruit Company dominates the economic life of the regions in which it operates and is often involved in local politics. Nearly forty per cent of the exports of the Latin American countries goes to the United States which control the raw material of this region. This is the prime source of conflict between the United States which is determined to maintain its privileged position and the

Latin American States aspiring to gain liberation from Yankee imperialism.

The need to maintain this politico-economic domination has been expressed through various statements of policy such as the Monroe Doctrine which in the beginning of the nineteenth century forbade outside interference in the affairs of the Latin American states. This unilateral declaration of policy, however, did not prevent the United States from interfering in the affairs of the South American States. The U.S. intervention was frequent and had a disastrous effect on these small republics and "Latin American nations were plagued by the devastating partnership of external exploitation and internal exploitation".[1]

Several corollaries to this doctrine were found in the policy of 'Big Stick' and 'Dollar Diplomacy', which mingled with active intervention kept the South American States under the thraldom of the United States. In the early twentieth century the United States under the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt followed the policy of active intervention with determination. Earlier President Cleveland had enunciated the 'doctrine of paramount interest' under which the U.S. claimed the right of active interference. Roosevelt virtually seized Panama from Coloumbia in order to establish complete U.S. control over Panama Canal. The Hay-Bunau-Varilla pact of 1904 gave U.S. the right to interfere in the country in defence of the Canal.

The United States adopted a 'preventive policy' towards the Caribbean countries during the Taft administration under the theory that it was better to remedy conditions likely to lead to civil war and outside interference. Under this preventive policy the U.S. did not hesitate to use force if necessary. The carrot and stick approach found expression in the era of Dollar Diplomacy between 1909 and 1913. President Wilson disapproved the Dollar Diplomacy but did not hesitate to use force in the Dominican Republic and in Haiti to force a treaty favourable for U.S. The land grab of the United States resulted in the annexation of a part of Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century and the extension of American influence on Cuba by the Platt agreement of 1903. Such a policy, naturally, did not make the United States particularly popular among the Latin American states. The policy of the United States continued to follow the objective of establishing U.S. domination by either undisguised use of force or financial control till Franklin D. Roosevelt inaugurated his policy of good neighbourliness in the thirties of the present century.

1. Charles Schleicher: International Relations, p. 622.

Pan-Americanism. In the era following the World War I the Latin American States became more vocal in their protest against U.S. interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. Pan-Americanism served as antidote to the increasing domination of the United States and at the same time "it is the logical historical concomitant of American policy". To give articulate expression to the protest of the Latin American states there already existed a regional organization—the Pan-American Congress—from 1889. This Pan-American Congress is noth'ng but the product of a number of loosely organized conferences of the twenty-one republics of America.

The First of these Conferences, after World War I, was held at Santiago, Chile, in 1923, gave expression to unfriendly feeling towards the United States. The relation between the United States and the Latin American countries was further embittered by the insistence of the United States to interpret the Monroe Doctrine according as it liked. The Conference, however, reached an agreement to conclude a general peace treaty. Henceforth, all inter-American disputes, not settled by diplomacy, were to be submitted to a Commission of Inquiry. The Sixth Pan-American Congress was held at Havana in 1928. The United States had in the meanwhile intervened in the internal affairs of Nicargua and Haiti. The discontent caused thereby among Latin American nations found expression in a resolution which condemned the intervention of one state in the internal affairs of another. This resolution was directed against North America and was withdrawn due to her opposition. The Washington Conference of 1929 adopted two resolutions imposing upon the American states the responsibility of accepting arbitration in all disputes except those that do not fall under the purview of international law.

The dispute among Latin American states kept them weak and divided and often enabled the United States to act as an 'Honest Broker,' or to intervene actively in their affairs. In the post-Versailles era there were a number of such disputes. One such dispute which called for U.S. mediation by an agreement among Chile, Bolivia and Peru (January, 1922), was the Tacna-Arica border dispute. Ultimately the dispute was settled in 1929 by which Bolivia lost her access to the Pacific. Another serious dispute broke out between Bolivia and Paraguay around Chaco Boreal in 1932-1935. Both the League and the Pan-American Conference intervened and under the initiative of the latter a truce was imposed. When the war broke out again the League submitted a draft peace treaty which Paraguay rejected. The dispute continued till Paraguay's forces

were driven out of the disputed territory in 1935. In 1932 Peru seized Latica town and entered into a border clash with Coloumbia. The League Council condemned the action of Peru and in 1934 a settlement was reached settling the border dispute between the two states.

The United States had established a virtual protectorate over most of the Central American states. Mexico, however, proved to be an important exception. In 1911 the despotic regime of Porfirio Diaz was overthrown in Mexico. In 1917 Mexico adopted a radical constitut on and proceeded to nationalize foreign concerns. This resulted in friction between the United States and Mexico and it was not until 1923 that the dispute was settled peacefully and recognition was extended to Mexico by the U.S. government. In Nicaragua the United States had intervened in 1912 to prop up the regime of President Adolfo Diaz. The support extended by Mexico and U.S. to rival candidates in Nicaragua had enhanced the internal rivalry among opposite factions. In 1928 the United States tried to act as an 'Honest broker' to settle the internal dispute in Nicaragua. The second intervention of the United States came in 1931 and it was much resented by the Latin American states.

With the creation of the League the Latin American Republics had hoped to gain some protection from the world body against the domination of the United States. The Covenant of the League (Art. 21), however, had given recognition to the Monroe Doctrine as a regional understanding and the League itself was more eager to satisfy the United States than her weak neighbours. The attempt of the Latin American States to invoke League intervention was discouraged by the United States which tried to guard jealously its right of deciding all international disputes in the American hemisphere. Thus the attempt to gain the mediation of Geneva in Tacna-Arica dispute was nipped in the bud by the United States which forced Peru by diplomatic pressure to withdraw her application for intervention from Geneva. In several other instances the U.S. reacted violently against any attempt of the Latin American States to convoke the aid of the League which also patronised the United States. The consequent disappointment and loss of faith of the Latin American States in the utility of the League induced some of them to withdraw from the League while others retained only a formal membership.

The Policy of Good Neighbourliness. A change in the policy of the United States towards the Latin American countries was visible even before the advent of Franklin D. Roosevelt to Presidency. The Caribbean policy of the United States had caused much discontent

among the Latin American nations. The United States had established complete control over the Panama Canal zone by a treaty of 1903 ratified again in 1926; and over Haiti the U.S. had established a virtual protectorate. President Hoover took steps to terminate the intervention in Haiti. This policy was carried further by President Roosevelt who in his inaugural address promised to inaugurate a policy of good neighbourliness. In December, 1933 the United States agreed in Seventh Pan-American Congress to the principle that "No state has the right to intervene in the external and internal affairs of another state". This principle was put into practice when the United States agreed to abrogate the Platt Agreement of 1903 and Cuban treaty which gave the United States right to intervene in the affairs of Cuba. The American rights in the Canal zone were curtailed in a new treaty with Panama. The custom receivership in the Dominican Republic and the Fiscal Rights in Haiti were renounced. Friendly relationships were established with all Latin American states including Mexico and Nicaragua.

The Latin American states forged a unity among themselves under the shadow of the Second World War. As early as 1936 they signed an American Collective Security Convention by which the American states agreed to consult one another in case if the hemisphere is threatened by internal strife or external invasion. In the Lima Conference of the Pan-American Congress the members pledged "their continental solidarity and their purpose to collaborate in the maintenance of principles upon which the said solidarity is based".[2] The Lima Conference made a Declaration of American Principles. In the next conference at Panama in 1939 after the outbreak of World War II another declaration demanded that the belligerent states should respect the neutrality of the waters near the American continent. The Conference of Foreign Ministers in Havana re-enacted the Monroe Doctrine which was supported by all American Republics. It declared that any European possession in the American hemisphere which was "in danger of becoming the subject of barter of territory or change of sovereignty"[3] might be placed under a provisional government by the signatories of the declaration. With the Japanese declaration of war the Latin American republics declared their solidarity with the United States. In the Twelfth Pan-American Congress this unqualified support was expressed through the Act of Chaultepec. This Act declared that any at-

2. Quoted by **David Gardner Munro** in—The Latin American Republic—A History (2nd Ed.), p. 559.

3. **Ibid.**

tempt within or without to subvert the integrity or independence of an American Republic would be considered as an act of aggression by others.

Latin America in the Post-World War II Era. The post-World War II era saw further development in the attempt to unite the Latin American states more closely in a collective security system under the aegis of the United States. The framework of collective security in the American hemisphere was set up at the Conference held in the Mexico city in 1945. It was reduced into the Rio treaty of 1947. At Bogota in 1948 the Organization of the American States (O.A.S.) was set up. The Charter of the O.A.S. declared that the aim of the Organization was to arrange for pacific settlement of disputes and render mutual support in case of an external invasion. Non-interference in internal affairs and condemnation of totalitarianism was included in the Charter as the declared aim of the O.A.S. To facilitate mutual co-operation an executive body consisting of the representatives of the twenty-one American republics was set up. The Organization also provides for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers to consult on matters of common interest. To foster inter-American co-operation in economic sphere an Inter-American Economic and Social Council has been created. For co-ordination in other spheres the O.A.S. has provided for appropriate organs including the Inter-American Cultural Council and Inter-American Council of Jurists.

Since World War II there has been a steady breakdown of the mutual isolation of Latin American countries. The threat of growing communist influence in Guatemala led the Tenth American Conference at Caracas in Venezuela to adopt a 'Declaration of Solidarity' against the infiltration of international communism 'endangering the peace of America'.

In the post-World War II era the Latin American States were touched by the wind of revolution due to the extremely low living standard of the masses and the existence of a social pattern in which the few wealthy lived side by side with many very poor. The prime cause of the Cuban revolution was described by President Kennedy in his message to the Congress on April 2, 1963 in the following language: "Had the needs of the people of Cuba been met in the pro-Castro period—their need for food, for housing, for education, for jobs, above all, for democratic responsibility in the fulfilment of their own hopes—there would have been no Castro." This analysis of the causes of Cuban discontent is true about other Latin American nations too. Economic thraldom coupled with demand for political liberty as also stirrings of nationalism has created ferment in the

Latin American nations. The growing industrialization and the spread of the communist influence constitutes a threat to the stability of Latin America. Violent manifesattions of nationalism, communism and Fascism in a variety of combinations have found expression in several uprisings.

The political condition of the Latin American states is uncertain for reasons enumerated above. Fascist influence among the new middle class and communist influence among the workers constitutes a danger to stability. In most cases the uprisings are anti-Yankee and anti-democratic. Among the post-war uprising the most dramatic was the rise to power of General Domingo Peron who came to prominence in a revolt in Argentina in 1943 and became the President of the republic in 1946. He established a totalitarian system of government but combined with 't vigorous welfare activities. Peronism, as his particular system is generally called, acquired popular support through economic nationalism and anti-Yankeeism. In 1955, however, he was overthrown and a pro-U.S.A. government was established in Argentina under President Pedro Arambaro. In 1958 Dr. Arturo Fernandizi was elected President of Argentina. On 28 June, 1967 a bloodless coup in Buenos Aires resulted in the fall of Dr. Arouro Illia's Government and General Juan Carlos Ongania usurped all power. The leader of leftism in South America appeared to be the Brazilian Louis Carlos Prestes. Brazil had adopted a Federal constitution in 1926. In 1951 Vargos, the former dictator (1930-1945), became its President through universal adult suffrage (adopted in 1946). In March 1967 Artar de Casta e Silva became the President replacing President Humberto de Alancar Castelo Bronco.

Brazil opposed the expulsion of Cuba from O.A.S. in 1961, together with Mexico and Bolivia. But threat of withdrawal of economic assistance led to subsequent acceptance of the U.S. resolution against Cuba by Brazil. Mexico, the second largest state in America as regards population, had an outstanding leftist leader in Lombardo Tolendo. The Mexican constitution of 1917 provides for a federal form of government and an adult male suffrage. About half of its population is literate. Most of the population is engaged in agriculture. Mexico is rich in petroleum and mineral wealth. Mexico opposed the expulsion of Cuba in 1961. The President of the republic in 1951 was Adolfo Riaz. In 1958 Adolfo Lopez Mateos succeeded him. Unrest in internal politics marked the regime of the present President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz in 1968 on the eve of the Olympic games held in Mexico City.

American Intervention in the Post-World War II. American in-

tervention in the affairs of the Latin American States may be best illustrated by the U.S. intervention in Guatemala and Cuba. The government of President Arbnez, overthrown in 1954, was liberal. For this reason as also for the backing that the progressive forces gave to Arbnez he was called by the U.S. State Department as 'pro-Communist'. The real reason for his unpopularity in U.S.A. was the reforms that he wanted to carry out in agriculture. This affected the vital interest of the United Fruit Company. The chief instrument in overthrowing the regime of President Arbnez was Col. Carlos Castillo Ames. In 1957 due to a palace guard revolt he was killed and in 1958 General Miguel was elected President for a six years term. But politics in Guatemala continued to be unstable even under his successor Julio Cesar Mentez Montenegro.

In January 1964 a dispute over the joint flying of the U.S. and Panamian flags in the Canal zone led to rupture between the two states. The O.A.S. appointed a 5 member Committee for mediation and relations were resumed after the United States agreed to a revision of the Canal Treaties of 1963. A coup in Panama on October 12, 1968 resulted in the overthrowing of the Government of President Arnulfo Arias and the usurpation of power by a military Junta. Earlier in the month (October 3) a coup in Peru had resulted in the fall of President Terry's Government. In 1965 U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic in favour of President Imbert, with U.S. patronage had toppled the popular Government of Dr. Juan Busch. It resulted in the formation of an O.A.S. peace committee which supervised election. The inter-American peace forces left the Dominican Republic after the election of President Joaquin Balaguer. An instance of the U.S.A. intervention in Latin America is provided by the Dominican Republic where the United States sent its troops to prevent the communists from grabbing power, but in fact to maintain its puppet regime.

Cuba. Cuba is the largest island of the West Indies. Its relation with the United States has attracted the attention of the rest of the world. The crisis over Cuba brought the whole world to the brink of a third world war.

Though Cuba achieved her independence from Spanish rule in 1898 she virtually remained under the control of the United States. The Platt Agreement of 1903 had given the United States the right to intervene in the domestic affairs of Cuba. The inauguration of the policy of good neighbourliness by F.D.R. led to abrogation of the Platt Agreement and Cuba regained independence.

But this independence was only a formal one. The resources

of Cuba proved too attractive for foreign specially American investors. Cuba is the largest sugarcane producer of the world. Next in importance comes tobacco. But the economy of Cuba was controlled by foreign capital which reduced its people to dire poverty. The census in 1946 showed that more than a third of the nation's cultivable land was the property of 900 great corporations. The U.S. corporations owned 40% of the sugar lands. The 3,000 square kilometres of Isle of Pines belonged to 4 landlords. The economic exploitation had a corollary in the political regime of President Fulgenico Batista who took over the government by a coup d'etat in March, 1952. He was formally elected to the post of President in November, 1954.

The regime of Batista earned the hatred of all Cubans due to its slavish subservience to the United States and its policy of stamping out all opposition by a reign of terror. The Batista regime was overthrown by a band of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro on January 1, 1959.

The regime of Fidel Castro became friendly towards U.S.S.R. The United States was shocked at the establishment of the Castro regime and decided to strengthen its bases in Guantenamo. The decision of Fidel Castro to nationalize big plantations and foreign industries and the revolutionary policy of the Castro government led to retaliatory measures on the part of the United States. The members of the O.A.S. were forced to pass resolutions virtually 'ostracizing' Cuba from the family of South American states.

In April, 1961 the Cuban refugees, the enemy of the Castro regime, organized a fruitless raid on the Cuban coast. In this they received the blessing of the U.S. State Department. The tension between Cuba and the United States reached its climax when in defence of the revolutionary regime Castro installed Russian missiles in the island. President Kennedy on October 22, 1962 declared a 'quarantine' around Cuba. The U.S. claimed the right of searching the ships of any state approaching Cuba and stopping the same if found carrying military aid. This signified the determination of the United States to stop Russian ships from approaching Cuba. The crisis brought civilization to the brink of a third world war. Fortunately good sense prevailed and Khruschev agreed to withdraw Russian rockets from Cuba and President Kennedy promised that the U.S. would never attack Cuba.

The Cuban crisis induced the United States to step up measures to assist the Latin American States by economic aid. The programme for economic assistance adopted by the Kennedy administra-

tion was based on the report of the Clay Committee. The objective that the Clay Committee set for the administration was to apply stricter standards of selectivity and self-help in aiding developing countries. The United States under the recommendations of the Committee set for its objective the long accepted notion of stepping up the defence of the Free World against aggression. At the meeting of the O.A.S. in Punta del Este the principle of resisting international communism through the twin weapon of containment and economic aid was adopted. Subsequently the heads of Central American republics in their meeting at Costa Rica approved of this programme. Two conferences both of major significance though of a very different order were held in 1967. Both had far reaching repercussions on the development of political and economic relations among the American republics. The "Summit" meeting of the American presidents, only the second since World War II, was held in Punta del Este on April 12-14; and the organization of Latin American Solidarity (O.L.A.S.) came into existence and held its first conference (July 31-August 10) in Havana, attended by the representatives of communist parties in 27 Latin American and Caribbean territories. Some importance was also attached to a third meeting—that of the foreign ministers belonging to O.A.S. countries in Washington in September, 1967 at which more concerted economic sanction against Cuba was agreed to. The O.A.S. meeting of 1967 was boycotted by Bolivia because the question of her lack of access to the sea was not in the agenda. Bolivian army killed the famous Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara in a clash between his Guerrilla band and the Bolivian army on October 9, 1967. The O.L.A.S. meeting was an ambitious but not a successful meeting for enlisting the support of all Latin C.Ps.

SUMMARY

The foreign policy of the United States is guided by the consideration of national security. To pursue this aim the United States policy makers have formulated certain moral principles. But these principles are applied only to serve the basic purpose. The United States has pursued consistently this aim of safeguarding her national security by maintaining the balance of power. In fact the United States achieved its independence due to a 'balance of power situation.' Apparently the foreign policy of the United States may appear self-contradictory. In the post-Versailles era the refusal of the United States to join the League which was the product of Wilsonian idealism was due to her reluctance to strengthen the Anglo-French powers against Germany.

The disillusionment that followed the war led to an isolationist policy. But in two spheres the United States took an active interest. In the Far-

East the rise of Japan had alarmed the United States. In 1921 a Conference of Far-Eastern powers excluding Bolshevik Russia was called. This conference restored the balance of power in the Far-East. The Anglo-Japanese treaty of 1902 came to an end. The integrity of China was guaranteed by the Nine Power treaty. The Five Power treaty established a naval parity. By the Four Power treaty Britain, France, the United States and Japan agreed to respect each other's insular position.

In Latin America the United States claimed the right of interpreting the Monroe Doctrine as she saw fit. There were frequent interventions of the United States. In Nicaragua for instance the United States forces were sent in 1927 to prop up the regime of President Diaz. The Mexican revolutionary government incurred the displeasure of the United States by nationalising the property of U.S. citizens. Her relations with the Latin American nations, however, improved after the election of F.D.R. as the U.S. President.

The insistence of the United States for the repayment of the inter-Allied debts and the refusal of U.S.A. to accept League membership strained U.S. relation with Europe. The United States, however, sent unofficial observers to League Conferences on disarmament and helped in the recovery of war-devastated continent. The signing of the Pact of Paris was the outcome of an increasing interest of the United States in maintaining world peace. But the rise of the Fascist powers in Europe made it evident that the prospects of a lasting peace are not at all bright.

The neutrality acts of the United States, however, did not authorize the President to discriminate among belligerents. The repeated efforts of the Roosevelt administration to change this neutrality acts in favour of the democracies did not result in much relaxation but for the joint declarations of the Congress in 1935, 1936 and 1937. The cash and carry policy of the United States helped Italy during the Abyssinian war to get oil from the United States. During the Spanish Civil War the Republican government did not gain any aid from the United States but Franco secured his supply from U.S.A. through Italy and Germany.

With the outbreak of the war F.D.R. was able to modify the neutrality act and to get through the Lend Lease Bill to supply France and Britain with essential war materials. The rise of Japan, her policy of aggrandisement at the cost of China and Japanese occupation of Indo-China after the fall of France induced the United States to freeze Japanese assets. The friction caused thereby together with the ambition of Japan to dominate in South East Asia inevitably led to a clash with the United States which stood in the way of Japanese expansion. On December 7, 1941 the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour forced the United States to join World War II against the Axis powers.

Post-World War II Developments.—The United States emerged out of the war as one of the two super-powers. The period of co-operation with the Russia gave way to conflict in the years following the Allied victory. The 'cold war' about which Churchill first raised the alarm in his Fulton lectures in 1946 induced the United States to build up an alliance of the 'Freeland' against 'Marxland.'

President Truman in March, 1947 sent aid to Greece and Turkey to save them from communist pressure. The Truman Doctrine clearly

stated the determination of the United States to organise the defence of the 'Freeland' against international communism. The Marshall Plan which came as a corollary to the Truman doctrine promised economic aid to war-ravaged Europe and sixteen nations excluding the pro-Soviet States of Eastern Europe availed themselves of this aid through European Recovery Programme.

The East-West tension led to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The NATO was the product of the U.S. response to the growth of communist influence in Eastern Europe. Such other military alliances were created in other parts of the world and a global strategy of building the defence of the 'Free World' was undertaken by the United States.

The United States now undertook the responsibility of re-arming West Germany and Japan. In the Far-East the rise of Communist China in 1949 induced the United States to bring Formosa under the protection of U.S. Seventh Fleet.

During the Korean war of 1950, the United States sent its troops under the U.N. Flag to fight North Korea. This was possible due to the temporary absence of Russia from Security Council to protest against the non-admission of Red China. The intervention of Chinese volunteers stabilized the frontier in the 38th parallel. The developments in South East Asia were equally alarming. The French fort of Dien Bien Phou fell to Ho-Chi-Minh in 1954. The Geneva Conference of fourteen nations ultimately led to a devision of North and South Vietnam at the 17th parallel. The United States refused to participate in the conference but accepted its decisions by an unilateral declaration. The march of Communism in South-East Asia led to the creation of the SEATO and Anzus Pacts. In the Middle-East too the United States formed a military alliance through the Baghdad treaty organization.

The Eisenhower administration faced the situation arising out of the cold war by declaring that "We shall never acquiesce in the enslavement of any people to purchase fancied gains for ourselves." Secretary of State Dulles inaugurated a policy of brinkmanship. But with President Kennedy the situation improved. The latter sought spheres of co-operation with the Soviet Union. The Berlin Crisis of 1961 was eased and a nuclear test ban treaty was signed in Moscow. There was a temporary return of brinkmanship during the Cuban crisis of 1962. But when Khruschev complied with the American demand for the withdrawal of Russian rockets the situation eased down. Kennedy promised in return not to invade Cuba. The United States, however, reverted recently to a policy of confrontation in South-East Asia and decided to take retaliatory measures against North Vietnam to check the activities of the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. Under President Johnson the total number of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam increased to five lakhs and General Westmoreland (replaced later by General Abraham) requested for more troops after the Tet invasion (30-1-1968) of the Vietcong. The San Antonio formula of conditional peace talks was rejected by North Vietnam which country, however, agreed to sit for negotiation with U.S. at Paris on 13 May, 1968. On November 1, 1968 U.S. stopped bombing North Vietnam and paved the way for serious dialogue between the United States, Vietcong, North

Vietnam and South Vietnam. In the Middle East before, during and after the June War the United States demonstrated sympathy for Israel and in spite of Israel's defiance of the Jarring mission and subsequent Security Council resolution the United States supplied arms and planes to Israel. The United States, however, welcomed Soviet peace proposal. The Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia (August, 1968) drew U.S. protest and the NATO decided to build a naval arm to counter Soviet activities in Mediterranean. The U.N. approved Nuclear non-proliferation Treaty through joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. support on June 13, 1968. On July 21, 1969 U.S. spaceship Apollo X with three Lunarnauts reached the moon and returned safely. President Nixon in his inaugural address on January 20, 1969 declared his policy of open world and decided to substitute negotiation in place of confrontation.

Latin America. The United States has followed the policy of maintaining her dominance on Latin America and the resources of the South American states. U.S. investment in this area is nearly 7 million dollars. The United States claimed that under the Monroe Doctrine it had the right of intervening in the internal affairs of the Latin nations. This policy of intervention has been variously described as the policy of 'Big Stick' or 'Dollar Diplomacy' or 'Honest Broker.'

The Latin American nations in the post-Versailles era vainly looked to the League for protection. The Pan-American Congress also failed to provide the Latin nations with the protection they desired. In 1923 a resolution to check the outside intervention in the internal affairs of the Latin nations in the sixth Pan-American Congress failed to find acceptance due to the opposition of the United States.

The friction among the Latin nations provided opportunity for U.S. intervention. Thus in the Tacna-Arica dispute between Chile, Bolivia and Peru the United States undertook the task of mediation. The Chaco-Boreal dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia resulted in the mediation of both the League and the United States. The clash between Colombia and Peru for Leticia ended peacefully due to the intervention of the League. The establishment of a revolutionary government in Mexico in 1911 resulted in a deterioration of relation between Mexico and the U.S.A. The nationalization of foreign capital in Mexico had affected the interest of U.S. citizens in Mexico. The situation did not improve until 1923 when the dispute was peacefully settled. The United States intervened in Nicaragua in 1912 and 1927.

The Caribbean policy of the United States caused much discontent among Latin American nations. Under the Platt Agreement Cuba remained virtually under the control of North America. The United States extended its protectorate over Haiti and the Panama Canal zone.

The United States' policy towards the Latin American states underwent a change with the advent of Roosevelt to power. He withdrew American control over Panama, Haiti and Cuba and inaugurated a policy of good neighbourliness. As a consequence the Latin nations stood firmly with the United States in her determination to check the extension of Nazi influence in the American hemisphere. The act of Chaultepec passed in the twelfth Pan-American Congress accepted a charter of solidarity against outside aggression. During World War II the Latin

American states supported the war efforts of the United States against the Axis powers.

In the post-World War II era the Rio treaty of 1948 created the O.A.S. The O.A.S. Charter provides for peaceful settlement of disputes, collective security and non-interference in the internal affairs. The Latin nations, however, still supplied the raw material for U.S. capital. The growing industrialization of these countries resulting in the creation of a middle class and the increase in the number of working class has produced in recent years winds of revolution.

The United States' policy in this region has been to protect the status quo in the interest of U.S. investors such as the United Fruit Company. The policy may be best illustrated by her intervention in Guatemala and Cuba. President Arbenz of Guatemala had introduced mild agricultural reforms which affected the profits of the United Fruit Company. The United States frowned upon the policy of Arbnez who was overthrown by a coup d'etat largely at the instigation of the State Department. Meanwhile the O.A.S. was activized by U.A.S. to declare the solidarity of its members against the growing threat of communism in the American hemisphere.

In Cuba the unpopular Batista government was overthrown by Fidel Castro and his band of followers in 1959. The Castro government nationalised foreign concerns much to the dislike of the owners of sugarcane and tobacco fields. The State Department encouraged the Cuban refugees to raid Cuba in April, 1961. The attempt of the Cuban government to gain security by the installation of Russian rockets brought the possibility of a 'Third World War' within striking probability due to the tension it created between U.S. and U.S.S.R. The withdrawal of the rockets has not improved the relation of Cuba with U.S. To strengthen the hands of the United States the O.A.S. was induced by the former to boycott Cuba. American efforts to gain Latin America have resulted in increased economic aid. The Clay Committee report, however, has recommended aid only to friendly nations. Economic and military pressure has forced most of the Latin American nations to accept orders from Washington. The United States sent its troops to Dominican Republic to prop up the unpopular regime of President Imbirt, while the O.A.O. proposed to mediate in the dispute. The O.A.S. forces left the republic after the election of President Joaquin Balaguer. Two conferences of major significance though of a very different order were held in 1967. The 'Summit' meeting of the American presidents was held in Puntadel Este on April 12-14; and the organisation of Latin American Solidarity (O.L.A.S.) came into existence and held its first conference (July 31 to August 10) in Havana, attended by the representatives of Communist parties of 27 Latin American and Carribean territories. A meeting of the Foreign Ministers of American States decided to impose a stricter economic sanction on Cuba. In October Bolivian army killed Che Guevara.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Acheson, Dean G. : The Premises of American Policy.
2. Hartmann, Fredrick : The Relations of Nations.

3. **Horowitz, David** : From Yalta to Vietnam.
4. **Kennedy, J. F.** : The Strategy of Peace.
5. **Langsome, W. C.** : The World since 1919.
6. **Munroe, Dana Gardner**: The Latin American Republics.
7. The Major addresses of the 35th President of the United States published by U.S.I.S., New Delhi.
8. **North, John** : Cuba—Hope of an Hemisphere.
9. **Schleicher, Charles P.** : International Relation—co-operation and conflict.
10. **Schuman Fredick L.** : International Politics.
11. **Sweezy Paul and Leo Hubarman** : Cuba—Anatomy of a Revolution.

Chapter 22

Soviet Foreign Policy in the Post-World War II Era

Aims and objectives of Soviet foreign policy. The pattern of Soviet foreign policy in the post-World War II era has been a source of confusion to many foreign observers. The aim of Soviet foreign policy according to some is the establishment of Soviet Communism all over the world. The re-establishment of the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) in the year 1947 confirmed this view. Moscow, though outwardly an ally of the Western democracies, developed many sources of friction with the West. The march of communist idea and the seizure of power by the communists in many Eastern European countries seem to indicate that the Soviet policy makers are determined to gain ascendency in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe.

It is rather a naive approach to explain the motive behind the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in such a simple and blunt analysis. The fear of Western aggression may be put forward as the chief motive of the Soviet foreign policy with equal force. The West had intervened to destroy the Bolshevik state at its birth and had attempted to direct Nazi aggression against the Soviet Union through its policy of appeasement. According to some Western observers again, the U.S.S.R. has pursued consistently the aims of Czarist Russia. The policy makers of Moscow desire to gain control of the Straits, to increase Soviet influence in the Far-East and to control the affairs of Balkans just like their predecessors under Czardom. Such confusions about Soviet foreign policy flow from the failure to understand the real significance of the role of the Soviet Union in world politics.

The Soviet Union as the leader of the communist world has faced in post-World War II era the challenge of the 'Freeland' led by Washington. The response to this challenge has taken various forms and raised different issues. The Soviet response to this bi-polar politics has resulted in the sharpening of the 'Cold War'. The ideological aspect of its struggle has given birth to a 'new cold war' between Red China and the Soviet Union. But behind the facade of the 'old' and 'new' cold war there exists the supreme consideration of the vital interest of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic. Russian foreign policy is directed to defend peace and security in the interest of the 'Socialist Fatherland'.

In 1848 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels wrote in their Communist Manifesto that 'a spectre is haunting Europe, the spectre of Communism'. Had they lived after a century they would have predicted that not in Europe alone but in the rest of the world the spectre of communism is haunting the 'Free World'. The rise of Russia in the post-World War II era as one of the super-powers of the world resulted in clash with the Western democracies. The Russian demand for the Curzon line, i.e., the Russo-Polish frontier of 1939 and pre-World War I frontier in other parts of Europe as also 1904 frontier in the Far-East caused anxiety in the West. The extension of Russian influence in Eastern Europe and Balkans raised issues of vital importance to the statesmen of Western democracies. The communist uprising in Greece and the Soviet pressure on Turkey prompted the declaration of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. The establishment of the communist regime in China in 1949 affected the balance of power in the Far-East. The tension between Russia and the West was further enhanced over the German issue.

Russian response to Western challenge. The West in response to the Russian challenge started building massive defence, economic, political and military. The policy of the West to build cordon sanitaire around the Soviet Union and the communist states prompted the Soviet foreign policy makers to consolidate the might of the Soviet Union and the communist states in a counter organization. The march of Soviet communism in Eastern Europe and East Germany had taken the 'Free World' by surprise. In 1945 King Michael of Rumania was induced to appoint a communist Prime Minister. In Poland a Soviet type democracy was established. By 1947 all of Eastern Europe saw the rise of people's democracies, the only exception being Czechoslovakia whose government was converted to a Soviet pattern in 1948. The West now tried to check the progress of Russian influence. Western policy saved Sweden, Aus-

tria and West Germany from falling into the communist sphere of influence. Yugoslavia broke away from the communist sphere and Turkey and Greece remained in the American camp. To provide for future infiltration of communism and to guard against Western fear of a possible invasion of Russia the Western powers formed a new military alignment in the form of the West European Union with the participation of West Germany which was remilitarized and was included in the North Atlantic bloc. This increased the possibility of a Western aggression and the Soviet Union concluded the Warsaw Pact and Unified Command accord in May 1955. This resulted in a pact of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance between Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, Russia and Czechoslovakia which had joined the Communist camp following the coup of February, 1948. Marshal Konev was appointed commander-in-chief of the united armed forces contributed by the participating states.

The march of communist ideology in Europe alarmed the West. The breaking away of Yugoslavia from the communist camp in 1948, the refusal of Sweden and Finland to accept the boons of a people's democracy and the passing of Iran, Turkey and Greece to American camp balanced the picture. The Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan helped to secure the hold of the U.S.A. over non-Communist Europe.

Till 1949 the U.S.A. possessed virtual monopoly on 'A' Bomb and the Baruch Plan of the United States proposed to make this monopoly a permanent feature in the name of establishing international control over 'Atomic research'. The Russians on the other hand proposed the destruction of all 'A' Bombs. In 1949 the United States lost its monopoly in 'Atomic' knowledge. The hope of gaining the balance in favour of the West was lost because Moscow was reaching a rough parity with Washington.

The establishment of the Communist regime in China strengthened the Russian camp. In the Far-East the United States followed a policy of non-recognition of Red China and afforded protection to Formosa. The 'Cold War' was further intensified in June, 1950 when U.S.A. intervened in favour of South Korea. The United Nations supported this action. It was due to the temporary boycott of the Security Council by the U.S.S.R. on the issue of Red China's admission to the U.N. that the U.N. sanction against North Korea could be obtained. The United States forces under the U.N. flag approached the Yalu River. MacArthur even talked of dropping 'A' Bomb on China. The clash between the two super-powers was not

direct because in the Korean war Moscow remained in the background. Ultimately a Russian truce proposals brought peace to the Korean war which was stabilized in the old frontier at the 38th parallel.

The United States now further strengthened its cordon sanitair by the formation of the SEATO and Anzus and by remilitarizing Japan. The 'Cold War' between the two giants affected the world peace in adverse manner in spite of the efforts of the U.N. The co-operation of the two super-powers was sufficient to maintain peace and stop local wars. This is well illustrated by the events of Suez. The Anglo-French invasion of Suez in 1956 did not receive the blessings and approval of the U.S. It was opposed by the Soviet Union which warned Britain against the consequences. The same period also witnessed serious uprising against the communist regime in Hungary. The Soviet Union accorded military aid to the Hungarian Government under the Warsaw Pact to suppress the revolt.

Nikita Khruschev Comes to Power. On March 5, 1953 Joseph Stalin breathed his last and was succeeded to Premiership by Georgi Malenkov who was replaced by Marshal Bulganin in February, 1955. There was at once a new atmosphere both at home and abroad. The twentieth party Congress denounced Stalin's policy of terror in maintaining himself in power. The Stalinists—Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovitch—were soon driven out of leadership. Personality cult was condemned. But except Beria none suffered a death sentence and most of the old guards were rehabilitated in minor posts. The struggle inside the Soviet Party leadership, however, continued till Khruschev became the Premier on March 27, 1958 replacing Bulganin. The Soviet Communist Party henceforth professed to follow collective leadership.

Khruschev inaugurated a policy of peaceful co-existence—a policy designed to win victory in the peaceful competition against capitalism. Khruschev in his speech on April 30, 1958, at a reception given to Nasser, declared—"We want peace throughout the world. We want friendship with all nations; we want disarmament, we want an end to the policy of cold war". In spite of this declaration of the Soviet Union no concrete progress was made on the German problem or on the question of disarmament. But there was a relaxation of the Soviet control over the countries of Eastern Europe. The relation with Yugoslavia improved and recognition was accorded to West Germany. The Soviet troops were withdrawn from Austria. There was an attempt at improving relations with the West by personal contact.

The Berlin crisis in 1958 was peacefully averted and Khruschev agreed to summit talks with Eisenhower in Paris in 1960. But the U-2 incident resulted in ending the summit.

A fresh approach to resolve the cold war was made when President Kennedy went to Vienna and met Khruschev. The two statesmen agreed to lessen the 'Cold War' by agreeing to the nuclear test ban in August, 1963. The fact is from 1960 onwards Moscow was reaching a rough parity with Washington. This induced both the giants to reach an understanding. The realization that more explosives can be exchanged in sixty minutes as had been used in World War II induced the super-powers to find areas of co-operation and to avoid clash.

But the East-West conflict continued and renewed crisis in Berlin, in South-East Asia and in Cuba in 1962 proved the existence of the 'Cold War'. The ready acceptance of Khruschev of Kennedy's assurance not to invade Cuba and to withdraw rockets from Cuba in exchange of a promise of non-intervention in Cuba was denounced, however, by the Chinese. Communist China was against the softness displayed by Khruschev and called it a right deviation. A 'new cold war' now developed around apparently ideological issues. The Chinese confrontation with India further intensified this struggle. But, as has been already pointed out, the Sino-Soviet dispute was intensified not due to ideological differences alone but owed its origin to a clash of national interest.

The struggle was so intense that in 1963 Mr. Edward Crankshaw pointed out that—"it should be clear by now that nothing short of removal of Khruschev, by death, retirement or deposition, can heal the breach".[1] Even the removal of Khruschev on October 15, 1964 did not resolve the Sino-Soviet crisis.[2]

Alexei Kosygin—The Successor of Khruschev. On October 15, 1964 Nikita Khruschev was relieved of his duties as Premier at his own request. Since then he has retired into private life. His place in the Central Committee has been taken by Alexei Kosygin and Leonid Brezhnov. The former has been appointed Premier and the latter first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The reason for the dismissal of Khruschev, as stated in 'Pravda', the official mouthpiece of the U.S.S.R., is his failure to implement collec-

---

1. **Edward Crankshaw**: The New Cold War—Moscow vs. Peking, p. 163.

2. See Chapter on Far-East for a discussion of the Sino-Soviet relation in recent years.

tive leadership. He was charged also with 'Subjectivism' and drifting in the work of the Party.

The removal of Khruschev has not improved the Sino-Soviet relation to an appreciable extent. The visit of Alexei Kosygin to China and North Vietnam was undertaken to announce the solidarity of the Soviet Union with Peking and Hanoi. Kosygin also declared to the press that the American policy of confrontation had brought Hanoi, Peking and Moscow closer. But the attempt of the Soviet Union to resume its role of leadership in South-East Asia has not been so far successful. Red China has permanently seized the leadership of this area from U.S.S.R. The dilemma of Soviet foreign policy in this area is to find a modus operandi to send its aid to Hanoi without travelling *via* Peking. Khruschev's policy of 'softness' had come under the fire of Chinese criticism but Kosygin's policy of firmness as evinced by his declared intention of intervening in Vietnam if America continued to use 'gas', has not been received with enthusiasm in Peking.

The growing tension between Moscow and Peking has been reflected in the Moscow Conference of the communist parties in March, 1965. Khruschev had originally intended it to be a conference for sitting in judgement over the intransigence of Red China. Under Kosygin and Brezhnov an attempt was made to make rapprochement with Communist China. Whatsoever might have been the original intention of its conveners the meeting turned out to be a transcendent failure because outside the Soviet Union only sixteen or seventeen communist parties of different countries sent their delegates to the Conference. Even this humble assembly was torn by dissension in spite of the temporary truce between Moscow and Peking. In the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution the Kremlin issued a new call to the Chinese communists to cast aside the present course and to realign themselves with the communist countries. But the differences between the two parties went on widening. Sino-Soviet relation has reached a new stage, and Soviet Union today has started branding Mr. Mao as 'Fake' with no original contribution to Marxism. China on her part did not hesitate to call the present Soviet leaders as revisionists and call the Soviet people to stage a revolution to overthrow the present regime.

At the international level most of the Communist parties agreed to a proposal of World Conference of the Communist parties. In the early part of 1968 a meeting of the preparatory committee at Budapest was attended by delegates of sixty-four countries. But the meeting proved to be a difficult one. The Rumanians especially continued

to go their own way. Yugoslavia refused to attend the meeting. The Chinese boycotted the meeting and the Albanians followed their example. Cuba also abstained and North Vietnam as also North Korea did not send any delegation—though the two last mentioned countries sent fraternal greetings wishing it success. The Budapest meeting was to be followed by the Moscow conference. But the sharp cleavage in the socialist camp, especially after the Czech event, has prevented any appreciable success of the Moscow Conference called in June, 1969 and attended by 75 parties.

The Russians have tried to minimize the effect of the new cold war with China which started during the Khruschev regime by agreeing to revive the economic aid to China. There has been in the communist world at present a demand that no major move specially in Asia should be made unless a double collective leadership, *i.e.*, of Russia and China, finds an agreed formula in matters of policy. This has in effect resulted in a paralysis of Russian foreign policy in South-East Asia. The United States had taken full advantage of it by launching its attack on North Vietnam.

Soviet foreign policy in the post-War era was guided by the principle of avoiding any showdown with the West and to act as the leader of the Communist World. Many Communist countries including Cuba accused the Soviet Union of sacrificing the interest of the emergent nations in seeking to co-exist with USA. The problem of increasing aid to Vietnam was complicated by the Sino-Soviet rift on border question and ideology. The beginning of the Vietnam peace talk at Paris was, therefore, welcomed by the Soviet Union which also hailed the November 1 declaration of President Johnson about cessation of bombing in North Vietnam. War in Vietnam had stood in the way of an improvement of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations but both the super-powers appreciated the danger of a future nuclear war and agreed to present through the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee an agreed draft for checking further spread of nuclear arms and the United Nations approved the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty on June 11, 1968. A new competition in the conquest of space had started between U.S. and U.S.S.R. in the little over eleven years since the first Soviet Sputnik proclaimed the coming of the space age. The sending of a manned spaceship to the orbit of the moon by the United States on December 27, 1968 was followed by the first manned link up of the spaceships on January 16, 1969. Soyuz-4 piloted by Lt. Col. Vlodimir Shatalov and Soyuz-5 piloted by Lt. Col. Baris Volynow locked together in space, the first time this has been done in the space. Premier Alexei Kosygin said in a message to all nations:

"Let the Sixth Ocean outer space become an arena of international co-operation among the countries."

The Arab-Israel war of June 1967 put the Soviet foreign policy to severe test, the Soviet Union aided and sympathised with the Arabs and on the eve of the war, Soviet fleet visited Mediterranean. The debacle of the Arabs in the 'June war' instead of diminishing Soviet popularity among the Arabs increased the tie between U.S.S.R. and Arab countries. The Soviet Union severed relations with Israel and all the countries of the Soviet camp excluding Rumania followed the lead. In the United Nations the Soviet representative's ceasefire proposal imposed upon Israel and Arab countries a cessation of hostility. The Soviet Union gave its support to the Jarring Mission. There were also pledges of aid to the Arabs, a visit of Podgorny to Cairo and Boumedienne and Arif to Moscow. Nevertheless the Soviet Union did not like to precipitate a show-down with the West and was not ready to jettison its policy of co-existence. Meanwhile the interview between Kosygin and U.S. President Lyndon Johnson at Glassboro on June 23 and 25, 1967 was presented in the Soviet press as a normal manifestation of the policy of co-existence. To bring about peace in the Middle East the Soviet Union, which condemned the aggressive reprisal raids of Israel (the latest instance of which was the Beirut airport raid—condemned outright by the Security Council), presented a peace proposal which demanded the withdrawal of Israel forces from occupied territories. But the proposals did not specifically mention the case of Jerusalem. The Soviet peace proposal though welcomed by Egypt was not acclaimed by Palsetine Arabs. The Soviet Union has agreed to extend her co-operation to the French proposal for a Four Power talk for peace in the Middle East. The United States has agreed to discuss the Soviet peace plan, though Arabs consider U.S. reply to Soviet Note as hostile to Arab interest. The United States in its reply insisted upon an understanding of both Arabs and Israel, a stopping of mutual acts of reprisals, a right interpretation of Security Council resolution and elimintation of armaments race, partial demilitarization of Sinai and withdrawal of Israel from "territories occupied during the conflict".

In the Eastern European[1] countries the leadership of the Soviet Union was challenged by the developments in Czechoslovakia under the guidance of Alexander Dubchek, the First Secretary of the Czech Communist party. Since the intervention of the Soviet Union in Hungary in 1956 to oust Imre Nagy and install Janes Kadre to power the authority of the Soviet Union was consolidated through the

1. See chapter 15 for details.

Warsaw Treaty Pact and COMECON. Though the policy of Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, Rumania's communist party chief and President, was out of step with the Soviet Union and Rumania did not subscribe to the Middle Eastern Policy of the Warsaw Pact powers and walked out of the meeting of the consultative preparatory committee for World Communist Conference (March, 1968), yet Russia did not oblige Western observers' prophecy by intervening in Rumania which had opened its window to the 'free World'. Yugoslavia is another challenge to the Soviet policy in Eastern European countries. Ever since the resumption of Soviet-Yugoslav relation by Khruschev after his bid to end Stalinist policy of outcasting Tito, Yugoslavia had followed its own road to Socialism and freely opened dialogue with the West in an attempt to follow a neutralist policy. Yugoslavia's reaction to Soviet intervention in Hungary in 1956 was hostile and when the Warsaw Pact Powers sent their armed forces to Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968 Yugoslavia was alarmed for a possible Russian interference in the internal affairs of that country. But in the case of Yugoslavia, too, the initial suspicion that Russia may act against Yugoslavia was belied. In Czechoslovakia a new wind of change was introduced under the leadership of Alexander Dubchek, the First Secretary of the Czech Communist party. It resulted in the toppling down of President Novotny, an old guard Stalinist, and the election of Ludvik Svobada in his place. The liberalizing policy of the Czech leaders was frowned upon by the Russians and their allies who on July 14-15 met in Warsaw and in their letter addressed to the Czech party pointed out that hostile forces are seeking to turn her away from her Socialist path and to place her in danger of being severed from the Socialist Community. "Each of our parties", stated the Warsaw letter, "is responsible not only to its own working class and its own people, but also to the international working class, the world communist movement and it cannot evade the obligations arising therefrom". It is owing to this sense of solidarity of 'Socialist Commonwealth' that in spite of the bilateral Czech-Soviet Cirna talk and the Bratislava Statement of six Communist parties including the Czech party, apparently composing the difference between Czechoslovakia and her Warsaw Pact allies, the intervention by the latter powers on August 21, 1968 took place. On August 23, Western sponsored resolution of the Security Council condemning the action of the Soviet Union and her Warsaw Pact allies and asking them to withdraw their troops immediately obtained ten affirmative votes and two negative votes—of the Soviet Union and Hungary. India, Algeria and Pakistan abstained. India though in favour of the withdrawal of Soviet

troops from Czech soil abstained from voting owing to the unwillingness of the sponsors to change the language of the resolution, as suggested by India, "to remove the Judgment of condemnation". Peking outright condemned Soviet action in Czechoslovakia. The Czech leaders compromised with Russia in their Moscow talk on August 27 and agreed to maintain seventy thousand Russian troops on the Czech soil. The Soviet decision to supply arms aid to Pakistan in the summer of 1968 created uneasiness in New Delhi. Mrs. Gandhi felt unhappy about it though at the same time she stated that India's foreign policy would remain unchanged in spite of the Russian aid to Pakistan. Moscow must have demanded some price for supply of arms and that price most probably included closure of the Peshwar base which the Americans have been using for several years against Soviet interest. The flow of Russian arms to Pakistan is therefore a new aspect of Russo-American rivalry in this sub-continent. It was largely through the efforts of the Soviet Union that India and Pakistan had signed to the Tashkent Declaration which brought the Indo-Pak conflict of 1965 to an end. The spirit of the Tashkent Declaration can be translated into practice only if both the countries agree to solve their differences through discussion. The Soviet decision to supply arms to Pakistan has therefore made India extremely unhappy owing to the possibility of the creation of a military imbalance which such aids, specially to Pakistan which is already receiving military aid from China as well as from the West, may create in this sub-continent and destroy the spirit of Tashkent. To redress the balance in the Moscow Conference of 75 communist parties (June 5-17, 1969) the Soviet Union suggested the creation of a collective security system for Asia.

Russian policy hitherto has been directed towards working the United Nations. In spite of the frequent use of 'veto' in the Security Council the Soviet Union has extended its cooperation to the U.N. The Security Council resolution on Korea was adopted in the temporary absence of the U.S.S.R. from the Security Council. The U.N. forces in Korea were not opposed by the Soviet Union. The U.S.S.R. remained in the background during the Korean war and allowed the Chinese communist volunteers to fight the U.N. forces. The United Nations policy in Congo became a subject of Russian criticism. Russia refused to share the financial burden incurred in relation to the United Naitons peace mission in Congo on the ground that the U.N. policy in Congo has been unduly influenced by the Western nations to further neo-colonialism. Earlier in 1960 Khruschev had proposed to replace the Secretary-General by substituting three secre-

taries in his place. This and such other proposals of the Soviet Union have not been received favourably by the Western powers. There has developed inside the United Nations differences. In fact the U.N. has been influenced by the 'Cold War'.

But yet so far the U.S.S.R. has worked for peace inside and outside the United Nations. The new Chinese move for rivalry with Russia would raise serious foreign policy problems for the U.S.S.R. Russian foreign policy dilemma as a super-power in the post-war world is to maintain its lead in the communist world in face of serious Chinese challenge and at the same time to face the other giant U.S.A. The responsibility is a heavy one owing to the immense increase in the destructive power of modern weapons due to advancement in man's knowledge in 'A' and 'H' Bombs. The objective of the Russian policy, however, remains the same as under Khruschev. The U.S.S.R. believes in the ultimate triumph of its ideals. Russia is eager to enter into peaceful competition with capitalism and the Moscow Conference, 1969 stressed this point.

SUMMARY

The Foreign Policy of the U.S.S.R. in the post-World War II era is an enigma. The aims of Czarist Russia and Bolshevik Russia are identical according to some while others believe that Russia has developed a new type of Red imperialism. There are still others who ascribe fear of Western aggression as the chief motive behind Russian foreign policy. Russian foreign policy is the product of the vital interest of the Soviet Union and its chief motive is to secure peace and security in the interest of the Socialist Fatherland. This pattern of the Soviet foreign policy may be discerned in her relation with the West and accounts also for her clash of interest with China.

In the years following the victory over Japan and Germany the cordiality established with the West gradually gave way to suspicion and suspicion developed into the 'Cold War.' The U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.—the two giants of the post-World War era—in their mutual attempt to champion the 'Marxland' and 'Free land' respectively made efforts to build up political, economic and military barrier to each other. Several questions such as the German question and the Berlin problem, the establishment of communist hold over Eastern European countries and China and the developments in Asia resulted in intensifying the cold war. The West followed a policy of 'containment' by concluding military pacts such as NATO which rearmed the troops of Western countries. As a counter measure the Soviet Union concluded the Warsaw Pact with Eastern European countries. Another aspect of the cold war reflected in the disarmament proposals of the West which through the Baruch plan desired to establish international control over Atomic weapons. The West had a monopoly of 'A' Bomb till 1949 and the Russians were, therefore, in favour of destroying all Atomic weapons and against international control which meant Western control.

The Korean War which started on June 27, 1950 led to U.S.A. intervention under U.N. Flag in Korea. The outcome was decided after the frontier stabilized at the 38th parallel due to the intervention of Red China. In South-East Asia the rise of North Vietnam and the growing tension in Laos following the Geneva Conference of 1954 alarmed America. The United States now concluded the SEATO and Anzus Pact. This attempt to build up cordon round the U.S.S.R. induced her to strengthen her defences. The Hungarian revolt of 1956 was forcibly suppressed. The same year the Anglo-French attack on Egypt was denounced in strong terms by the Soviet Union.

The death of Stalin in 1953 resulted in a changed outlook in the Soviet foreign policy. Khrushchev denounced the Stalinist policy of terror and there was a relaxation of Soviet hold over Eastern Europe. But tension developed over Berlin in 1958. The same year in which Khrushchev became the Prime Minister there was an attempt to relax tension between the East and West. But the U-2 incident caused the break up of the Summit meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchev.

President Kennedy's attempt to relax tension found response from Khrushchev and in spite of a renewal of Berlin crisis, the two superpowers agreed to sign in August, 1963 the nuclear test ban agreement. On the top of all these came the Cuban affair. The export of Russian rockets in Cuba induced the United States to declare quarantine around Cuba. The world verged on the brink of war. Khrushchev, however, complied with the request of the United States to withdraw the rockets while Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba.

Defining the foreign policy of the U.S.S.R. Khrushchev declared that—"We have been doing, and will do, all in our power for peaceful co-existence and peaceful competition to triumph throughout the world." The 'Softness' of Khrushchev, however, came under the fire of criticism. Red China's interest clashed with that of the U.S.S.R. and a new cold war developed now between the two countries. In spite of ideological facade the clash was largely one of power and interest.

The fall of Khrushchev in 1964 paved the path for a rapprochement. But basically the pattern of the Soviet foreign policy did not alter. The Soviet attempt to regain the friendship of Peking, however, has prevented her from sending effective aid to North Vietnam against the United States. Alexei Kosygin the new Premier and Brezhnov the new party Secretary, therefore, find themselves in a difficult position. The conference of the Communist Parties held in Moscow was attended by only sixteen or seventeen communist parties. The 1968 Budapest meeting of the preparatory committee for World Communist Conference was attended by sixty-four parties—the Chinese, the Albanians, Yugoslavians and Cubans abstained while North Korea and North Vietnam did not send my delegate but wished its success. The Moscow conference of 1969 was attended by 75 parties.

Red China is at present a serious rival of the Soviet claim to leadership of the Communist world. The Chinese have suggested the creation of a rival U.N.O. Russia has so far worked hard to make the United Nations a success. There have been occasional clashes. The United Nations decision against North Korea was taken during the temporary ab-

sence of the U.S.S.R. from that body. Yet the Soviet Union did not directly participate in a war against the United Nations forces under American command. The U.S.S.R. objected to the Congo policy of the U.N. In 1960 Khrushchev's suggestion of creating three secretaries of the U.N. instead of one did not materialise. The U.S.S.R. has always tried to utilise the U.N. for peace.

The U.S.S.R. is one of the two giants in world politics. Her declared aim is peace and co-existence. Her responsibilities for maintaining world peace cannot be over-estimated. Peace depends upon the policy pursued by its leaders and so far they have cast their vote in favour of co-existence. Soviet foreign policy in the post-war era was guided by the principle of avoiding anw showdown with the West and to act as the leader of the Communist World. The Vietnamese peace talk which started at Paris in May and the American declaration of cessation of bombing (1-11-68) was welcomed by U.S.S.R. The U.S.-U S.S.R. agreed draft on Nuclear non-proliferation was approved by the U.N. on June 23, 1968. On January 16, 1969 the Soviet spaceship Soyuz-4 and Soyuz-5 effected first manned spaceship link and in July Lunar-15 reached the moon and rivalled U.S. Lunarnauts achievements af visiting Moon's surface in July, 1969.

The Soviet Union sent aid to the Arabs on the eve of and following the June War and sponsored the cease-fire resolution and the Jarring Mission. But the Soviet Union was not prepared to jettison its policy of co-existence in spite of its condemnation of Israel's aggression. The Soviet peace proposal demanded an evacuation of the occupied territories. The United States reply to Soviet Note was hostile to the Arabs. The Soviet Union also welcomed the 'Four power talk' proposed by France. Soviet policy in Eastern European countries was challenged by Dubchek leadership's liberalization. Since the Hungarian intervention of 1956 Soviet leadership in East Europe was consolidated through the Warsaw Pact and COMECON. Rumania which was out of step with Russian Middle Eastern policy and non-co-operative with the meeting of the preparatory committee for World Conference of Communist Parties was left alone. Tito of Yugoslavia whose reconciliation with Russia under Khrushchev did not result in closer tie became alarmed also after the Czech intervention. But the expected did not happen. In Czechoslovakia, the Warsaw Pact powers claimed the counter-revolutionaries had taken advantage of the liberalization (mentioned in Warsaw letter of 5 parties July, 1958), and several attempts at reconciliation with the Czech party (including Bratislava declaration) having failed the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies made armed intervention on August 23, 1968. The Western sponsored resolution of the Security Council condemning armed intervention and demanding immediate withdrawal of troops was killed by a Russian Veto. The Soviet decision to supply arms aid to Pakistan has caused anxiety in India.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Crowley, D. W. : The Background to Current Affairs.
2. Chankshaw, Edward : The New Cold War—Moscow vs. Peking.
3. Deutscher, I. : The Great Contest, 1960.

4. **Flaming, D. F.** : The Origin of Cold War.
5. **Horwitz, David** : From Yalta to Vietnam.
6. **Khrushchev, Nikita** : The Viceroy in the Peaceful Competition with Capitalism.
7. **Seton-Watson** : From Lenin to Khrushchev.
8. **Smith, Gorden Connel** : Pattern of the Post-War World.
9. **Organski, A.F.K.** : World Politics.

Chapter 23

India, Pakistan and Ceylon

The achievement of independence by India on August 15, 1947 meant the realisation of the centuries-old aspiration of the Indian people which was expressed resolutely in their persistent and brave struggle for freedom. The independence of India marked the introduction of a new epoch in the struggle for liberation of colonial countries in Asia and Africa from foreign domination. Liberation struggle of the numerous people against colonial rule was the dominating phenomenon of the political happenings in the course of last few years. The unredeemed peoples in Asia and Africa, on the basis of the experience of India as well as other liberated countries, realised that uncompromising struggle for national liberation and independence is the only road to emancipation.

Indian Foreign Policy, Ideals and Principles. India in her external relations has defined certain moral principles and political precepts. The main guiding principles of India's foreign policy are well known. Indian foreign policy is directed towards the achievement of World Peace through independence of thought and action, opposition to colonialism and racialism and the need for peaceful co-existence.

The objectives of India's foreign policy are the preservation of world peace and the extension of human freedom. This ideal is not the outcome of the imagination or idealism of any particular individual. Indian foreign policy is traditionally peace oriented. The example set more than two thousand years back by king Asoka has been faithfully followed by Indian statesmen of today. The various declarations of India's national leaders in pre-independence days confirmed this ideal. Gandhiji championed the cause of peace even during the days when India was engaged in bitter struggle for in-

dependence against British imperialism. Thus it is not surprising that India should champion the cause of peace in a world divided into two armed camps due to the rivalry of super-powers.

This peace policy admirably suits India's need for rapid economic development. Through economic planning India today is trying to develop her natural and economic resources in order to remove gradually the legacy of a colonial economic structure which she had inherited from the past. The main aim of India's foreign policy is, therefore, to prevent the possibility of a new war. The necessity for a lasting peace has been the essential condition for the realization of those far-reaching aims which India has set for herself for the regeneration of her teeming millions.

India is a potentially great power. With a population of nearly 500 odd millions and an enormous size India is bound to play an important role in world politics. But the legacy of nearly two centuries of British rule has left her economically underdeveloped and militarily weak. She must have time to develop her industries, time to develop her resources and time for national integrity and economic self-sufficiency. In the meanwhile she must have peace and security. Indian foreign policy is directed towards achieving peace, but not peace at any cost. The best spokesman of Indian foreign policy Pandit Nehru said on October 13, 1949 before both the Houses of the U.S. Congress—"Where freedom is menaced or justice threatened or where aggression takes place, we cannot be and shall not be neutral. What we plead for and endeavour to practise in our own imperfect way is a binding faith in peace and an unfailing endeavour of thought and action to ensure it."

Policy of Non-Alignment. To achieve this end India has been the main initiator of the policy of non-alignment. India saw in this policy of non-alignment the surest way of ensuring peace in a world divided by the 'cold war'. The policy of non-alignment again is not an accidental product of the whim of one or two individuals. It is the expression of a complete historical process. India on the eve of independence had tested the bitter experience for partition. But she took her place among independent nations with malice towards none and goodwill towards all. The hatred generated towards British imperialism during the days of national liberation movement was smothered by the peaceful transfer of power. India inherited none of the post-war bitterness and jealousies which divided the Western nations.

As a result of this attitude India found no reason to attach herself to any group or bloc; rather she found that in order to ensure

international peace it is absolutely necessary to follow a policy of non-alignment. The policy of non-alignment is not a negative policy of isolationism, neither is it a policy of creating a 'third force' of uncommitted nations. It is not an attempt to create a bloc of neutral nations. Non-alignment means detachment from military blocs and a faith in solving all international disputes through co-operation and not conflict. The policy of non-alignment came under fire of opposition criticism during Sino-Indian conflict of October, 1962. But India refused to give up her policy of non-alignment. Pandit Nehru on an earlier occasion had pointed out the reasons for attachment to this policy in spite of threats of war. "What has the danger on the frontier got to do with the policy of non-alignment. I do not see any connection". The Chinese danger only confirmed India in her policy of non-alignment and to pursue it with vigour. The reason is that the Indian foreign policy is based upon various factors excepting fear. Alignment among Western nations is the product of fear and lack of co-operation.

Co-existence the only alternative to Co-destruction. Co-existence and co-operation is one of the basic principles of India's foreign policy. The idea of different systems and outlooks existing side by side without clash is not a new one. India pursued this ideal under Asoka who at the height of power advocated mutual tolerance. The reason for the adoption of such a policy is all the more forceful in a world where the alternative to 'Co-existence' is 'Co-destruction'. The idea of co-existence is expressed in the term 'Panchsheel' or Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. These were first formulated in the preamble to the agreement between India and China on April 29, 1954. These principles are:—(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) Non-aggression; (3) Non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (4) Equality and mutual benefit; (5) Peaceful co-existence.

The underlying idea of all these principles of non-alignment, co-existence and 'Panchsheel' is India's firm belief that peace is indispensable for India and the rest of the world specially the under-developed countries of Asia and Africa. The need to eliminate the 'cold war' which divides nations into hostile camps and the inheritance of a centuries-old tradition of peace to all as also schooling in non-violence prompted India to stand for peaceful co-existence and oppose war. In a nuclear age war means total destruction. "Peace has been said to be indivisible, so is freedom, so is prosperity now, and so also is disease." 'Panchsheel' is not only a statement of a

high moral principle, it is the only practical way that can save the world from "an atomic suicide".

India declined to manufacture nuclear arms although her not very friendly neighbour China possesses it. She held brief in favour of disarmament and a limitation of the arms race. Yet her refusal to sign Nuclear non-proliferation treaty may appear surprising to a casual observer. The non-proliferation treaty signed by U.S.-U.S.S.R. and more than sixty countries and approved by U.N. political committee on June 11, 1968 creates a situation in which all except super-powers will have control over existing nuclear resources of the world and will guarantee non-nuclear powers with nuclear umbrella. But the treaty makes no provision for nuclear disarmament. The nuclear have: nots will have to take the approval of the haves even for using the atom for peaceful purposes. Such a treaty foredooms the prospect of India's right in future to take her position as a great power. Mr. B. N. Chakravarti, formerly Indian representative at the U.N., has pointed out that "non-proliferation without nuclear disarmament would help technologically advanced nations to fight others under far more favourable conditions." Some critics, however, point out that India has declined either to manufacture nuclear arms or accept nuclear umbrella and is facing a dangerous situation.

Opposition to Colonialism and Racialism. The other moral precept to which India firmly adheres is her opposition to colonialism and racialism. In a speech delivered before the U.N. General Assembly on November 3, 1948 Pandit Nehru outlined India's attitude towards colonial and racial questions. He said—"Great countries like India who have passed out of that colonial stage do not conceive it possible that other countries should remain under the yoke of 'colonial rule'. There is another problem which we in Asia, regard as a vital problem and it is a question to which I want to draw attention; that is the question of racial equality, which is something which is laid down in the provisions of the Unted Nations' Charter". The cause of colonial liberation received momentum from Indian independence. The struggle of Asia and Africa against the West always found ample support from India. The racial inequality practised in South Africa was vehemently protested by India.

These moral precepts of Indian foreign policy are the outcome of some practical considerations based on India's national interest. They are valuable in so far as they serve the vital national interest. It is evident from the last eighteen years of the Congress rule that violence, if necessary, in external and internal policy, has been resorted to by the Congress government. Therefore, the moral precepts are

only a facade and Indian foreign policy is conditioned as in other countries by power politics.

A Realistic Approach. The foreign policy of India is the outcome of the pull and push of competing purposes and pressures. India is an underdeveloped country and in spite of the success recorded by her Five-Year Plans the main problems that still stand in the way of her economic development are the problems of food, clothing and shelter. "The foreign policy of a country is the outcome of her economic policy and until India has properly evolved her economic policy, her foreign policy will be rather vague, rather inchoate and will be groping". Geography contributes powerfully to determine the trend of India's foreign policy. India is a peninsula that juts out from South Asia. It has a long coastline and is situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean.[1] It has intimate connection with West Asia, South-East Asia and Far-East. India prior to independence was protected by the shield of the British navy. Naval weakness has proved to be a source of danger for India in the past and accounted for British ascendency in India. India's naval deficiency is a factor that still influences her attitude in her external relations. India's continued connection with the Commonwealth has helped her to provide for this gap in the navy. Pakistan has attempted to create a powerful navy with the help of Pentagon. In this context it is not unnatural that the policy makers of India should be keen to strengthen the Indian navy. The British decision to withdraw from all bases south of Suez except Hong Kong by 1971 has brought the question of the defence of India's long coast to forefront. The Government of India has decided to modernize Indian navy not with the view of posing any threat to neighbouring countries but for maintaining peace. Mrs. Gandhi, after her tour of Australia, New Zealand and Malaysia in press statement (June 2, 1968) said that no external power need replace the British after the latter withdraws from South East Asia. India feels that the power vacuum in South East Asia need not be filled with any outside powers. Thus various aims and pressures combine together to determine India's foreign policy. The idealising and moralising tendency in foreign policy sometimes comes into clash with the need for a realistic approach. But the idealism today is the realism of tomorrow. Together they combine to decide the policy to be pursued in foreign relations.

In a period of dynamic change foreign policy must take into account the constant shifts in foreign relations. In the context of the

1. Nehru—India's Foreign Policy—Selected speech, p. 24.

intensification of the 'Cold War' and in the background of the threat to India's border posed by Pakistani violation of the frontiers and Chinese incursion, the foreign policy of India is bound to undergo shifts and changes consistent with her national interest without, of course, sacrificing the basic approach to which she is bound by factors of history and geography.

Indian Foreign Policy Record—Commonwealth ties. The fact that in the London Prime Ministers' Conference on April 19, 1949, Prime Minister Nehru gave consent that India should join the Commonwealth surprised many. The reasons for joining the Commonwealth are not far to seek. The London Money Market provides the link for India's trade with the outside world. India decided to remain in the sterling bloc and to avail herself of the protection afforded by her link with the Commonwealth. Not only did India decide to remain in the Commonwealth she also gave transit facilities to the Gurkha troops used by Britain to suppress the Communist revolt in Malaya which broke out in June, 1948.

Both these actions can be justified on the ground of India's interest. The link with Britain was essential. For the safety and security of the Indian Ocean the shield of the British navy was essential. In an age of ICBM it is neither possible nor desirable that an under-developed and militarily weak country should depend upon its own resources for protection against outside aggression. The British bases in Malaya and Singapore served to protect Inlia and the attempt of Britain to keep it under control was not opposed by India. Rather by allowing the transit of Gurkhas India supported Britain indirectly. Another reason for giving such a permission was due to India's concern for Nepal's economy which might have faced a crisis otherwise. In the recent confrontation between India and Pakistan Britain sympathised with the latter country and many in India demanded that this country should quit the Commonwealth. Mr. Swaran Singh, in defence of India's decision to remain in the Commonwealth said that the organisation was not British but mainly Afro-Asian. Most of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers of the 28 nations who met for nine days in the Commonwealth Conference held in London in the first week of January, 1969 rejected British proposals (to Rhodesia abroad British ship 'Fearless', October, 1968) which they felt ran counter to NIBMAR (no independence before majority rule). Another problem which came before the Commonwealth Conference of 1969 was the question of Asian immigrants. The immigration problem was the direct outcome of the policy of Africanization pursued by East African countries and the refusal of Britain to accommodate Asians

holding British passports. The question of immigration had been raised at informal meetings outside the Commonwealth Conference but these had failed mainly because of Britain's refusal to give an assurance that immigration was her responsibility. The African countries had told India that the policy of withdrawing licenses was aimed against people who were not citizens of the countries concerned.

India has a vital interest in Malaya which is one of the chief dollar earning areas for the sterling bloc. After the achievement of independence by Malaya in 1957 this interest has led to the establishment of close ties between India and Malaya. In the tussle between Malaysia and Indoensia, India has generally supported the former. Indonesia's hostility towards India was apparent when President Sukarno promised aid to Pakistan in her undeclared war with India in September 1965.

Anti-Colonialism. India's fear of Communist incursion had prompted the Government of India to support the suppression of the Communist movement in Malaya. In general, however, India has taken an anti-colonial stand. The first major move in this direction was taken when New Delhi called a Conference of Fifteen Countries in January, 1950 to discuss the grave situation arising out of the second Dutch military action to impose colonial rule in Indonesia. The purpose of the Conference was to draw world public opinion in favour of Indonesia. This Conference passed resolutions recommending mutual co-operation among participant countries, viz., Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon. It alarmed Washington as well as London for its anti-imperialist move. It took the wind out of the sails of Moscow as the sole champion of the colonial people in their struggle for liberation.

The Conference on Indonesia was perhaps the first step towards the formation of independent Afro-Asian group in and outside the United Nations to fight colonialism and racialism. Originally twelve states, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen and India formed inside the United Nations the Arab-Asian group. Later on with the addition of Liberia and Ethiopia they came to be known as the Afro-Asian group. Today the Afro-Asian states have formed the most powerful single group inside the United Nations. India undoubtedly took the lead in forming this group. Inside the United Nations this group took initiative in opposing colonial rule in Asia and Africa. Most of the members of this group were against identifying their

foreign policy with any power bloc. The policy of non-alignment was accepted by them. They opposed the racial discrimination and defended self-determination. The United Nations under the leadership of this group passed resolutions condemning the racial discriminations in South Africa and Rhodesia. The independence of Tunisia and Morocco was defended inside the United Nations by the Afro-Asian group. The Anglo-French invasion of Egypt was condemned by the United Nations in 1956 due to the stern opposition of the Afro-Asian countries against aggression. Although these countries do not form an integrated unit and differ from each other in many respects yet they are the most determined enemy of racialism and colonialism.

Outside the United Nations the efforts of India to oppose colonialism and racialism resulted in the expulsion of South Africa from the Commonwealth in 1961. The revolt of the people of Vietnam against French colonial rule was supported by India. After the Geneva Conference of 1954 had divided Indo-China into North and South Vietnam, India was appointed Chairman of the International Control Commission to implement the decision of the Geneva Conference. India as the Chairman of I.C.C. strongly opposed the use of gas in North Vietnam by the United States. India's opposition to colonialism brought her in closer relation with African and Arab countries. India gave support to the nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company by Dr. Mossadegh in 1951 though she counselled moderation.

India gave Egypt the full weight of her moral support in her effort to drive out imperialism. On 26 July, 1956, President Nasser nationalized Suez. Following this nationalization a conference was called by the Anglo-French powers at London. India pleaded in this conference to take steps for a negotiated settlement. In her efforts for peaceful and honorable settlement she was supported by the U.S.S.R., Cylon and Indonesia. The Anglo-French powers who threw off their veil and attacked Egypt to regain their hold were opposed by India and other non-aligned nations. The two superpowers also lend their support directly or indirectly to this effort to halt Anglo-French aggression and peace was established in the Suez area through the United Nations. These efforts of India earned for her the friendship of U.A.R. and other West-Asian countries. India gave powerful moral support to Arab nations in the Arab-Israel conflict of June, 1967. India together with other non-aligned nations sponsored a resolution demanding that Israel should give up occupied territory. At the same time Mrs. Gandhi made it clear that India

did not stand for the destruction of Israel. Indian policy of non-alignment, it has been alleged by some critics, was jeopardized by her support to the Arabs. But as has been rightly pointed out by India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi non-alignment does not mean unthinking neutrality. India has vital economic and political link with Arab world. Nasser aired India's viewpoint during Colombo Conference (Dec. 10, 1962) following Sino-Indian conflict and in the Casablanca conference following Indo-Pak dispute of 1965. Indian stand in the Arab-Israel conflict flowed from India's natural inclination to uphold what she considered to be a just cause. After the intervention of Russian and Warsaw Pact Powers in Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968 India insisted on the withdrawal of the interventionist army but she abstained from voting in the Western sponsored resolution condemning Russia and her allies and demanding immediate withdrawal of troops. The reasons for India's abstention was as Mr. G. Partha-sarathi, India's representative, pointed out the unwillingness of the sponsors of the resolution to change the language, as suggested by India, to remove the judgement of condemnation. Outside the United Nations the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian states held in April, 1955 in Indonesia declared the solidarity of the Afro-Asian nations against colonialism and imperialism. India's Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, played a prominent part in this Conference. The Bandung Conference of twenty-one nations raised voice against remnant of colonial rule in Asia and Africa. The dawn of a new era was announced here and the pioneer in Afro-Asian struggle for liberation appeared in the person of India's Prime Minister. Unfortunately the new Afro-Asian states found themselves in a world divided by 'Cold War' and an Asia where Red China cast a lengthening shadow.

India as a Mediator. Indian peace efforts during the Korean war which started in June, 1950 showed clearly that she is determined to pursue an independent foreign policy away and detached from the cold war. The United States of America taking advantage of the temporary absence of the U.S.S.R. from the Security Council launched a full scale attack against North Korea under the banner of the United Nations. India took lead in establishing peace in Korea and Pandit Nehru personally appealed to both U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. for peace. The crossing of the 38th parallel by the U.N. forces brought the possibility of Chinese intervention. India's warning to the effect was ignored and the result was a 'new war' in Korea. India together with the Afro-Asian states in the U.N. tried to bring about peace in the Korean war. India refused to accept the Acheson Plan to check aggression in Korea and advocated settlement on the Korean issue

with China though her relations with the former were already strained on the issue of Chinese occupation of Tibet. In 1952 India introduced a resolution to solve the much complicated Korean prisoner of war issue. The efforts of India and the Afro-Asian group to establish a ceasefire in Korea were at last crowned with success. The events in Korea fully demonstrate that in South-East Asia India has an important role to play. She is potentially a great power and the efforts of her statesmen to evolve a policy of non-alignment have resulted in reducing the tension of the cold war.

The efforts of India to steer her way clear out of alignment were disliked by the West. The West in its policy of containment against communism in Asia found in Pakistan a firm ally. In the Bandung Conference Pakistan had pleaded for the Western point of view. The policy makers of Pakistan were, however, moved more by the psychology of opposing India than by a fear of communism. Therefore the West in its attempt to keep Indian tendency of neutralism under control established closer relation with Pakistan by concluding military alliance with her in the SEATO and Baghdad treaties. Pakistan, it was expected by the West, would act as a check on India. It was the establishment of a new type of cordon sanitaire in India's border. Pakistan in her recent aggression on India used American arms and received Western sympathy.

The liberation of Foreign Enclaves. Another member of the Western military alliance on the Indian soil was Portugal. Portugal had occupied Goa in 1510. It was liberated on December 19, 1961 by the Indian Army. The Portuguese rule in other parts of India including Daman and Diu also came to an end in the date mentioned above. The liberation of Goa from foreign rule was a triumph of India's policy of non-alignment. The liberation movement which had started in 1955 did not receive much support from the Government of India which was aware of the sympathy extended to Portugal by the United States. Secretary of State Dulles openly avowed support to Portugal on the Goa issue in 1955. But as the Afro-Asian group increased in number in the United Nations the case of India against Portugal received support from more and more members of the United Nations.

Still India awaited for fourteen long years. Portugal was a member of the NATO. The Western powers supported her and opposed India's intervention in Goa on the ground that such an action would lead to the violation of the U.N. Charter. These Western nations who had forcibly seized colonies wanted to turn the United Nations into a protective shield for those states whose imperial interest

made them eager to maintain the status quo. India, however, took a firm stand on the issue and did not take any action before exhausting all peaceful means for solving the problem. But Portugal fortified by the support given to her by the NATO powers refused even to discuss about the transfer of the colonies. India was, therefore, quite justified in liberating Goa by the employment of the armed forces. The efforts of the Western nations to intervene in the matter through the U.N. were frustrated by the opposition of the Soviet Union and the Afro-Asian states. Earlier Portugal had attempted in vain to gain the intervention of the World Court for right of passage to Dadar and Nagar Haveli. In all its complaints against India in the World Court as well as in the U.N. Portugal talked of violation of international law by the Government of India. But the Salazar government conveniently overlooked the fact that Portuguese occupation of Goa, Daman and Diu was the product of conquest and hence an aggression. In spite of all the provocations given by Portugal India tried a peaceful approach for solving the problem of foreign enclaves in India. This approach was crowned with success with regard to French possessions in India which were peacefully transferred to India. In a speech delivered on the occasion of a reception at Pondicherry on December 6, 1950 Pandit Nehru praised the French government for the settlement in friendship and cooperation. In his speech at Pondicherry the Prime Minister said, "That is the civilized way of dealing with problems. The uncivilized way is that of war, even though the so-called advanced countries may fight. Thus while Pondicherry may be a very small part of India, Pondicherry has now become a symbol of friendly solution by negotiated settlement by nations".

Indo-U.S. Relations. The policy of non-alignment pursued by India prompted her to cultivate friendly relations both with the United States and the U.S.S.R. The United States earned India's gratitude due to the efforts of President Roosevelt to bring about the independence of India. Respect for the United States and her democratic ideal influenced the framers of the Indian constitution. There are several reasons which prompted the United States also to seek India's friendship in spite of her marked unwillingness to join the Western camp. Pakistan, it is true, has eagerly sought and obtained U.S. aid and joined in the military alliance of the West. But in Asia the most important bases of the Western system of alliance—Thailand, Pakistan, Formosa, South Korea, the Philippines and South Vietnam—constitute nearly 12 per cent of Asia. The cooperation and friendship of India with a population of nearly 500 million is essential to

execute any policy directed to counter-balance the rise of Communist China with a population of more than 600 millions.

Geography has placed India in a vitally important area and as has been rightly pointed out by Pandit Nehru, "India, in Southern, Western and South-Eastern Asia has to play a distinctive and important role". Historically India with her cultural heritage and democratic idealism constitutes, from the American viewpoint, an effective dam against the rising tide of Communist revolution in Asian countries. Mr. Chester Bowles, the American Ambassador to India, pointed out in 1955 that in spite of the American dislike of India's neutralism, "American policy makers can never afford to forget that the strategic keys to the future of free Asia are India and Japan, the first so largely by-passed by irritated Americans, the second defeated, uncertain and increasingly unpredictable".[2] In 1965, Mr. Bowles; clearly stated U.S. interest in turning India into a bulwark against communist China. "The United States would welcome it", he said, "if India took up this burden with Japan, Indonesia and Pakistan."

American aid to India is the outcome of not merely the need to counteract communism in Asia, it is also the outcome of a desire to uplift the economic condition of underdeveloped countries. The role played in this aid programme by private industrial and charitable groups like the Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegi foundations is partly the product of altruistic motive. The aid to India from the United States has been largely influenced by a desire to win India for the 'Freeland'. The Indo-American Technical Co-operation Agreement of 1951 provided for economic aid to India but at the same time authorized the President to terminate all or part of any assistance if it is found inconsistent with the national interest or security of the United States. The Mutual Security Act under which this aid was provided also directed the President to stop any aid if the recipient nation "would contravene a decision of the Security Council of the United Nations". The United States has been looked upon as the main prop of the Western aid to India and other underdeveloped countries of Asia. The Colombo Plan evolved in the Commonwealth Conference of 1950 was the main instrument of Western aid programme to countries in or outside the Commonwealth. The programmes of economic aid envisage self-financed development without any central plan. Some countries of course are donor members, some recipients and others are both donor and recipients. The United States was not particularly enthusiastic about it though she provided by far the largest assistance to the Plan.

2. **Chester Bowles**: The New Dimensions of Peace, p. 367.

Another source for economic aid is provided through the United Nations specialized agencies. The Afro-Asian bloc in the U.N. constantly pressed for the creation of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED). It was kept out of Agenda of the General Assembly till 1955 through U.S. pressure. It came into existence at last in January, 1959. The contribution of U.S.A. to this fund was a moderate amount of $21,000,000. The United States, however, made generous contributions to India in her fight against the food problem. The United States found it advantageous to recognise India's policy of non-alignment and to win India's support by vastly increased economic aid for constructive development. The total amount of U.S. aid to India exceeded $4 billion in loans and grants by the end of 1961. But the United States did not hesitate to use the P.L. 480 food supplies to India as political lever to persuade India to concede some of Pakistan's demands.

The United States took a serious view about the Chinese aggression in India. American military aid and air-umbrella was at once assured to India to check the tide of Chinese aggression. The United States agreed to help India against the Red peril and American arms aid to this country increased vastly in spite of the protest lodged by Pakistan. Non-alignment and the attempt to play an independent role in world politics by the policy makers of India do not, however, suit American policy of containment and confrontation. This became amply clear during the Korean war. India's opposition to any extension of the fighting line beyond the 38th parallel and the Indian resolution on the prisoner of war issue in 1952 was disliked in the United States. The protest lodged by India's Prime Minister Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri against the use of 'gas' in North Vietnam angered the policy makers of the United States. The unilateral decision of President Johnson to postpone the proposed visit of India's Prime Minister to the United States in the year 1965 is perhaps the outcome of India's protest against American policy of confrontation in Vietnam. In the Lok Sabha debate this was rightly looked upon as a slight to India's position.

Another factor in American policy in this subcontinent has caused much anxiety and concern in India. This policy consists in patronizing Pakistan as a member of the Western military alliance. The United States has supplied Pakistan with fighter planes, bombers, tanks and two submarines. The cost of American war materials supplied to Pakistan to fight communism so far amounts to nearly $120 crores. Pakistan used all these American arms against India in her latest attempt to grab Indian territories at Kanjorkot and Kashmir. In the

Lok Sabha discussion on the latest Pakistani aggression in Kutch Prof. Hiren Mukerji has rightly pointed out that America is really playing China's game by sending aid to Pakistan. In her present aggression on India Pakistan used American tanks and planes against India although American government had given definite assurance that American arms would not be used by Pakistan against India. But in face of the undoubted proof of Pakistan's aggression with American tanks and planes no step was taken to prevent such misuse of the military aid. Mrs. Indira Gandhi accused America of breach of faith and contrasted American policy towards India with Russian friendliness during Chinese aggression.

Indo-Soviet Relation. The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 came as a bang and changed the outlook of millions who suffered under imperialist rule. The October Revolution accelerated the pace of anti-colonial struggle. Pandit Nehru during his visit to Moscow in 1955 stated—"Almost contemporaneously with your October Revolution under the leadership of the great Lenin we in India started a new phase of our struggle for freedom. Our people were engrossed in this struggle for many years and faced heavy repression with courage and endurance. Even though we pursued a different path in our struggle under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, we admired Lenin and were influenced by his example. In spite of this difference in our methods there was at no time an unfriendly feeling among our people towards the people of the Soviet Union".

But in the early years of independence several factors prevented a cordial relationship between India and the Soviet Union. The developments in Greece and Korea caused difference between India and the Soviet Union. The suppression of the communist party in India provoked the Soviet press to suspect that the Government of India was making deal with Anglo-American imperialists. The decision to maintain Commonwealth membership as also the opposition to the revolt of the communists in Malaya combined together to create suspicion in the Soviet Union about India's role in the cold war. Indian capitalism it was believed by the Soviet Union would side with Anglo-American imperialism.

The relation between the U.S.S.R. and India, however, improved gradually. The decision to recognize Communist China contributed towards improving Indo-Soviet relations. The role of India in and outside the United Nations as an anti-colonial power became increasingly evident to the Soviet Union. The efforts of India to establish a ceasefire in Korea and her refusal in 1951 to brand Red China as an aggressor was appreciated by the communist countries. But the

Indian proposal on prisoners of war issue did not receive Soviet approval. India's role as a peace maker in Vietnam demonstrated to the Soviet Union the value of her services as peace maker.

The death of Stalin and the consequent change in the Soviet foreign policy improved Indo-Soviet relations. The closer tie established by Pakistan with Western military alliance drew India closer to the Soviet Union. The support given by the Soviet Union to India on the Kashmir issue cemented this friendship. Indo-Soviet friendship was further facilitated by the signing of Trade agreement between the two countries. Pandit Nehru in a statement in the Lok Sabha on March 20, 1956 welcomed the changed outlook of the Soviet Communist Party as registered in the twentieth party congress.

The Soviet Union earned India's gratitude by the support given to India on Goa issue. The friendship of the people of India towards the people of the Soviet Union was demonstrated by the warm reception given to Khruschev and Bulganin during their visit to India in 1955-56. The Chinese aggression on India in 1962 did not affect Indo-Soviet cordiality, on the other hand the Soviet Union agreed to co-operate with India in building 'Mig Fighter Planes'. This aspect of the Soviet policy demonstrates Soviet support to India's stand in the dispute with Red China. Indo-Soviet technical co-operation during the ten years beginning with the establishment of the Bhilai Iron and Steel Workshop in February, 1955 has been fruitful to the extreme. The aim of Indian Planning is to make India self-sufficient by establishing heavy industries. In this respect the co-operation of the Soviet Union has been of utmost importance. The Ranchi Heavy Engineering Works, the Bokaro Iron Works, the Thermal Stations at Hirakud, Korba, Bhakra and seven other places, the Petroleum Refineries at Barauni and Kayeli, the Madras Surgical Instruments factory, the Manikpur Open Cast Mine are some of the living instances of Indo-Soviet co-operation in the economic field. Nearly 66 major industrial projects have been undertaken under Indo-Soviet agreement for co-operation in the economic field.

Indo-Soviet friendship is of utmost value to both the countries. India does not belong to the Soviet camp and firmly believes in non-alignment. But the one camp to which she firmly adheres is the Peace Camp. Soviet friendship in peace has strengthened India to pursue her peace policy and to impose peace upon those who want to disturb it. The latest proof of Soviet friendship to India has been demonstrated by the Soviet support to India against Pakistan's aggression in the Kutch area. Mr. Swaran Singh said in the Lok Sabha debate (Nov. 18, 1965) that when Pakistan attacked India and

China served an ultimatum the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union gave a clear warning to China. Mr. Kosygin has offered also to mediate in the Indo-Pakistani dispute.[1] The Indian Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and Pakistan's President Mohmmed Ayub Khan were insisted by Soviet Premier Mr. Kosygin to meet at Tashkent so that peace may be restored in this subcontinent which was disturbed by the Indo-Pak confrontation of 1965. On January 10, 1966 the Tashkent declaration in which both the countries agreed to restore friendly relation was signed; unfortunately Prime Minister Sri Shastri breathed his last at Tashkent on January 11, 1966. It was largely due to the herculean efforts of Kosygin that the Tashkent talks which were leading towards failure achieved a measure of success which is simply astonishing. But in 1968 the decision of the Soviet Union to supply arms to Pakistan caused constraint in India. Mrs. Gandhi said that India's foreign policy would not undergo any change as a result of Russian arms aid to Pakistan, although "we are not happy about it".

India, China and Pakistan. India followed a policy of friendship towards Communist China and in 1949 accorded recognition. Their relation was cordial and India acquiesced in Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. The Bandung Conference and the signing of the Panchasila agreement in 1955 cemented Sino-Indian friendship. But the shift in Chinese policy came suddenly. The Chinese contempt for neutralism was becoming more and more obvious. The Chinese with their vast resources, hoary past and tradition of armed revolution started dreaming like Japan of a 'Co-prosperity sphere' in Asia. They expected in each country in Asia an armed revolution or at least a confirmation to their policy. India under Nehru was unwilling to accept the Chinese view.

From the Chinese viewpoint Indian policy of non-alignment was looked upon as another way of aiding the West. Indian leadersrip in Asian politics was another factor for bringing about Chinese wrath. In fact Peking was out to discredit co-existence in its bid to champion anti-Western struggle. The border incidents multiplied and between 1955 to 1962, i.e., between the period covered by Bandung to Bomdila there were more than thirty clear cases of the violation of the Indian frontier ultimately leading to a full scale Sino-Indian war in October. 1962. The relation between India and China became specially bitter after the Tibetan uprising in 1959 and the political assylum granted

---

1. For the outcome of this Soviet mediation and Tashkent Declaration see Appendix 'D'.

to Dalai Lama. China accused India of going over to the enemy.[2]

Peking's offensive against India suited the purpose of Pakistan. The relation between India and Pakistan was never happy. The strained relation between these two states is the product of the fact of partition.[3] The Pakistani incursion in Kashmir just after partition had started this bitterness. It has been in the increase due to the clash over Kashmir, the border intrusion (latest example provided by Pak occupation of Indian territory in Kashmir) and the canal water dispute in the North-West. Pakistan and China found a common cause in their attempt to humiliate India. The two states concluded agreement for establishing air link. China has promised Pakistan all help against aggression and the later has handed over to China a part of Kashmir that was grabbed by Pakistan. The friendship between the two countries was cemented by the visit of Chou En-Lai and Chen Yi to Pakistan in February, 1964. China's support to Pakistan's claim on Kashmir was clearly stated when Chen Yi declared that "The friendship between Pakistan and China would continue even after you have got Kashmir and we have got Taiwan." Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir has received whole-hearted support from China though Pakistan has categorically denied any Chinese help in the matter. India's Defence Minister Mr. Chavan in a statement pointed out that the possibility of the presence of Chinese experts in Kutch cannot be ruled out. Since 1964 China has extended interest free loans totalling $ 100 million to Pakistan. In 1968 China sent the Pakistan Government an additional $ 7 million to purchase wheat and rice. The trade has been stepped up to $ 90 million. Pakistan received Chinese aid to build multi-million heavy engineering industrial project at Taxila. Details of Chinese military aid are kept secret. In recent years China has supplied MIG-19 aircrafts, T-59 Tanks and an unspecified number of military lorries and arms to Pakistan and equipped Pakistani divisions.

Politics it is said makes strange bedfellows. Sino-Pak friendship is the best illustration of the truth of the statement. Chinese have followed the principle of making friendship with neighbour's neighbour. Indian dislike of the Chinese policy of confrontation had such a violent reaction on Chinese leadership that they have started backing Pakistan, a member of the Western military alliance, against India, a non-aligned democratic country.

Peking Radio makes much of Indian friendship with the West

---

2. For Sino-Indian Relation see Chapter on Far-East.
3. For details see below.

but forgets to mention Pakistan's membership of the SEATO. The joint air exercises of the Indian, U.S. and British air force in November, 1963 was made a major object of vilification by Peking. But the SEATO military exercise that followed immediately afterwards at Karachi were not condemned. All these show that the strange alliance between Pakistan and China is based upon only one common factor and that is their enmity towards India and her policy of non-alignment. The clash of interest between India and China is also due to the intense desire on the part of China to eliminate India from leadership of the Afro-Asian world. The other face of the Chinese policy is reflected in the Sino-Soviet dispute generated by the Chinese claim to leadership of the Communist world.

India's obvious leadership and popularity among the Afro-Asian nations is an established fact. To snatch this leadership and to demonstrate India's partisanship to the West was the task to which China applied herself much to the distress of the neutral nations. The Sino-Indian war of 1962 prompted Afro-Asian nations to mediate in the dispute. To bring about a peaceful solution of the Sino-Indian border dispute, William, S. Tubman of Liberia, President Nasser of U.A.R. and Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia attempted at mediation.[4] Finally on December 10, 1962, Mrs. Bandaranaike, Ceylon's Prime Minister, called a Conference of neutral nations at Colombo. This Conference of neutral nations at Colombo was attended by six nations. General Ne Win of Burma, Al Saberi of U.A.R., Subandrio, Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Cambodia's Prime Minister Prince Norodon Sihanouk and Ghana's representative Mr. Atta attended the Conference.

The Colombo proposals virtually accepted India's view and Mrs. Bandaranaike took the initiative in persuading both India and China to accept it. The Colombo proposals were an attempt to sound both India and China for resumption of talks for solving the border dispute. The peace mission of Mrs. Bandaranaike was hailed by India but up till now China has taken an equivocal attitude and did not accept the Colombo proposals categorically.

In the meanwhile the Chinese have unilaterally decided to stop further advance in the Indian border, (November 21/22, 1962). The border issue is, however, a part of political confrontation and unless this is resolved by peaceful reconciliation rapprochement between India and China is hardly feasible.

India, however, has not closed the door for reconciliation. Mili-

4. For details about Sino-Indian clash see Chapter XVII.

tary preparedness for a possible war to defend the border from Sino-Pak aggression has resulted in a defence oriented budget. India's plan for peaceful economic development has been hampered by the need for equipping a strong army. The desire for peace is strongest in India. This desire for peace should not, however, be mistaken for weakness. For freedom and for the integrity of India's territorial limits the people and the Government of India are ready to pay the price.

'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.'

Indo-Pak Dispute. The fact of partition of this subcontinent in 1947 generated bad blood between India and Pakistan. There are several aspects to this problem. In the years following partition millions started leaving their homes from both the sides of the border and became refugees. The post-independence upheavals were of such an inhuman nature that the relation between the two states was naturally strained. The financial and other problems connected with the question of Refugee Rehabilitation handicapped both the governments. The Refugees came like a flood and the tragedy of uprooted humanity was of the greatest magnitude. Since then the trickle of refugees from East Pakistan to India has not stopped. Pakistan being a theocratic state the minorities living there have always felt insecure and the constant flow of refugees from Pakistan is considered by many as a part of Pak tactics to keep alive the psychological warfare with India. The Jihadist slogans serve to strengthen the hands of the reactionaries against the progressive forces.

Other sources of friction between India and Pakistan may be subdivided under five sections, *viz.*, Pakistan's acceptance of Western military alliance; Sino-Pak agreement and the transfer of Pak-occupied Indian territory to China; the Canal waters dispute; and the Kashmir issue; and last but not least important problem of Indo-Pak border dispute.

About the first two reference has already been made. The Canal water dispute arose over the use of the Indus waters. Six tributaries of Indus flow from the Indian side of the Punjab into Pakistan. India agreed to allow Pakistan the use of the Punjab rivers out of humanitarian consideration and by an agreement signed in 1948. Sutlej, Ravi and Beas water is essential for East Punjab. "The agreement was to the effect that we had a right to the waters of the East Punjab rivers and we should give time to West Pakistan to make alternative arrangements, so that they might not suffer any loss."[5]

5. Pandit Nehru's speech on July 8, 1954.

The agreement was not of a permanent nature. Pakistan was allowed some time to construct link canals to join up her irrigation works with the tributaries allotted to her. Pakistan neglected to construct the link canal and in 1954 when India opened the Bhakra Nangal Dam raised objection to the project. An agreement, however, was reached in 1960 through the World Bank. Under this agreement, the waters of the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab (except for minor uses in Jammu and Kashmir) were conceded to Pakistan and those of the Sutlej, Ravi and the Beas to India. This agreement also provided for a transition period of ten years during which Pakistan would build canals to replace supplies hitherto received from eastern rivers. Pakistan would receive contribution from India and other countries for the expenses to be incurred in this connection. In the meanwhile India would supply progressively diminishing water from eastern rivers to Pakistan. Indian attitude throughout the negotiation was moulded by human consideration rather than by the question of legal right. Even after the recent confrontation with Pakistan India has respected the agreement and paid Rupees eight crores to Pakistan through the World Bank. In 1968 Pakistan objected to the construction of Farraka barrage to control the waters of Ganges. Pakistan desired to make it an international issue although the project was entirely directed to meet the needs of India's internal economy and did not affect Pakistan very much. The question has been settled by mutual agreement.

The Kashmir Dispute

The territory of Jammu and Kashmir is situated strategically in an area where Russia, China and Afghanistan meet in a common frontier. Because of its geographical position Kashmir is intimately connected with the security of India. At the time of partition it was ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh, a descendant of Gulab Singh who had received the state from Maharaja Ranjit Singh as a reward for distinguished service in 1820. In August 1947, when Crown paramountcy lapsed, Kashmir did not accede to either India or Pakistan. The latter, however, started applying pressure on Kashmir to gain its accession. Failing economic pressure Pakistan allowed armed tribesmen to invade Kashmir and together with them a number of the regular troops of army of Pakistan joined in the Kashmir raid in September, 1947. In October, 1947 the Maharaja whose forces proved utterly inadequate to stop the raiders asked for India's help. But in fact no aid was sent till the Maharaja prompted by Sheikh Abdullah, at that time undoubtedly a friend of India, acceded to the Indian union.

The Indian troops were sent to Kashmir on October 27, 1947. Indian army relieved Srinagar and drove back the raiders to Uri along the Jhelum valley road. The Government of India appealed to the Security Council in December 30, 1947 against Pakistan for aiding and abetting in the raid on Kashmir. Pakistan on the other hand pleaded in the U.N. that the accession was brought about under duress and was provisional in its character. But it is self-evident that if any one used force it was Pakistan and India only intervened after Kashmir acceded voluntarily to the Indian Union. Pakistan argued that in the letter of acceptance addressed to Maharaja Hari Singh, Lord Mountbatten had specifically promised plebiscite. The letter stated that—"as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of the state's accession should be settled by a reference to the people". This statement does not imply a plebiscite. The Government of India had kept its pledge in Kashmir by driving out the invaders and allowing the people's right of self-government.

The people of Kashmir elected in September, 1951, their Constituent Assembly and the latter body confirmed the accession to India in 1954. The Constituent Assembly declared Kashmir to be a self-governing state within the Republic of India. Maharaja Hari Singh's application imposed no condition for accession and India gained every right to treat the territory as a part of the Indian Union. The State of Jammu and Kashmir had every right to accede to India and no third party has right to question it. The condition stipulated in the letter of acceptance has no significance in international law and is an internal affair of India.

The actions of the Government of India in sending troops to Kashmir and appealing to the United Nations were taken in self-defence. The Security Council appointed a Commission to arrange for ceasefire in Kashmir. The Commission by its resolution on August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 proposed ceasefire, demilitarisation and plebiscite. The U.N. resolution to appoint mediator to settle the dispute has not met with success. On February 24, 1950 an Anglo-American resolution proposed the appointment of a mediator in the person of Sir Owen Dixon, a judge of the Australian High Court. He, however, admitted his failure in performing the task and resigned. This was followed by the appointment of Frank D. Graham, an American national, as U.N. representative for mediation between India and Pakistan. By this time it became quite evident that the Anglo-American powers were bent upon capitalizing Indo-Pak dispute over Kashmir to their best interest. The Soviet representa-

tive Jacob Malik actually brought the charge of interference in Kashmir against U.S.A. and U.K. In February, 1954, Pakistan joined Western military alliance. This completely changed the picture.

To facilitate Western interference in Kashmir in February, 1957 a Four Power resolution sponsored by U.K., U.S.A., Australia and Cuba was placed in the Security Council. This resolution proposed the sending of a United Nations Emergency Force in Kashmir to bring about a peaceful solution of the Kashmir question. The President of the Council Mr. Gunner Jarring of Sweden was asked to undertake a Peace Mission to India and Pakistan. The attempt to create the U.N.E.F. was frustrated by the veto of the Soviet Union. The Anglo-American attempt at interference in the Kashmir affair did not stop at the failure to create a UNEF. President Jarring came to India in March, 1957 to mediate in Indo-Pak dispute and following his failure Mr. Graham was sent again to this sub-continent in 1958. But all these missions and Commission did not solve the Kashmir issue for obvious reasons. The whole question now revolved round Anglo-American attempt to impose a plebiscite in Kashmir under U.N. supervision. Some Western writers have accused India of 'equivocal' attitude over the question of plebiscite.[6] But these writers forget or deliberately overlook the fact that India has repeatedly stated her willingness to accept plebiscite. But before that Pakistan as an aggressor must withdraw from the soil of Kashmir. Pakistan has not only refused to withdraw from Kashmir but has handed over a part of this territory to China. India, on the other hand, had voluntarily agreed to accept Security Council resolution of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 though legally she was not obliged to do so. Therefore, all this talk of plebiscite is completely beside the point. Pakistan must first get out of the state on which, on her own admission, she had committed aggression. In the first week of August, 1965, following the Kutch dispute, Pakistan sent organized groups of infiltrators across the ceasefire line, and at the end of the same month mounted large-scale attack in the Chamb-Jaurian area violating the international border and directed against India's line of communication in Kashmir. Indian troops went into action in Kashmir, and in the Lahore-Sialkot Zone to foil Pakistan's designs.

Role of U.N. in Indo-Pak dispute. The Security Council in its efforts to impose peace adopted a ceasefire resolution on 22 September. The ceasefire came into effect on 23 September, though it has

6. Crowley, D. M.—op. cit., p. 261.

been violated several times by Pakistan. In the subsequent meetings of the Security Council Pakistan's former Foreign Minister, Mr Z. A. Bhutto attempted to raise the Kashmir issue and indulged in vituperations. As India considered Kashmir to be an integral part of India she boycotted the meeting of the council in protest. On September 2, the U.N. Secretary General U Thant appealed for ceasefire and two days later the Council met and called upon the two countries to withdraw their forces to the old ceasefire line. The appeal for ceasefire was repeated on September 6 and both the countries were asked to withdraw their forces to August 5 position, the Council also authorized U Thant to visit the area to bring about a peaceful settlement. U Thant arrived in Rawalpindi on September 9 and in New Delhi on September 12. India agreed for an unconditional ceasefire but Pakistan wanted a "purposeful" ceasefire that would ensure an "honourable settlement of the Kashmir problem." Communist China entered the dispute by alleging that India had created 56 military posts on the Tibetan side of the Chinese territory and expressed sympathy for Pakistan. After September 22, when both India and Pakistan had accepted the ceasefire proposal and a return to August 5 position reiterated in the Security Council resolution, Peking Radio claimed that Indian military installations were dismantled. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Indian Prime Minister, called the Chinese charges a "product of their imagination." In an attempt to mediate in the Indo-Pak dispute the USSR invited India and Pakistan to a meeting at Tashkent in January, 1966. It resulted in the famous Tashkent declaration in which both the parties agreed to settle their disputes through peaceful methods. To translate the Tashkent spirit into practice India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi offered a no war pact to Pakistan on August 15, 1968. It was to end tension between these two countries that this offer was followed up on January 1, 1969 by an Indian proposal for setting up joint machinery to examine all disputes with Pakistan. The proposal for such bilateral machinery is contingent upon Pakistan agreeing to no war pact. The bilateral joint machinery would have two purposes. First, it would deal with normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations and, secondly, it would seek solutions to all disputes between the two countries. Such machinery would be in consonance with the Tashkent declaration. India is, however, against any third party mediation in Indo-Pak dispute which Pakistan seeks eagerly. Mrs. Gandhi's offer of peaceful solution of disputes has been well received in Pakistan. And her offer to end Sino-Indian dispute through discussion resulted in unsympathetic comments from the Peking Radio. It must be admitted that Mrs. Gandhi's efforts to discard 'the

big brother' attitude and seek the cooperation of all nations including South East Asian countries. Australia, New Zealand, etc., indicates significant change in foreign policy.

Border Dispute

Apart from the Kashmir issue, the history of India-Pakistan relation centres round border disputes and attempts to solve it. The latest instance of Pakistani aggression in the Indian border is the Pak attack on Kanjorkot in Gujarat. "The problem of our border with Pakistan may be divided into three parts. One is what might be called the international border, about which there is no doubt. Then there is the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir State, which, at any rate, is precise; we know where it is. The third part of the border is what was decided by Mr. Radcliffe and Mr. Justice Bagge on two different occasions, and this has not been demarcated with the result that sometimes disputes arise as to the interpretation of what Mr. Radcliffe and Mr. Justice Bagge said".[7] Such for instance is the border dispute between East Pakistan and West Bengal in the Murshidabad and Rajshahi districts including the thanas of Nawabganj and Shivganj. The Nehru-Noon agreement of 1958 solved some of these border problems and India agreed to the partition of Beru Bari Union.

But these and other border problems stood quite apart from the recent dispute in Kanjorkot. The areas which Pakistan has occupied forcibly in Kutch area are a part of the Indian territory. Unfortunately U.K. and U.S.A. which had appealed for peace to both the sides tried to impose a ceasefire on the basis of status quo. The assumption behind such appeal was obvious. The self-styled mediators were trying to treat both the aggressor and the aggrieved on the same footing. The use of British and American arms in this conflict is another factor which complicated the situation. These border disputes it appears are kept up to boost up Pakistan—a member of the Western military alliance. Pakistan has kept Indian border alive by frequent firing and incursions. All these border incidents have kept Indo-Pak border alive with tension. On February 19, 1968 an International Tribunal awarded Pakistan some 300 square miles or about one-tenth of the territory of the Rann of Kutch it was claiming from India. Ninety per cent of the disputed territory was, however, declared to be Indian territory.

The relation between India and Pakistan was affected by the issue of the merger of Junagarh and Hyderabad with India. The

7. Nehru's speech in Rajya Sabha, August 26 and Lok Sabha, September 12, 1958.

Nawab of Junagarh had acceded to Pakistan by violating the principle of geographical contiguity. This caused so much discontent in the state that the ruler fled to Pakistan. India took over the state in November, 1947 and early next year the people approved this action through a plebiscite held in Junagarh. The Nizam of Hyderabad was unwilling to join India and signed in 1947 a stand-still agreement. The majority of the population was kept under constant terror by the Muslim communal organization of the Razakars. On September 17, 1948 India took police action against Hyderabad. Within three days the Nizam's forces were dispersed and the Nizam now agreed to accede to India. In both the cases mentioned above Pakistan tried in vain to gain the intervention of the Security Council.

Pakistan. Pakistan is the product of the demand for a separate homeland for the Muslim minority. The word was coined by Muslim students at Cambridge in 1933. It was at a meeting of the All India Muslim League held in Lahore in March, 1940 that a resolution was adopted demanding the partition of India into two separate states. Since 1940 the Muslim League agitated for the creation of Pakistan comprising the Muslim inhabited parts of India. This was achieved against the strenuous opposition of the Indian National Congress. On August 15, 1947, India was partitioned and the dominion of Pakistan was created. Pakistan comprises of the former provinces of Baluchistan, Sind, North-West Frontier Province, East Bengal and West Punjab. The name Pakistan has been variously interpreted as land of the 'Pure' or a combination of the initials of Punjab, Afghanistan (or Afghans of the North-West frontier Province), Kashmir, Islam, Sind and the last syllable of Baluchistan. Since March 23, 1956 Pakistan described itself as an Islamic Republic.

Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founding father of Pakistan, became its first Governor-General and his lieutenant Liquat Ali Khan headed a Muslim League Ministry. The death of Jinnah shortly after partition and the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1948 was a serious blow to Pakistan. After the murder of Liaquat Ali Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin who had become the Governor-General stepped down from the office to shoulder the responsibility of the office of the Prime Minister. Mr. Gulam Mohammed, a British trained civilian, became the Governor General of Pakistan.

Pakistan was ruled by a Constituent Assembly from its birth in 1947 to 1953. In 1955 Pakistan became an Islamic theocracy. In the meanwhile Nazimuddin was replaced by Mohammad Ali in April, 1953, and the East Pakistan election resulted in a complete

route of the Muslim League. In the confusion that followed the Constituent Assembly was dissolved by the Governor-General who retained Mohammad Ali as Prime Minister. A new Constituent Assembly elected in 1955 gave final shape to the theocratic and republican Constitution of Pakistan.

Iskander Mirza became the First President under the new Constitution. But the political picture of Pakistan remained fluid. Cabinets fell like ninepins and struggle for power among the political parties was carried on disregarding all norms of parliamentary government. So that on October 7, 1958 President Iskander Mirza abrogated the Constitution and declared martial law. Three weeks later Iskander Mirza himself was forced to resign and all power was usurped by General Ayub Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. General Ayub Khan has ruled Pakistan since 1958 with an iron hand. General Ayub Khan formulated a new constitution in which the President was to be elected by a much circumscribed indirect election. General Ayub Khan preferred to call it basic democracy. In January, 1965 Ayub Khan was elected President of Pakistan under the new Constitution defeating his nearest rival Miss Fatima Jinnah by a margin of 21,304 votes. Miss Jinnah was supported by a combination of five opposition parties and her defeat signified that there is little hope in Pakistan in near future for the forces of democracy. Ayub Khan was faced by the combined opposition of major political parties and recurrent mass movements of a violent character. Repression is the only cure he has offered to movements with grassroots. On March 23, 1969, following a massive wave of popular upsurge, Ayub Khan handed over power to General Yahya Khan, the Army Chief of Staff, who subsequently declared himself to be the President.

Pakistan at its birth faced numerous problems. Geographically the two parts of Pakistan are separated by more than one thousand miles. The populations of East and West Pakistan differ from each other in respect of language, culture and tradition. The disillusionment among the masses that followed the creation of a Muslim state led to the virtual liquidation of the Muslim League in East Pakistan. There were several parties without any recognized programme and the central government became a centre of intrigues. Lack of stable government at the centre created confusion in the provinces. The need to create a new constitution and machinery of government, the urgent necessity of tackling the refugee problem, the clash with India over Kashmir and the death of two outstanding leaders Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan created immense difficulty for Pakistan.

Added to these problems was the problem of Pakhtoonistan. The turbulent tribesmen living in the border of British India and Afghanistan are in favour of establishing a new state in the region bordering Afghanistan and Pakistan and prefer to call it Pathanistan or Pakhtoonistan. The Durand line of 1892 demarcates the border in the North-West between Pakistan and her North-Western neighbour. Afghanistan has refused to accept this border with Pakistan as final. The relation between the two states has deteriorated due to Pakistan's attempt to suppress Pakhtoonistan movement. The latter idea has been received favourably in Afghanistan which country has received aid from the Soviet Union for her economic development. This, however, did not prevent the Afghan government from receiving aids from U.S.A. and West Germany.

The foreign policy of Pakistan reflects her internal condition. Pakistan's weakness and instability made her inclined towards the West. In the early part of Pakistan's history she looked hopefully towards Britain for support and participated in all Commonwealth Conferences. Pakistan attended the Colombo Plan for economic development. But Pakistan though belonging to the sterling area did not follow Britain in devaluing the currency in 1948, and thereby gained in trade during the boom consequent upon the Korean war. But the ultimate effect was not beneficent upon her trade.

In the early years of independence, in spite of the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan actively participated in the Afro-Asian Conferences and tried to establish friendly relation with Asian and African states. Pakistan recognized Red China in 1949 and for some time supported her claim to the membership of the U.N. Friendly relations were cultivated with Indonesia whose cause against the Dutch was supported by Pakistan in the Delhi Conference of 1949.

Pakistan cultivated friendly relations with the United States and the Soviet Union and followed India's lead in condemning racialism and colonialism. But the animosity felt towards India and the internal disorder and weakness of Pakistan gradually led to shifts in her foreign policy. This shift became marked when Mohammad Ali, Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, became the Prime Minister. In the 'Cold War' Pakistan started taking side, and her choice fell naturally for the Western bloc. Britain and the United States had shown marked favour to Pakistan in her dispute with India over Kashmir. The Western powers were eager to use Pakistan's weakness for turning her into an instrument of Western politics. The policy of non-alignment pursued by India was an obstacle in the eyes of the Western nations to fight communism in South-East Asia.

Pakistan eagerly joined the Western camp and became a member of the SEATO in 1954 and later on of the Baghdad Pact. That Pakistan's spokesmen had become a voice of America became evident in the Bandung Conference of 1955.

But the reason that lay behind Pakistan's eagerness to take military aid from the Pentagon was her fear of India. This phobia against India whether supposed or real had prompted the ruling circles in Pakistan to prop up their anti-democratic regime at home and gain military and economic aid from abroad. When in the context of the Chinese incursion in the Indian border the Western countries specially U.K. and the United States sent arms aid to India, Pakistan became bitter against America and other Western countries. General Ayub declared that there was no longer any fear of a Sino-Indian clash and the American arms would be used by India against Pakistan. The irony of this attitude has been demonstrated in the recent years when Pakistan utilised Western war materials against India.

The relation between Pakistan and the Middle-Eastern countries naturally started cooling down. The countries of the Middle-East specially Egypt under Nasser were violently anti-imperialists. To Pakistan they never looked for support. During the Suez crisis Pakistan fully supported Britain and thus earned opprobrium in the Middle-East. Her support to the Western viewpoint regarding Hungary and other questions led to a deterioration of her relations with the communist countries.

But the Chinese incursion on the Indian border gave Pakistan an opportunity to improve her relations with China. This Sino-Pak entente against India has been cemented by Pakistan's willingness to hand over to China a part of the territory of Pak-occupied Kashmir. It is no longer a secret that Pakistan has enlisted services of some Chinese experts and borrowed Chinese arms to rebuild her shattered army.

It has been the policy of Pakistan to keep alive its dispute with India. Several attempts at solving the border dispute peacefully by India bore no fruit due to Pakistan's intransigence. Thus Pakistan has violated the agreement of 1958 regarding her border with India in Kutch. The Nehru-Noon agreement had apparently disposed of the question of India's frontier with Pakistan in Kutch.[7] But recent events show that Pakistan has treated the Nehru-Noon agreement as also 1960 Indo-Pak agreement as scrape of papers. Pakistan has also utilised every opportunity to start trouble in Kashmir. Thus during

7. See Jawaharlal Nehru—India's Foreign Policy, p. 493.

the 'Hazrat Bal' incident when the sacred hair of the Prophet was stolen from its sanctuary in Kashmir (it was recovered subsequently through the prompt action of the Indian Government), Pakistan tried to foment communal frenzy among the Muslims. Pakistan was also jubilant at the attitude taken by Sheikh Abdullah, the ex-Prime Minister of Kashmir (till 1953) towards the question of Kashmir's future. The Sheikh desired to establish a free Kashmir. His plan would have exactly fitted the scheme of Anglo-American imperialism in Kashmir. In 1953 Bakshi Ghulam Muhammad replaced him as the Premier of Kashmir and the Sheikh was sent to the jail. Bakshi in his turn was himself discharged from Prime Ministership and was sent behind the bars on charges of corruption and the Sheikh was released from the jail by the present Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr. Ghulam Muhammad Saddiq. Sheikh Abdullah, however, has not changed his view on Kashmir and in 1965 he was permitted by India Government to go on pilgrimage to Macca and visit his sons in England. The Sheikh misused this liberty and started airing his views abroad. The Government of India had to cancel his passport. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, eager to discredit India, offered to Sheikh Abdullah a Pakistani passport. But the former has not accepted it. In August, 1965 Pakistan launched an attack across the international border and was completely routed. A cease-fire was imposed in the Indo-Pakistan border by the Security Council resolution adopted on 22 September.

Thus Pakistan's diplomacy is conditioned by enmity towards India. Pakistan seems to be guided by the attitude that 'India's enemy is Pakistan's friend'. Several attempts to settle all disputes with Pakistan amicably have failed so far. The latest example is the failure of the Swaran Singh-Bhutto Conference for settling outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan. The threat held out by Pakistan to India of an all-out war shows the policy-makers of Pakistan are out to create trouble on India's border.[8]

Ayub's ambition to step into the shoes of Nehru by keeping the friendship of Red China and America flows from an antipathy to India. In recent times General Yahya Khan has given a twist to Pakistan's foreign policy. Apart from enmity to India Pakistan has other reasons now to open direct lines to Moscow, Peking and Washington at the same time. Pakistan is eager to play more important role in world politics. Her aim is not only to isolate India, but to snatch India's leadership of the Afro-Asian states.

In the Commonwealth Conference, Pakistan's Foreign Minister

8. The Soviet mediation has resulted in January, 1966 in the Tashkent Declaration. For details see Appendix D.

vainly tried to raise the Kashmir question. The opportunity of Sino-Indian dispute has been fully utilised by the ruling circle in Pakistan to develop the Pindi-Peking Axis. Pakistan's friendship with China has not been looked down with opprobrium by the United States. And the relation between Rawalpindi and Moscow is far more cordial today than it has been few years back. China demonstrated her solidarity with Pakistan by creating trouble on Sino-Indian border while India was engaged in fighting Pakistani aggression.

Thus Pakistan has realized to a great extent its ambition of posing herself as an independent Asian power. But the efforts of Pakistan to play the role of a powerful nation following an independent policy have deceived no one. Economically and geographically she is too weak to assume the responsibility that she is so eager to shoulder. If the present economic and political set-up remains unchanged Pakistan can never hope to be free from Western domination and Western dictates. She can only shine in reflected glory. Pakistan's Foreign Minister Mr. Arshad Hussain stated in the National Assembly on June 6, 1968 that his country was gradually withdrawing from CENTO and SEATO. In the summer of 1968 Pakistan accepted Soviet arms supply and closed the Peshawar base built by the United States. Pakistan's foreign policy described by President Ayub as an exercise in "triangular tight rope walking" is not yielding the results expected from it.

Ceylon. The relation between India and Ceylon goes back to hoary past. The story of Rama's adventure in Lanka to rescue Sita is depicted in the Ramayana. Ceylon came into contact with the West in the sixteenth century and was annexed by the Dutch from the Portuguese in the middle of the seventeenth century. Ceylon became a Crown Colony under the treaty of Amiens in 1802 and achieved Dominion Status in February, 1948. The migration of Indian indentured labourers to Ceylon started in the middle of the nineteenth century and in 1954 their number together with the number of persons who had migrated to Ceylon from India for business and other purposes constituted nearly ten per cent of the total population of Ceylon. This migration is facilitated by the fact of geography. Ceylon is a pearl-shaped island off the Indian coast in the south and is separated from the Indian sub-continent only by a narrow strip of water, the Palk Strait.

After the achievement of independence the United National Party under the leadership of D. S. Senanayake formed the government. Ceylon remained a member of the British Commonwealth and it was in the Conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers at

Colombo in 1950 that the 'Colombo Plan' was conceived. Ceylon established close ties with the West and was the first country to accept the benefit of Western aid under American Technical Assistance programme. In 1953 Sir John Kotelawala became the Prime Minister of Ceylon and established closer relations with the West. He became the spokesman of the West in the Bandung Conference of 1955. In 1956 elections he was defeated by the M.E.P. or People's United Front—a combination of left parties in Ceylon. The New Prime Minister Mr. Bandarnaike was determined to follow a neutralist policy. He pressed Britain to withdraw her military bases from Trincomale and Katunake. Britain agreed to remove these bases to Maldive Islands. In 1959 he was assassinated by a Buddhist monk.

Mrs. Bandarnaike, who assumed the office of Prime Minister in Ceylon after the sad demise of her husband, was the first lady to become the Prime Minister of a country. Her period of office was marked by serious disturbances due to the riots which broke out in the Tamil area. She played an important role in the attempt of the neutral nations to mediate in the Sino-Indian border dispute and took initiative in convening the Colombo Conference of six neutral nations on December 10, 1962. She also undertook the mission of meeting the Prime Ministers of China and India to persuade them to accept the Colombo proposals for peace between India and China.

Mrs. Bandarnaike also strongly resented the pressure exerted by the Western nations to persuade the Ceylonese Government to withdraw the measures of nationalization taken against the American oil companies. Failing to dissuade Ceylon from taking steps to nationalize Esso and Caltex the United States decided to withdraw its promise of economic aid to Ceylon. But this did not affect Ceylon adversely because her policy of nationalization of foreign oil concerns has resulted in the gain of Rupees two crore and twenty lakhs which outstrips the aid promised by the United States. In the elections held in 1965 the People's United Front has been defeated by the United Party.

India's relation with Ceylon has been cordial but the question of the status of persons of Indian origin in Ceylon has caused friction between the two states. The Indian nationals in Ceylon may be broadly divided into three categories. First, there are a number of Tamils who due to their residence in Ceylon for hundreds of years have become Ceylonese nationals. Secondly, there are some Indian businessmen and professionals. Thirdly, the Indian labourers who went to Ceylon to work in plantations. The persons belonging to the

third category and the illicit immigrants from India to Ceylon have caused controversy between the Governments of India and Ceylon. After long negotiations an agreement was finally reached between the two Governments in 1954. This agreement provided for prevention of illicit immigration by the joint efforts of both the governments.

Controversy, however, soon developed upon the interpretation of this agreement. The agreement provided for the preparation of a register of all persons not included in the electoral roll. Ceylon claimed that if the names of persons speaking Indian languages are not found in the register after the lapse of a certain period of time they should be considered as illicit immigrants unless they can give proof to the contrary. This interpretation of the agreement of 1954 has been objected to by the Government of India and has created the problem of stateless people, i.e., people whose citizenship is recognized neither by India nor by Ceylon. Under the Indian and Pakistani Residents Act the Ceylonese Government stipulated the following conditions for granting citizenship to those who applied for it: (a) uninterrupted residence of persons whose wife and children, if any, also possess residential qualifications; (b) financial stability; (c) persons who are free from disability or incapacity of any kind; and (d) clearly understand the statutory consequence of registration. The third provision was directed to those who had married more than once and the fourth was meant to make it clear that in the event of registration as a citizen of Ceylon one should renounce the rights and political status he enjoyed previously.

As a natural consequence of the act many persons found themselves as stateless. This resulted in charges and counter-charges between India and Ceylon. On October 31, 1963 Ceylonese Prime Minister Mrs. Bandarnaike signed an agreement with India to solve this problem. According to this agreement India gave her consent to take back 5,25,000 people of Indian origin from Ceylon by granting them Indian citizenship in a phased way spread over 15 years. Ceylon in her turn agreed to grant citizenship to 3,00,000 stateless persons. But this leaves alone the question of 1,50,000 persons and it was agreed to by both the governments that the matter should be taken up early in 1965. Shortly after the signing of this agreement the Ministry of Mrs. Bandarnaike was defeated in the election. In November 1968 Mr. Dudley Senanayke, Ceylon's Prime Minister, visited India. The two countries agreed to settle their differences in a spirit of co-operation. But the issue of Kachchativu, a small island formerly under Raja of Ramnad, which had become a bone of contention between India and Ceylon, was side-stepped in the joint com-

munique issued after the visit of the Ceylonese Premier on December 4. The communique also reviewed the Indo-Ceylonese agreement of 1964 and stated that the question of its implementation has been dealt with satisfactorily. The communique also set the seal on proposals for closer co-operation between the tea industries of both the countries. Ceylon has relaxed its currency regulations for repatriots who can now take out assets worth Rs. 75,000. There is already an Indo-Ceylon Committee on tea to concert policy towards export markets as well as other producers. On January 28, 1969 Ceylon signed a barter trade agreement to exchange goods worth Rs. 7.6 million each way.

SUMMARY

Indian foreign policy is the product of her geographical situation and economic development. The objective of Indian foreign policy is to achieve the vital national interest of India. But still there are certain principles on the basis of which Indian foreign policy is guided. These are anti-colonialism, anti-racialism, co-existence, non-alignment and peace.

Among the guiding principles of Indian foreign policy mention must be made of the 'Panchsheel' which consists of the following: (a) Mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty; (b) Non-aggression; (c) Non-interference in internal affairs; (d) Equality and mutual benefit; and (e) Peaceful co-existence.

India's anti-colonialism and anti-racialism has prompted her to protest against the policy of racial separation followed by South Africa and Rhodesia. India called a Conference at Delhi of fifteen nations to protest against Dutch attempt at neo-colonialism in Indonesia. In and outside the United Nations India protested against colonialism and racialism. But with regard to Malaya India supported the British viewpoint, as against the terrorist, because India is interested in the Malayan Dollar pie. Though India retained her membership of the Commonwealth yet in her external relations she maintained friendship with both the camps. During the Korean war she at first agreed with the West about North Korean aggression which made her unpopular with the Communist world. But presently she took quite an independent view of the situation and warned the United States about the possibility of Red China's intervention in case the U.N. forces proceeded beyond the 38th parallel. By 1951 it became evident that India is a new type of power. India's resolution on 'Prisoners of War' issue was supported by the Afro-Asian countries and her efforts at mediation were to a certain extent crowned with success. In the Geneva Conference on Indo-China India played the role of a mediator and was elected to serve as a member of the International Control Commission.

India gave wholehearted support to the post-World War II liberation movement in the Asian and African continent. The latest example of India's stand is her decision to sever diplomatic connection with Ian Smith's government in Rhodesia. India had extended support to the struggle for independence in Morocco and Tunisia. In the Bandung Conference

of 1955 India together with Afro-Asian countries declared before the world that resurgent Afro-Asian countries would no longer tolerate imperialism. Inside and outside the United Nations India established close co-operation with Afro-Asian States. The invasion of Suez in 1956 drew vehement protest from India and earned for her the gratitude of U.A.R. and Middle-Eastern countries. With the countries of South-East Asia and Middle-East India's relation is extremely cordial. During the June War India supported the Arab cause although Mrs. Gandhi made it clear that India never desires the destruction of Israel. India also demanded the pulling out of interventionist army from the Czech soil.; But she abstained from voting in the Security Council resolution condemning Russia.

India has also become friendly towards U.S.S.R specially after Stalin. Khrushchev's policy of co-existence earned for Russia immense popularity in India. During the Chinese incursion on India's border in 1962 Russia did not withdraw the aid to India. Russia gave full support to India on the question of her right over Kashmir. During the last ten years Indo-Soviet economic co-operation has produced fruitful results. Among the nearly 66 projects planned with Soviet co-operation the most outstanding example is the Bhilai Steel Project. The Soviet Union has also agreed to help India produce 'Mig Fighter Planes.' Russia warned China when she served ultimatum on India during recent Indo-Pakistan conflict. In India Soviet decision in 1968 to supply arms to Pakistan has caused anxiety.

While establishing cordiality with Russia India did not fail to maintain friendly relation with the United States. The United States under its technical aid programme decided to help India's economic development. The United States financial help to India has amounted to nearly $4 billion up to 1961. The policy-makers of the United States, however, did not approve India's policy of non-alignment. Therefore, the United States boosted up Pakistan's military strength so that the latter may act as a deterrent upon India. On the Kashmir and Goa issues the United States definitely used her influence against India's interest. But during the Chinese invasion the United States aided India in building up her defence. India's relation with the United States has again cooled down due to the protest lodged by India against the use of gas by the United States in Vietnam. President Johnson's decision to postpone the visit of India's Prime Minister Late Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri in the United States is a proof of American dislike of India's policy. Indian public opinion has resented the American decision. Another glaring proof of the American game to utilise Pakistan against India is the use of American arms by the Pak army against India. But at the same time the United States has promised aid to India to tide over her food crisis.

India's relation with China goes back to hoary past. India recognized the Communist regime in China in 1949 and pleaded for the inclusion of the latter as member of the U.N. This cordiality was further cemented at Bandung and by the Indo-Chinese treaty of friendship in 1954. The Chinese occupation of Tibet and the Chinese infiltration in India's border (between 1955 to 1962 China violated India's border at least at 30 points) resulted in tension between the two countries. Sino-Indian differences on border issue resulted in a Sino-Indian conflict on October 20, 1962. One

of the objectives of Chinese incursion was to demonstrate to the world India's close link with the West. It failed to bring response among neutral nations. On December 10, 1962, Mrs. Bandarnaike, the Ceylonese Premier, called a Conference of six neutral nations (Burma, Indonesia, Cambodia, U.A.R., Ceylon, Ghana) to mediate in Sino-Indian dispute at Colombo. The Colombo proposals were accepted by the Government of India but the Chinese stand on these proposals remained equivocal. Meanwhile hostilities on the border have ceased due to the unilateral decision of China whose forces are still maintaining hold over a part of Indian territory.

Sina-Indian conflict offered an opportunity to Pakistan to cement an alliance with Red China. Pakistan, a member of the SEATO and CENTO, became intimate with China to which country she has handed over a part of Pak-occupied Indian territory in Kashmir. The West has taken a liberal view of this strange alliance.

Indo-Pak Relation. Indo-Pak relation has been conditioned by the fact of partition. The riots following partition deprived millions of their hearth and home and burdened both the states with the problem of refugee rehabilitation. The clash over Kashmir immediately after independence added to the bitterness already generated by partition problems. Following the raid of armed tribesmen in Kashmir from Pak territory in September, 1947, Kashmir acceded to India and asked for protection against the raiders. Indian troops relieved Kashmir of the raiders who were aided by regular Pakistan troops. This was an act of hostility to India. India appealed to the United Nations and agreed to a cease-fire in accordance with the U.N. resolution. Since then the Kashmir question has been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan. The West has generally rendered support to Pakistan and it required a Soviet veto in the Security Council to prevent the Western plan of intervening in Kashmir under the pretext of sending U.N. peace force in Kashmir. India has rightly refused to accept plebiscite in Kashmir on the ground that unless Pak forces are withdrawn from Pak-occupied Kashmir the question of holding a plebiscite does not arise at all. Moreover Pakistan's membership of the Western military alliance and her friendship with China has resulted in a changed circumstance. Moreover India in her letter of acceptance of Maharaja Hari Singh's application for accession did not mention plebiscite but stated that Kashmir's fate should be decided by its people. The elected representatives of Kashmir expressed their willingness to remain in the Indian Union through their elected representatives in the Constituent Assembly. The defection of Sheikh Abdullah who was replaced by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed in Premiership in 1953 introduced a new complication in Kashmir of which Pakistan has tried to take full advantage. (Pakistan even offered passport to Abdullah in 1965 when the Government of India recalled him for his anti-Indian activities abroad). Since then Bakshi has been replaced by Sadiq. Another opportunity of which Pakistan availed itself was the Hazratbal incident. All these events together with the recent war waged by Pakistan against India flows from her inordinate desire to grab Kashmir from India.

Apart from the Kashmir issue India's relation with Pakistan has deteriorated due to occasional border clashes. India's border with Pakistan

may be divided into three categories, viz., the undisputed international frontier, the frontier as defined by the Redcliffe award and subsequently by Mr. Justice Bagge, and lastly Jammu and Kashmir cease-fire line. Attempts at peaceful solution of the border problems through different pacts such as Nehru-Noon pact and the 1960 Indo-Pak agreement have failed in their objective due to Pakistan's intransigence. Pak claim on India's frontier has led her to stage a full-scale attack in the Kutch area in August, 1965 and later in the same year on Kashmir and other parts of India. The Kutch issue was referrred to an International Tribunal which awarded (19-2-1968) Pakistan 300 square miles of Rann of Kutch it was claiming from India. Ninety per cent of the disputed territory was, however, declared to be Indian. In the Indo-Pak dispute of 1965 the Security Council imposed a cease-fire on both the parties and asked them to return to August 5 position on September 22. In an attempt to mediate in the Indo-Pak dispute U.S.S.R. invited India and Pakistan to a meeting at Tashkent in January, 1966. It resulted in the famous Tashkent declaration in which both the parties agreed to settle their disputes through peaceful methods. To translate the Tashkent spirit into practice India's Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi offered a no war pact (15-8-1968) and proposal for setting up joint machinery to examine all the disputes with Pakistan (1-1-1969). Such machinery would be in consonance with the Tashkent declaration. These proposals have been well received in Pakistan.

In foreign policy India under her guidance has discarded the 'big brother' attitude. Mrs. Gandhi's offer of ending Sino-Indian dispute has evoked unsympathetic comments from Peking. But in South-East Asian countries, where the British decision to withdraw from all bases east of Suez, except Hongkong, has created a power vacuum (on June 2, Mrs. Gandhi said that no external power need replace Britain in S.-Asia), and among other small powers, her policy has been viewed favourably.

Pakistan's Foreign Policy. From her birth Pakistan has faced various problems including the lack of stable government and the failure to solve internal economic problem. The two parts of Pakistan are separated from each other not merely by geography, but also in point of culture, language and tradition. The death of its founding father Mr. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and subsequently the assassination of his able lieutenant Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan was a blow to the new state. From 1947 to 1956 Pakistan was ruled by a Constituent Assembly. The Assembly itself was dissolved by Ghulam Muhammad, the Governor-General, and a new Constituent Assembly adopted a Constitution after re-election in 1956. Pakistan declared itself to be an Islamic Republic. In 1958 Iskandar Mirza, who had succeeded Ghulam Muhammad as Governor-General, assumed all power by a declaration. Soon he was removed from power by General Ayub Khan and Pakistan went under military rule. Field Marshal Ayub Khan had granted a new constitution of limited democracy to Pakistan in 1962. Under the new constitution Ayub Khan had been elected President of Pakistan. In March, 1969 Yahya Khan replaced Ayub Khan as President.

In the early years of its existence, in spite of the Kashmir dispute, Pakistan followed India's lead in supporting anti-colonialism and protested against Dutch attempt to regain Indonesia. Soon, however, under the

Ministry of Mr. Muhammad Ali, formerly Pakistan's Ambassador to the United States, Pakistan joined the Western military bloc. From 1954 onward, Pakistan received heavy military aid from the Pentagon the total amount of which in terms of money has exceeded 1,200 crores of rupees so far. As a member of the SEATO and CENTO Pakistan represented Western point of view in the Bandung Conference. Pakistan closed U.S.A. base at Peshawar in 1968. On June 6, Arshad Hussain, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, declared that his country was gradually withdrawing from CENTO and SEATO.

Pakistan has been backed by the West as a counterpoise to India's neutralism. During the Chinese invasion Pakistan gained an opportunity of re-establishing its line with Peking. Nor is Pakistan slow in its attempt to re-establish relations with Moscow and the Soviet Union has agreed to supply arms to Pakistan. The West has taken a liberal view of Pakistan's filirtation with both the camps in the Cold War.

Field Marshal Ayub Khan had the ambition of becoming the leader of Afro-Asian nations. The policy pursued by Pakistan apparently has earned for her the friendship of Red China and the United States at the same time. Pakistan is prompted to this policy to isolate India. But the United States has too much stake in India. To lose India permanently to gain dubious Pakistani alliance would mean for U.S.A. a set-back in Asian politics. The rise of Communist China has made it urgently necessary to strengthen India. The Indo-Soviet friendship has stood the test of Chinese aggression. It is difficult to predict whether Pindi-Peking friendship would stand the test of time.

Ceylon. Ceylon which is separated from India in the South by the Strait of Palk achieved independence in 1948 and remained a member of the Commonwealth. The government of Ceylon at that time was formed by the United Party under D.S. Senanayake. After his unfortunate death in an accident Sir John Katelewala formed the Cabinet. He was a pro-Western statesman and represented the Western viewpoint in the Bandung Conference. In 1956 the People United Front—a combination of left parties led by Mr. Bandarnaike—defeated Kotelewala's party. The new Prime Minister, Mr. Bandarnaike persuaded Britain to give up naval and air bases in Ceylon. In 1959 the Prime Minister was assassinated by a Buddhist monk. He was replaced by Mrs. Bandarnaike—the first lady ever to become the Prime Minister of a country. Mrs. Bandarnaike's efforts to mediate in the Sino-Indian dispute were praiseworthy. Ceylon during her regime nationalized Caltex and Esso Companies in spite of U.S. threat to withdraw all aid to Ceylon. In recent election Mrs. Bandarnaike's party failed to gain majority and Mr. Dudley Senanayke of the United Party has formed the ministry.

Ceylon's relation with India was strained on the question of Indian immigrants to Ceylon. The problem mainly concerned the Tamil workers of plantations and factories. In 1954 an agreement was signed between the two countries and both the governments agreed to check illegal immigrants. The Ceylonese act regarding the question of granting citizenship to Indians and Pakistanis created the problem of Stateless people. In 1964 Mrs. Bandarnaike signed an agreement with the Government of India which proposed to solve the problem. In November, 1968 Cey-

lon's Prime Minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake visited India. But the issue of Kachchativu, a small island formerly under Raja of Ramnad, which had become a bone of contention between India and Ceylon, was side stepped in the joint communique issued on December 4. The communique also reviewed the Indo-Ceylonese agreement of 1964 and stated that the question of its implementation has been dealt with satisfactorily. The communique also set the seal on proposals for closer co-operation between the tea industries of both the countries.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. Bains, J.S. : India's International Disputes.
2. Brown, W.N. : The United States and India and Pakistan.
3. Chakravarti, P.C. : India-China Relations.
4. Dutt, V.P. : China's Foreign Policy.
5. Dutt, R.P. : India Today and Tomorrow.
6. Dutt, R.P. : Crisis of British Empire.
7. Gupta, Karunakar : Indian Foreign Policy.
8. Karunakaran, K.P. : India in World Affairs.
9. Natarajan, L. : The American Shadow Over India.
10. Nehru, Jawaharlal : India's Foreign Policy.
11. Nehru, Jawaharlal : The Discovery of India.
12. Pannikar, K. M. : Asia and Western Dominance.
13. Pannikar, K. M. : India and the Indian Ocean.
14. Poplai, S. L. : Asia and Africa in the Modern World.

Chapter 24

Disarmament

Ever since the dawn of history man has been producing armaments to protect himself from the attack either of the animals or the fellow human beings. Today man has to think differently for the survival and preservation of the civilization—the legacy of many many hundred years of human labour. The quest for peace and security of mankind baffles best of human endeavours. This involves, directly or indirectly but definitely, the question of disarmament. The last two wars brought home to many the horrors of war. And it is said that the last two wars were nothing compared to what the next one is likely to be. The horrors and devastations in the last war, the invention of Atom, Hydrogen and very recently of Megaton Bombs have shaken the very foundation of human civilization. The production of huge destructive armaments by different countries, the ideological conflict and political rivalry, has been the cause of mutual jealousy and distrust, leading to the feeling of gross insecurity. The general feeling has been that the answer to all this lies in the Disarmament. Thus the question of Disarmament has assumed a vital and cardinal problem today.

The term disarmament is used in a general sense. According to Charles P. Schleicher—"The immediate goal of most international efforts at disarmament is agreement, at least among the principal powers, that states will not maintain armaments and armed forces beyond certain levels, and usually that some types of weapons will be abolished or entrusted to an international authority".

Need for the Disarmament. Ardent advocates of disarmament argue in favour of it on several grounds. Of all the arguments, the most important and pertinent one is the economic waste in fantastic amount raising it in some countries to millions and billions. It is

really an irony of fate that when millions of people in some underdeveloped countries perish of hunger, advanced countries are wasting so much of national wealth and energy on the production of armaments. This will be clear from a speech delivered by the American President Eisenhower on April 16, 1953 when he said: "...Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who are hungry and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its labourers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children". The expenditure on battleships and planes may profitably be spent for building hospitals or increasing food production or factories. The total expenditure on armaments is equivalent to half the total income of all the underdeveloped countries. Secondly, besides the question of wasteful expenditure on the production of armaments and its sale to different countries, armament itself is definitely a cause of war. Thirdly, the feeling of insecurity, the mutual jealousy and rivalry generated thereby, causing mutual distrust and fear in the mind of the people, make the situation so tense that countries sometimes are involved in unnecessary armed conflict. A single wrong decision of a commander in the different military bases constructed by the super-powers may lead to the destruction of the World.

When such strong arguments are there in favour of disarmament it might seem queer why disarmament has not been accomplished so far. It will be actually an over-simplification of the whole thing if we approach the problem from such an angle. "The problem of disarmament is not thus, merely a problem of liquidation of armaments but it is a problem of organising the world community and removing distrust and suspicion from the mind of men".

Earlier attempts at Disarmament. The idea of disarmament is not of a very early origin. Attempts had been, first, made for disarmament in the nineteenth century. The question of disarmament in the form of restriction on the use of poisonous gas, bacteriological warfare, etc., has been raised in the Hague Conferences at the end of the last and the beginning of the present century. But no significant advance could be made. The proposals received their death warrant on the Conference table.

More serious and concrete attempts have been made since the Versailles settlement. The establishment and formation of the League of Nations with its headquarter at Geneva was made "in order to promote international co-operation to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war".

Disarmament under the League. Numerous attempts took place during the period 1919-1939 under the League and even outside the League. A treaty was signed on Control of Traffic in Arms in St. Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919 and it had been linked up with the general principles of the Control of Armaments of the League Covenant. The Permanent Advisory Commission of the League, established in 1920 was replaced by the Temporary Mixed Commission in the following year because the advice of the Permanent Commission had been found inadequate. The Temporary Mixed Commission, consisting of twenty experts, was authorised to try to "consider all aspects of the disarmament problem" and "to provide the basis for disarmament rather than working out proposals for it". This Mixed Commission tabled four proposals none of which was accepted because of the lukewarm attitude shown by different powers participating in the deliberations. Thus the attempts made by these two Commissions for disarmament failed. In 1924 the Mixed Commission was abolished.

Disarmament negotiations were resumed only after the signing of the Locarno treaties in 1925. According to the recommendations of the Council, the Preparatory Commission for the disarmament conference, consisting of selected League members, was established. The representatives of Germany, the Soviet Union and the United States were invited to become members of the Commission. The Preparatory Commission explored the whole subject in a series of six long sessions between 1926 and 1930. Meanwhile in 1927 the Soviet delegate M. Litvinov proposed for total disarmament. This was a sudden surprise for the members but none responded favourably to this proposal. Though the members of the Preparatory Commission could not come to an agreed agenda, yet the convening of the Conference was accepted by all.

The World Disarmament Conference met at last on February 2, 1932 with sixty-one members. The Conference considered proposals and reports. But no agreement could be reached, for no country was prepared to consider the question with an open mind and from the wider international point of view. The selfish attitude of nearly all countries placed great difficulties in the way of any agreement. Each country was busy trying to secure as much technical and political advantage as possible in future. Of nearly 337 proposals made, three of the most important were put forward by France, the United States of America and Soviet Russia respectively. "France, with past memories of German aggression, has always laid stress on 'security'—that is some arrangement which would make aggression

difficult, if not impossible". She proposed that an International Police Force should be constituted under the League of Nations which could be used against the aggressor. The air forces of all the countries were to be put under the League. This suggestion was rejected on the ground that, it would virtually be the domination of the 'Big Power' in the League, especially of France. The U.S. proposal was to abolish certain weapons and to reduce others by a third. Russia proposed that there should be a general reduction of armaments by 50 per cent in different stages. But Britain rejected these proposals, because she argued, she could not reduce her forces, as these were meant for police purposes only. German demand for equality with the other powers aggravated the situation and this was agreed to in principle in 1932. But the German proposals before the Disarmament Conference were rejected and in October, 1933 Germany walked out of the Conference and also resigned from the League of Nations. Various attempts were made to end the deadlock but all of them met with failure. Thus, though the first World Disarmament Conference came to an end in a fiasco, yet it secured certain principles which must be mentioned. Firstly, the Conference banned the use of poisoned gas and chemical warfare. Secondly, it was decided that a Permanent Disarmament Commission was to be established to supervise the reduction of arms in general. The Conference also passed resolutions to the effect that supervision must be established over private and public production of armaments. Thus, one thing has been made clear that without international control and supervision 'Disarmament' is impossible to be accomplished.

Disarmament outside the League. We have seen in the discussion above that the question of security and disarmament are interwoven. One cannot be accomplished without the other. The failure of the Disarmament Conference under the League did not put an end to the attempt at Disarmament. The vigorous and desperate search for a solution to the disarmament problem led representatives of the different countries to take part in different conferences and negotiations. The French quest for peace and security from further German aggression had impelled her to sign the Locarno Pact in 1925. This treaty was the expression of an attempt to find a breathing space from the annihilation and devastation of another conflagration. The Little Entente signed between Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and France was an attempt to secure the peace of the Balkan region. In the Balkan Entente we come across yet another attempt to secure the peace of the region. Numerous other attempts were made in the Saadabad Pact, the Baltic Pact, etc., to ensure the security of Europe.

Of all the attempts at disarmament made outside the League, the most important was the Washington Conference of 1921-22. After long deliberations among the representatives of the Conference a treaty was ultimately signed between Great Britain, U.S.A., France, Japan and Italy—which is more famous as the Five Power Treaty. It was agreed, in the treaty, that the U.S.A. and Great Britain would have equal naval power; Japan was to have 60 per cent what the U.S.A. or Great Britain was to have; France and Italy could maintain 35 per cent of the United States or the British strength. These agreements were made only in case of general naval strength. But no agreement could be reached on Cruisers, Submarines, Destroyers and Aircrafts. The Washington Conference may be said to have made an important progress in the early stage of disarmament. The importance of this Conference lay not so much in its achievements but to a great extent to the attitude that the Conference had displayed.

The next attempt outside the League was made when in 1925 the Convention for the supervision of the International Trade in Arms, Ammunitions and Implements of war, was organised. The Convention passed certain resolutions regarding the use of certain types of weapons. In future the use of 'Poisoned Gas' and chemical and bacteriological warfare were prohibited. The Naval Conference consisting of the Naval experts in Geneva in 1927 could not make much headway regarding the reduction of navy of different countries. It practically ended without accomplishing anything. In 1930 the Naval experts assembled again in London in a meeting which is known in history as the London Naval Conference of 1930. In this Conference Great Britain and the United States of America agreed to have equality in Cruisers. It was further agreed that Japan would have half the strength of U.S.A. or Great Britain in case of Cruisers. Regarding Submarines all agreed, in principle, to maintain equilibrium. The most important clause that this Conference accepted is known as the Escalator clause. According to this clause it was agreed that in case of any deterioration in situation any participant to this Conference would have the right to rearmament. The significance and importance of this Conference lies in the implication of this clause wherein lay the germ of its failure. The failure of the Disarmament Conference of 1932 and the rearmament by Germany contrary to the statutory binding on it by the Versailles Treaty of 1919 made the success of Disarmament a remotest possibility. The Anglo-German Naval agreement of 1935 which allowed Germany to have 35 per cent of naval strength to that of Great Britain, had intensified the

situation. The immediate sequel to this dual agreement was the London Naval Conference in the same year. Great Britain, France and the United States of America concluded an agreement by which they agreed to reduce their naval power. But like the London Conference of 1930 the adoption of an Escalator clause resulted in its ultimate failure. Italy and Japan refused to sign the agreement. The terms of the Washington Conference came to an end in 1936 and from the very next year no important attempt at disarmament was made till the close of the World War II. The peculiar situation arising out of the feeling of insecurity among different powers of Europe due to the rise of Nazism impelled almost all the countries to make preparation for another show of strength between them. All attempts made during the inter-war period beginning with the foundation of the League of Nations proved to be abortive.

Disarmament and the United Nations. With the rise of Nazism and Fascism in Germany and Italy respectively dark clouds hovered over the European continent. It burst into thunder and lightning and made the whole Europe ablaze with all its fury. In the Far-East the situation was no better. Japan was making every effort to wrest the whole of Far-East from the domination of Europe and America. Japan tried to oust the Americans in her bid for the establishment of mastery in the Pacific Ocean. This resulted in the wanton attack on Pearl Harbour on December 7, 1941. "The United States of America had clung to isolationism, in spite of her evident sympathy with England, France and China, and their hatred of Nazism and Japanese militarism. It was Pearl Harbour that flung them headlong into war". The whole globe, thus, was in a turmoil. For nearly six years the whole world was torn by attacks and counter-attacks. The fantastic loss in men and materials is yet to be assessed. To expedite the surrender of Japan the United States dropped atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the result was that the two Japanese cities were wiped out of this earth within a few hours with all their living creatures. The dread of thermo-nuclear war has induced people to reconsider the disarmament issue. But, there, "the problem of disarmament is not merely a problem of liquidation of armaments but it is a problem of organising the world community and removing distrust and suspicion from the mind of men". The political and even ideological differences present insurmountable difficulty in making any definite bid to solve the problem of disarmament. Opinion was fast growing all over the globe against war as a means to settle disputes. John F. Kennedy, the late President of the United States, in his address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on

September 25, 1961 at U.N. Headquarters, New York, said, "For a nuclear disaster, spread by winds and waters and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war—or war will put an end to mankind". The "foul winds of war" must be tamed in time and the cooling winds of reason must be freed. Because, "every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of threads, capable of being cut at any moment by accident or miscalculation or by madness. The weapons of war must be abolished before they abolish us. There are existence of modern weapons—ten million times more powerful than anything the world has ever seen, and only minutes away from any target on earth—is a source of horror, and discord and distrust." Attempts are, thus, made in the United Nations Assembly and outside it to put an end to the dumping of 'mountains of arms' by making the world free from the terrors of mass destruction.

Disarmament has, thus, posed an important and pertinent question—either to 'save our planet or to perish in its flames.' The signatories of the United Nations Charter solemnly declared that the U.N. was created "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

The first attempt at disarmament after the Second World War was made when the five permanent members of the Security Council and Canada presented a resolution to the General Assembly for the establishment of an International Agency for the control and regulation of atomic energy. The Security Council was asked to establish the Atomic Energy Commission consisting of representatives of the Security Council, plus Canada when it was not a Council member. The Commission was to draft plans for submission to the Council. Those plans were to provide for: (1) the control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to ensure its use for peaceful purposes only; (2) elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other weapons adaptable to mass destruction; (3) effective safeguards through inspection and other means to protect states against violation and evasions". The Atomic Energy Commission assembled for its first session on June 14, 1946. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union proposed for an outright renunciation of the manufacture and use of all atomic weapons. But, the first serious attempt to control atomic weapons was made in 1946 by the United States in the presentation of the Baruch Plan. Its main suggestion was the creation of an international agency to be called International Atomic Development Authority for the control and

regulation of the use of nuclear power. This body was to be set up under the United Nations. This proposal was rejected by the Soviet Union because of the suspicion aroused by the terms in the proposal. No use of veto power was to be made in this body. The Soviet apprehension was that the International Atomic Development Authority would be a body dominated by the United States and not an authority in which any one else could have a just and effective share. The Soviet Union accepted the principle of inspection provided it did not interfere with the domestic affairs of a state. The Atomic Energy Commission reported (April 5, 1948) that the Soviet proposal for limited control was inadequate. In 1947 the United Nations Organization appointed a Commission for control of Conventional weapons. The Soviet Union opposed it on the ground that so long as the United States continues to enjoy an atomic monopoly such controls are useless.

A Change in the Situation. On September 23, 1949 the Soviet Union exploded Atomic Bomb and this introduced a change in the whole situation. This was followed by the explosion of Hydrogen Bomb by the United States and a few months later by the Soviet Union. Inside the U.N. the pressure exerted by the neutral nations mostly of Afro-Asian countries for disarmament contributed towards creating a favourable atmosphere for disarmament. In this context came the Acheson plan for international supervision of atomic bombs. It was rejected by the U.S.S.R. In 1952 the U.N. created a single Disarmament Commission. In 1953 President Eisenhower placed before the U.N. his plan for utilising Atoms for peace. Later on John Foster Dulles explained that the aim of his proposal was to create an International Atomic Energy Agency. This Agency would be authorized to carry on experiments for the use of Atomic energy for peaceful developments. As the proposal contained no provision to ban the explosion of 'A' bomb the U.S.S.R. rejected it.

The discussions on disarmament now took place in the Five Power Sub-Committee (including Canada, France, U.S.S.R., U.K. and U.S.) of the Disarmament Commission. These discussions gave rise to the hope of an agreement and on May 10, 1955 the Soviet delegate made major concessions to the Western point of view. Next month the sub-committee met again after the Geneva Summit. But the West now retreated from its position and urged only partial disarmament. In 1956 an Anglo-French plan of 3 stage disarmament failed to receive the support of the U.S.S.R. On June 14, 1957 the Soviet Union proposed an immediate cessation of nuclear test. In response to this porposal the Western countries demanded that there

should be a cessation of production of fissionable material. Though on the face of it this proposal looked innocent enough yet the real aim of this suggestion was to keep the United States ahead of the Soviet Union in Atomic power, because the proposal declared that the United States should be allowed to keep a substantial part of its nuclear stock. In 1958 the Soviet Union took unilateral decision to terminate the test of 'A' and 'H' Bomb. The Geneva disarmament talks between 1958 to 1960 was done outside the U.N. and was the outcome of negotiations between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khruschev. Agreement reached on several points by experts led to a three nation (Britain, Russia and the United States) Test Ban Committee. This Committee agreed on the establishment of a control organ consisting of permanent representatives of U.S.A. U.S.S.R. and Britain and four other non-permanent members. But the plan did not materialise due to the strained relations between the two super-powers in 1960.

Ten Nation Committee. The prospects of disarmament now depended upon the neutral nations. The United Nations Atomic Commission was revived due to the insistence of India and other neutral nations. In 1960 the United States temporarily postponed the 'A' Bomb test. The hopes for an agreement on disarmament, aside from atomic tests, seemed to have been revived by the formation of a Ten Nation Committee convened at Geneva on March 15, 1960. This Ten Nation Committee was composed of representatives of Canada, France, Italy, Great Britain, the United States, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania and the Soviet Union. The agenda of this Committee was set by the speech of Khruschev on September 8, 1959 before the General Assembly. Khruschev in his speech proposed that "over a period of four years, all states should carry out complete disarmament and should divest themselves of the means of waging war". In the conference itself both the sides presented comprehensive proposals. The Soviet proposal included withdrawal of all troops from their foreign bases. The fate of the Conference depended much on the result of the Summit Conference of 1960. The unfortunate incident of the U-2 spy flight inside U.S.S.R. destroyed the Summit of 1960 and the negotiations collapsed on June 27, 1960.

The Soviet Union declared its intention to place disarmament issue before the fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly (1960). In the meanwhile the United States and the Soviet Union had agreed to resume talks. But the failure of the Ten Nation Committee had led to the resumption of 'A' bomb test. The Belgrade conference of the neutral nations requested leaders of both the blocs

in the 'cold war' to stop the test. In December, 1961 due to an agreement reached on several points by both the sides in the cold war, a new Eighteen Nation Committee was formed. This Committee consisted of representatives of the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Italy, Canada, Brazil, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, Burma, U.A.R., the U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. The character of this Committee differed radically from the Ten Nation Committee because it consisted of the representatives not only of both the camps in the 'Cold War' but also of the neutral nations specially the Afro-Asian States. It reflects the pressure exacted by them Afro-Asian States in reducing the armament race among the members of the power blocs. This Eighteen Nation Committee, however, did not achieve the desired agreement on disarmament in its session in March, 1962. In June, 1968 an agreed draft of the 18-Nation Committee on a nuclear non-proliferation treaty was submitted to the U.N. Political Committee and was approved by that body on June 11, 1968.

Nuclear Test Ban. But a resounding victory for the cause of disarmament was achieved outside the United Nations when the nuclear test ban agreement was signed at Moscow on August 5, 1963. The implications of this agreement have been described in the address to the nation by President Kennedy broadcast and televisioned from his office in the White House, Washington, D.C.—"It will not reduce", said President Kennedy, "our need for arms and allies or programmes of assistance to others. But it is an important first step—a step toward peace—a step toward reason—a step away from war". This nuclear test ban agreement, however, is a limited treaty which permits underground testing or atmospheric test. It is not a victory of either side in the cold war but a mere recognition of the dangers in further testing. But even this limited test ban was not accepted by Peking and Paris. Since then China has acquired 'Atom Bomb' and this has introduced a new factor in Asian politics. India has refused to carry out experiments in manufacturing 'A' Bomb in her intense desire to reduce world tension.

The danger of an Atomic exchange is very real today. A war in future would not be like any other war. A full-scale nuclear exchange lasting for an hour would mean an 'atomic suicide' for the world. It would mean an unprecedented destruction of all that mankind has lived for and in such a war, if it ever takes place, "the survivors would envy the dead".

Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty. The Treaty on the Non-proliferation which was opened for signature in Moscow, Washington

and London—on July 1, 1968 is a notable landmark on the way to limitation of the arms race and the creation of a favourable climate for progress in disarmament. Under the treaty which was approved by the General Assembly's 124-nation Main Political Committee by an overwhelming majority of U.N. members, was signed by more than 60 within days of being opened for signature. The vote was 92 to 4 and abstentions 22. A number of the so-called threshold countries—states with an acknowledged potential for the development of nuclear weapons—were among the abstainers. Argentina, Brazil and India are in this category—South Africa and Sweden which are 'threshold' States voted for the resolution. Among the more important abstainers were China and France which will not adhere to or be bound by the treaty. The negative votes were cast by Albania, Cuba, Tanzania and Zambia.

The treaty stipulates that States not possessing nuclear weapons must undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire such weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. Verification of the fulfilment of the commitment is vested in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The treaty stipulates that the non-nuclear weapon States shall conclude agreements with the Agency, placing all of their peaceful nuclear activities under its control. The Agency's inspectors have the right not only to examine all documentation relating to controlled nuclear installations and materials but also to carry out on the spot inspections in the countries that have accepted the Agency's safeguards, and in some cases even to be permanently stationed in their territory. The Board of Governors of the Agency consists of the representatives of 25 members countries with the most advanced countries in the sphere of nuclear science holding permanent seats. It is also stipulated in the treaty that all future amendments are subject to approval by the signatories which are also members of the Agency's Board of Governors. "Proliferation, of nuclear weapons, it is argued, would enhance the danger of a nuclear war. But the same can be said about non-proliferation with equal, if not more emphasis". The treaty will generate new strains in the relations between Big powers and some of the non-aligned nations. The safeguards provisions are meant primarily to ensure that nuclear resources and facilities in countries which do not possess the bomb are not diverted to clandestine military uses. The treaty notes the responsibility of the weapon making countries for negotiations aimed at ending the arms race but there is no specific obligation for halting what has come to be known as vertical proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Criticism. China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi condemned the treaty as an "out and out unequal treaty", a tactics of "power-politics being played by big nations" and a "serious plot" all calculated to protect "Big Power's nuclear monopoly". Although it may be argued that the statement was intended to camouflage the Chinese intention to enter the nuclear arms race by manufacturing 'A' and 'H' bomb yet there is some element of blunt truth in the words of the Chinese leader. The Treaty has given the nuclear powers the surest way to blackmail. Non-proliferation without nuclear disarmament would help technologically advanced nations to fight others under far more favourable conditions. Mr. B. N. Chakravarti, formerly India's representative at the United Nations, points out—"Non-proliferation is not an end in itself but only a collateral measure like a nuclear test ban. By itself it does not solve the larger problem of nuclear disarmament to be followed by general and complete disarmament". Even if the United States, U.K. and U.S.S.R. desire seriously to limit their nuclear arms, communist China and France would be left free to perfect and expand their nuclear weapons. It would result in fresh race for nuclear weapons on the part of the former powers. Yet the apologists for non-proliferation treaty see the danger to international peace in the reluctance of 'threshold' nations like India, which have repeatedly disclaimed any intention of manufacturing bomb, to sign the treaty. No less discriminatory is the provision concerning peaceful applications of Atomic energy. Nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes were to be conducted in non-nuclear countries under the strict supervision and guidance of the IAEA. The treaty lays down the principle that the benefits of peaceful application of nuclear technology, including any technological by-products which may be derived by the nuclear weapon states from the development of nuclear explosive devices, should be available for peaceful purposes to all parties to this treaty, the non-nuclear powers for technological developments. It would not only perpetuate a technological gap between the haves and the have nots but also give the former an undue commercial advantage. Britain, U.S.A. and USSR have agreed to give a guarantee of protection against any nuclear attack on any non-nuclear power. A signatory of the treaty can complain to the security council if it is attacked with nuclear weapons or threatened with such an attack. Thus the non-nuclear powers are foredoomed to a subservient and dependent position on nuclear powers for ever.

India and the Treaty of Non-Proliferation. Such a treaty foredooms the prospect of India's right in future to take her position among the Great Powers of the world. It would monopolise the seat for

the five nuclear powers for ever. "The present generation of Statesmen have no right to give a postdated cheque". In case of a 'threshold' power like India it would be, however, worthwhile to re-evaluate her position in the present situation. India has no intention of either manufacturing nuclear weapons or to accept nuclear umbrella. Outside the category of haves and have nots created by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty there are two important states France and China which have claimed the right of carrying on nuclear armament race and refused monopoly of Atomic energy to the two super powers. The acquisition of the secrets of 'H' bomb by Communist China which is not at present in friendly terms with India has significant reactions on Indian politics. There is a strong feeling in some quarters that for the security reasons India should either acquire nuclear power or accept nuclear umbrella. But the first ignores the vast expenditure to be diverted to nuclear test at the cost of economic development; and the second pleads for an abject surrender to nuclear blackmail. Both are against the accepted tenets of India's foreign policy which is never guided by fear. India has joined hands with other non-nuclear powers in finding out a happy solution for the problem of have nots outside the Treaty. India attended the meeting of Non-nuclear nations at Geneva in August, 1968.

SUMMARY

Ever since the dawn of history man has sought to protect himself from the attack of beasts and fellowmen by manufacturing arms. The question of security is closely inter-linked, therefore, with the question of disarmament. Today, the invention of 'A' and 'H' Bomb has made it imperative for mankind to arrive at a mutual understanding for security to save future civilization from atomic suicide. The immediate goal of international disarmament conferences is to arrive at an understanding regarding limitation of armaments and for abolishing certain types of weapons.

The need for disarmament is urgent. The huge wastage of resources for armaments may profitably be used for fighting poverty and want. Trade in arms leads to war and creates sense of insecurity. In spite of the dire and wasteful consequences an all round disarmament is difficult to be achieved owing to the distrust and hatred that poisons the relations of nations. Even before the out-break of World War I attempts at disarmament were made at the Hague Conference with no significant outcome.

Disarmament under the League. Serious attempts at disarament in and outside the League were made in the inter-war period. A treaty on control of Traffic in Arms was signed at St. Germain-en-Laye (September, 1919). A Permanent Advisory Commission on disarmament was established in 1920. Subsequently it was replaced by the Temporary Mixed Commission to "consider all aspects of the disarmament problem." But the Mixed Commission's proposals were found unacceptable to the League members and in 1924 it was abolished.

The improvement of the international situation following the signature of the Locarno Pact (1925) prompted the League to appoint a Preparatory Commission for disarmament. In the meanwhile the Litvinov proposal for total disarmament came in 1927 but was ignored by the League members.

Under the auspices of the Preparatory Commission the World Disarmament Conference was convened in 1932. Of the 337 proposals the French, the American and the Soviet proposals deserve special mention. The French proposal of creating an International Police force under the League was devised for perpetuating 'Big Power' predominance and was rejected. The American proposal was to abolish certain weapons and reduce others and the Russians proposed reduction of armaments by 50 per cent. Britain was unwilling to accept either. Most of the powers were eager to guard their self-interest and the Conference was wrecked. The Conference, however, achieved certain good results such as convention on the prohibition of the use of poisoned gas.

Disarmament outside the League. Outside the League various attempts were made to find solution to the vexed question of disarmament and link it with the search for security. The Locarno Pact of 1925 is the outcome of the French search for security against the possibility of German aggression. The Little Entente and the Balkan Entente are the regional associations of small European powers for security. But the most important step outside the League for disarmament was the Washington Conference of 1921. It established a naval ratio between Britain, America, Japan, Italy and France. The 'Five Power' treaty fixed their respective strength of capital ships in a ratio approximately 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.75 : 1.75. But no agreement could be reached on Cruisers, Submarines, Destroyers and Aircrafts.

The Convention on supervision of International Trade in Arms prohibited the use of poisoned gas and chemical and bacteriological warfare. The Naval Conference called at Geneva in 1927 ended without achieving any substantial result. Another Naval Conference at London in 1930 established the ratio in Cruiser among Britain, America and Japan at 10 : 10 : 5 respectively. These powers also agreed to maintain parity in Submarine. The Escalator clause, however, left any signatory free to rearm if the situation called for it. The failure of the World Disarmament Conference and the Anglo-German Naval agreement of 1935 (it allowed Germany 35 per cent of naval strength to that of Britain) led to a fresh London Naval Conference in the same year. Britain, France and the United States agreed in this Conference to reduce their naval strength but Italy and Japan refused to be a party to it. The situation henceforth deteriorated. The terms of the Washington Conference came to an end in 1936 and no serious attempt was henceforth made during the inter-war period for disarmament. The rise of Nazism had made war inevitable by this time.

Disarmament and the United Nations. World War II took fantastic toll in death and destruction. The example of Hiroshima and Nagasaki which were wiped out from the face of the earth by 'A' Bomb revealed to the world devastating effects of a modern war. Opinion was fast growing all over the globe against war as a means to settle disputes. In the

words of President Kennedy—"mankind must put an end to war—or war will put an end to mankind." The signatories to the Charter of the United Nations solemnly undertook the task of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

It was natural, therefore, for the United Nations to undertake the task of establishing disarmament. Five members of the Security Council and Canada presented a plan for the establishment of an Atomic Energy Commission consisting of the members of the Security Council plus Canada (not a member of the Council at that time). The A.E.C. came into existence in 1946. Its aim was to supervise the elimination of the Atomic weapons and utilise the Atoms for peace. In the same year the Soviet Union gave proposal for renunciation of all Atomic weapons. During this period the United States enjoyed 'Atomic monopoly' to perpetuate which Bernard Baruch presented a comprehensive plan to establish complete international supervision of the Atomic energy by the U.N. and prohibition of further manufacture of 'A' Bomb. The international body that the Baruch plan proposed to create was to work without veto. The U.S.S.R. naturally rejected a proposal that wanted to make the U.S.A. the sole owner of Atomic power. The attempt to gain Soviet support to a proposal for control of conventional weapons ended also in failure. From Soviet standpoint such conventions are useless in face of the U.S.A. 'Atomic monopoly.'

A Change in the Situation. A change in the situation was introduced with the advent of the Russian 'A' Bomb on September 23, 1949. In 1953 both the super-powers gained possession of the 'H' Bomb. Inside and outside the U.N. the neutral nations were pressing for disarmament. In this context came the Acheson plan for international supervision of the Atomic bombs. It was rejected by the Soviet Union. In 1953 President Eisenhower presented his proposals for 'Atoms for Peace' before the U.N. This plan, however, contained no provision to ban Atomic bombs and was, therefore, found unacceptable to the Soviet Union.

The discussions now took place in the Five Power sub-committee of the Disarmament Commission (created by the U.N. in 1952). In spite of the major concession made by the U.S.S.R. during these discussions the West showed reluctance for complete disarmament. When on June 14, 1957 the Soviet Union proposed complete ban on nuclear test, the West gave a rejoinder that the ban should include production of fissionable materials. In other words the United States which possessed the largest stockpile of nuclear weapons wanted to perpetuate its lead through this proposal. Russia naturally rejected it. In 1958 the Soviet Union took an unilateral decision to ban the test of 'A' and 'H' bomb.

Outside the U.N. the efforts of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Khrushchev resulted in the Geneva disarmament talks between 1958 to 1960. In these discussions the two super-powers found many points of agreement, but the plan to establish a Contral Organ did not ultimately materialise due to the straining of relations between the two giants in 1960.

Ten Nation Committee. In 1960 the United States temporarily postponed test in 'A' Bomb. Aside from the questions of Atomic test a Ten Nation Committee was convened at Geneva on March 15, 1960. It was

composed of Canada, France, Italy, Great Britain, the United States, Bulgaria, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the Soviet Union. The Conference's fate, however, was decided by the failure of the Summit, in 1960, following the incident of the U-2 Spy flight inside U.S.S.R.

The failure of the Ten Nation Committee led to a resumption of the Atomic test and the Belgrade Conference of the neutral nations demanded a final end to such tests. In December, 1961 an agreement to set up an Eighteen Nation Committee was reached. This Committee consisted of representatives of the United States, Italy, Canada, Brazil, Britain, France, Ethiopia, India, Mexico, Nigeria, Sweden, U.A.R., Burma, U.S.S.R., Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Bulgaria. This Committee has also failed so far to achieve the desired agreement on disarmament.

But a resounding victory for the cause of disarmament was achieved outside the United Nations when the nuclear test ban agreement was signed in Moscow on August 5, 1963. President Kennedy remarked that "....it is an important first step—a step toward peace—a step toward reason—a step away from war." China and France, however, have refused to accept test ban treaty. Since then China has acquired 'A' Bomb and this has introduced a new factor in Asian politics. A full-scale Atomic exchange, if it takes place in future, would mean an 'atomic suicide' for our civilization.

The 18-Nation Committee on disarmament submitted an agreed draft on a Nuclear War Proliferation Treaty to the U.N. Political Committee which approved it by an overwhelming majority vote. India along with twenty two other nations abstained. Two important abstaining states were France and China. The treaty stipulated that states not possessing nuclear weapons must undertake not to manufacture or otherwise acquire such weapons or other nuclear explosive devices. The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) was to control all the peaceful nuclear activities of non-nuclear states. IAEA Board of Governors would consist of 25 members with permanent seat for the most advanced countries in the sphere of nuclear science. The treaty has been created according to China's Foreign Minister, Mr. Chen Yi, by the attempt of Big Powers to protest 'Big Power nuclear weapons."' There is an element of truth in Chen Yi's statement. The treaty has given nuclear powers the surest way to blackmail. Instead of limiting arms race the treaty opened the way for arms race. France and China have refused to accept it. China's possession of H-bomb has caused anxiety in India. Such a treaty foredooms the possibility of India's elevation as great power. It would create haves and have nots of Nuclear weapon.

FOR FURTHER READING SEE:

1. **Blackett, Patrick M. S.** : Atomic Weapons and East-West Relations.
2. **King Hall, Sir Stephen** : Defence in the Nuclear Age.
3. **Kissinger, Henry A.** : Arms Control, Inspection, and Surprise Attack.
4. **Russel, Bertrand** : Commonsense and Nuclear Warfare. Foreign Affairs, Vol. XXXVIII.
5. **Schliecher, Charles P.** : International Relations — Co-operation and Conflict.

Appendix A

Covenant of The League of Nations

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security

by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war,

by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations,

by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and

by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another,

agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 1: **Membership and Withdrawal.**

1. The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

2. Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

3. Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Article 2: **Executive Organs.**

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected

through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

Article 3: **Assembly.**

1. The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

2. The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

3. The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

4. At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote and may have not more than three Representatives.

Article 4: **Council.**

1. The Council shall consist of representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers (the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan), together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain shall be Members of the Council.

2. With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League, whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

2. The Assembly shall fix by a two-third's majority the rules dealing with the election of the non-permanent Members of the Council, and particularly such regulations as relate to their term of office and the conditions of re-eligibility.

3. The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

4. The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

5. Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

6. At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

Article 52: **Voting and Procedure.**

1. Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the As-

sembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.

2. All matters of procedure at meeting of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

3. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article 6: **Secretariat and Expenses.**

1. The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

2. The first Secretary-General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary-General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

3. The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary-General with the approval of the Council.

4. The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

5. The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.

Article 7: **Seat, Qualifications of Officials, Immunities.**

1. The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

2. The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

3. All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

4. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

5. The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

Article 8: **Reduction of Armaments.**

1. The Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

2. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each state, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

3. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every 10 years.

4. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Govern-

ments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

5. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

6. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purpose.

Article 9: **Permanent Military, Naval and Air Commission.**

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

Article 10: **Guarantees against Aggression.**

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article 11: **Action in Case of War or Threat of War.**

1. Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary-General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

2. It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article 12: **Disputes to be Submitted for Settlement.**

1. The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council.

2. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of

the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article 13: **Arbitration or Judicial Settlement.**

1. The Members of the League agree that, whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.

2. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.

3. For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

4. The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

Article 14: **Permanent Court of International Justice.**

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an International character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

Article 15: **Disputes Not submitted to Arbitration or Judicial Settlement**

1. If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

2. For this purpose the parties to the disputes will communicate to the Secretary-General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

3. The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and, if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public

giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the term of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

4. If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

5. Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

6. If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the Members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

7. If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

8. If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

9. The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within 14 days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

10. In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

Article 16: **Sanctions of Pacific Settlement.**

1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 14 or 15, it shall **ipso facto** be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

3. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

4. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

Article 17: **Disputes Involving Non-members.**

1. In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

2. Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

3. If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

4. If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article 18: **Registration and Publication of Treaties.**

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article 19: **Review of Treaties.**

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and

the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

Article 20: **Abrogation of Inconsistent Obligations.**

1. The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings or contracts which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

2. In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article 21: **Engagements that Remain Valid.**

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understanding like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

Article 22: **Mandatory System.**

1. To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

2. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

3. The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

4. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

5. Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic

and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications of military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

6. There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness form the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

7. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

8. The degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

9. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article 23: **Social and Other Activities.**

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

Article 24: **International Bureaus.**

1. There shall be placed under the direction of the League all in-

ternational bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

2. In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

Article 25: **Promotion of Red Cross and Health.**

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

Article 26: **Amendments.**

1. Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

2. No such amendment shall bind any Member of the League which signified its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

Appendix B

Charter of the United Nations

We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, and for these ends to practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and, to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, have resolved to combine our efforts to accomplish these aims.

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representatives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed to the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations.

Chapter I: PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES

Article 1

The purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for

the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

Article 2

The Organization and its Members, in pursuit of the Purposes stated in Article 1, shall act in accordance with the following Principles.

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its Members.

2. All Members, in order to ensure to all of them the rights and benefits resulting from membership, shall fulfil in good faith the obligations assumed by them in accordance with the present Charter.

3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

5. All Members shall give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the present Charter, and shall refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the United Nations is taking preventive or enforcement action.

6. The Organization shall ensure that states which are not Members of the United Nations act in accordance with these Principles so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security.

7. Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter; but this principle shall not prejudice the application of enforcement measures under Chapter VII.

Chapter II: MEMBERSHIP

Article 3

The original Members of the United Nations shall be the states which having participated in the United Nations Conference on International Organization at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by United Nations of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter, and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations.

2. The admission of any such state to membership in the United Nations will be effected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 5

A Member of the United Nations against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendations of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council.

Article 6

A Member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the Principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the Organization by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Chapter III: ORGANS

Article 7

1. There are established as the principal organs of the United Nations: a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice, and a Secretariat.

2. Such subsidiary organs as may be found necessary may be established in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 8

The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs.

Chapter IV: THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

COMPOSITION

Article 9

1. The General Assembly shall consist of all the Members of the United Nations.

2. Each Member shall have not more than five representatives in the General Assembly.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 10

The General Assembly may discuss any questions or any matters within the scope of the present Charter or relating to the powers and functions

of any organs provided for in the present Charter, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations to the Members of the United Nations or to the Security Council or to both on any such questions or matters.

Article 11

1. The General Assembly may consider the general principles of co-operation in the maintenance of international peace and security, including the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments, and may make recommendations with regard to such principles to the Members or to the Security Council or to both.

2. The General Assembly may discuss any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security brought before it by any Member of the United Nations, or by the Security Council, or by a state which is not a Member of the United Nations in accordance with Article 35, paragraph 2, and, except as provided in Article 12, may make recommendations with regard to any such questions to the state or states concerned or the Security Council or to both. Any such question on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion.

3. The General Assembly may call the attention of the Security Council to situations which are likely to endanger international peace and security.

4. The powers of the General Assembly set forth in this Article shall not limit the general scope of Article 10.

Article 12

1. While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter, the General Assembly shall not make any recommendations with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

2. The Secretary-General, with the consent of the Security Council, shall notify the General Assembly at each session of any matters relative to the maintenance of international peace and security which are being dealt with by the Security Council and shall similarly notify the General Assembly, or the Members of the United Nations if the General Assembly is not in session, immediately the Security Council ceases to deal with such matters.

Article 13

1. The General Assembly shall initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of:

(a) promoting international co-operation in the political field and encouraging the progressive development of international law and its codification;

(b) promoting international co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields, and assisting in the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

2. The further responsibilities, functions, and powers of the General Assembly with respect to matters mentioned in paragraph 1 (b) above are set forth in Chapters IX and X.

Article 14

Subject to the provisions of Article 12, the General Assembly may recommend measures for the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare or friendly relations among nations, including situations resulting from a violation of the provisions of the present Charter setting forth the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

Article 15

1. The General Assembly shall receive and consider annual and special reports from the Security Council; these reports shall include an account of the measures that the Security Council has decided upon or taken to maintain international peace and security.

2. The General Assembly shall receive and consider reports from the other organs of the United Nations.

Article 16

The General Assembly shall perform such functions with respect to the international trusteeship system as are assigned to it under Chapters XII and XIII, including the approval of the trusteeship agreements for areas not designated as strategic.

Article 17

1. The General Assembly shall consider and approve the budget of the Organization.

2. The expenses of the Organization shall be borne by the Members as apportioned by the General Assembly.

3. The General Assembly shall consider and approve any financial and budgetary arrangements with specialized agencies referred to in Article 57 and shall examine the administrative budgets of such specialized agencies with a view to making recommendations to the agencies concerned.

VOTING

Article 18

1. Each member of the General Assembly shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the General Assembly on important questions shall be made by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting. These questions shall include: recommendations with respect to the maintenance of international peace and security, the election of the non-permanent members of the Security Council, the election of the members of the Economic and Social Council, the election of members of the Trusteeship Council in accordance with paragraph 1 (c) of Article 86, the admission of new Members to the United Nations, the suspension of the rights

and privileges of membership, the expulsion of Members, questions relating to the operation of the trusteeship system and budgetary questions.

3. Decisions on other questions, including the determination of additional categories of questions to be decided by a two-thirds majority, shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Article 19

A member of the United Nations which is in arrears in the payment of its financial contributions to the Organization shall not vote in the General Assembly if the amount of its arrears equals or exceeds the amount of the contribution due from it for the preceding two full years. The General Assembly may, nevertheless, permit such a Member to vote if it is satisfied that the failure to pay is due to conditions beyond the control of the Member.

PROCEDURE

Article 20

The General Assembly shall meet in regular sessions and in such special sessions as occasion may require. Special sessions shall be convoked by the Secretary-General at the request of the Security Council or of a majority of the Members of the United Nations.

Article 21

The General Assembly shall adopt its own rules of procedure. It shall elect its President for each session.

Article 22

The General Assembly may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Chapter V: THE SECURITY COUNCIL

COMPOSITION

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid, in the first instance, to the contribution of Members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the Organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution.

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years. In the first election of the non-permanent members, however, three shall be chosen for a term of one year. A retiring member shall not be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. Each member of the Security Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 24

1. In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf.

2. In discharging these duties the Security Council shall act in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations. The specific powers granted to the Security Council for the discharge of these duties are laid down in Chapters VI, VII, VIII and XII.

3. The Security Council shall subject annual and, when necessary, special reports to the General Assembly for its consideration.

Article 25

The Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter.

Article 26

In order to promote the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with least diversion for armaments of the world's human and economic resources, the Security Council shall be responsible for formulating with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee referred to in Article 47, plans to be submitted to the Members of the United Nations for the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments.

VOTING

Article 27

1. Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI, and under paragraph 3 of Article 52, a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 28

1. The Security Council shall be so organized as to be able to function continuously. Each member of the Security Council shall for this purpose be represented at all times at the seat of the Organization.

2. The Security Council shall hold periodic meetings at which each of its members may, if it so desires, be represented by a member of the government or by some other specially designated representatives.

3. The Security Council may hold meetings at such places other than the seat of the Organization as in its judgment will best facilitate its work.

Article 29

The Security Council may establish such subsidiary organs as it deems necessary for the performance of its functions.

Article 30

The Security Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

Article 31

Any member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council may participate, without vote, in the discussion of any question brought before the Security Council whenever the latter considers that the interests of that Member are specially affected.

Article 32

Any Member of the United Nations which is not a member of the Security Council or any state which is not a Member of the United Nations, if it is a party to a dispute under consideration by the Security Council, shall be invited to participate, without vote, in the discussion relating to the dispute. The Security Council shall lay down such conditions as it deems just for the participation of a state which is not a Member of the United Nations.

Chapter VI: PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

Article 33

1. The parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice.

2. The Security Council shall, when it deems necessary, call upon the parties to settle their dispute by such means.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute, in order to determine whether the continuance of the dispute or situation is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 35

1. Any Member of the United Nations may bring any dispute, or any situation of the nature referred to in Article 34, to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may bring to the attention of the Security Council or of the General Assembly any dispute to which it is a party if it accepts in advance, for the purposes of the dispute, the obligations of pacific settlement provided in the present Charter.

3. The proceedings of the General Assembly in respect of matters brought to its attention under this Article will be subject to the provisions of Articles 11 and 12.

Article 36

1. The Security Council may, at any stage of a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 or of a situation of like nature, recommend appropriate procedures or methods of adjustment.

2. The Security Council should take into consideration any procedures for the settlement of the dispute which have already been adopted by the parties.

3. In making recommendations under this Article the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of the Court.

Article 37

1. Should the parties to a dispute of the nature referred to in Article 33 fail to settle it by the means indicated in that Article, they shall refer it to the Security Council.

2. If the Security Council deems that the continuance of the dispute is in fact likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, it shall decide whether to take action under Article 36 or to recommend such terms of settlement as it may consider appropriate.

Article 38

Without prejudice to the provisions of Article 33 to 37, the Security Council may, if all the parties to any dispute so request, make recommendations to the parties, with a view to a pacific settlement of the dispute.

Chapter VII: ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THREATS TO THE PEACE, BREACHES OF THE PEACE AND ACTS OF AGGRESSION

Article 39

The Security Council shall determine the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Article 40

In order to prevent an aggravation of the situation, the Security Council may, before making the recommendations or deciding upon the measures provided for in Article 39, call upon the parties concerned to comply with such provisional measures as it deems necessary or desirable. Such provisional measures shall be without prejudice to the rights, claims, or position of the parties concerned. The Security Council shall duly take account of failure to comply with such provisional measures.

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

Article 43

1. All Members of the United Nations, in order to contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, undertake to make available to the Security Council, on its call and in accordance with a special agreement or agreements, armed forces, assistance, and facilities, including rights of passage, necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

2. Such agreement or agreements shall govern the members and types of forces, their degree of readiness and general location, and the nature of the facilities and assistance to be provided.

3. The agreement or agreements shall be negotiated as soon as possible on the initiative of the Security Council. They shall be concluded between the Security Council and Members or between the Security Council and groups of Members and shall be subject to ratification by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

Article 44

When the Security Council has decided to use force it shall, before calling upon a Member not represented on it to provide armed forces in fulfilment of the obligations assumed under Article 43, invite that Member, if the Member so desires, to participate in the decisions of the Security Council concerning the employment of contingents of that Member's armed forces.

Article 45

In order to enable the United Nations to take urgent military measures, Members shall hold immediately available national air-force contingents for combined international enforcement action. The strength and degree of readiness of these contingents and plans for their combined action shall be determined, within the limits laid down in the special agreement or agreements referred to in Article 43, by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 46

Plans for the application of armed force shall be made by the Security Council with the assistance of the Military Staff Committee.

Article 47

1. There shall be established a Military Staff Committee to advise and assist the Security Council on all questions relating to the Security Council's military requirements for the maintenance of international peace and security, the employment and command of forces placed at its disposal, the regulation of armaments, and possible disarmament.

2. The Military Staff Committee shall consist of the Chiefs of Staff of the permanent members of the Security Council or their representatives. Any Member of the United Nations not permanently represented on the Committee shall be invited by the Committee to be associated with it when the efficient discharge of the Committee's responsibilities requires the participation of that Member in its work.

3. The Military Staff Committee shall be responsible under the Security Council for the strategic direction of any armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council. Questions relating to the command of such forces shall be worked out subsequently.

4. The Military Staff Committee, with the authorization of the Security Council and after consultation with appropriate regional agencies, may establish regional sub-committees.

Article 48

1. The action required to carry out the decisions of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security shall be taken by all the Members of the United Nations or by some of them, as the Security Council may determine.

2. Such decisions shall be carried out by the Members of the United Nations directly and through their action in the appropriate international agencies of which they are members.

Article 49

The Members of the United Nations shall join in affording mutual assistance in carrying out the measures decided upon by the Security Council.

Article 50

If preventive or enforcement measures against any state are taken by the Security Council, any other state, whether a Member of the United Nations or not, which finds itself confronted with special economic problems arising from the carrying out of those measures shall have the right to consult the Security Council with regard to a solution of those problems.

Article 51

Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a

Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defence shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.

Chapter VIII: REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

Article 52

1. Nothing in the present Charter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action, provided that such arrangements or agencies and their activities are consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations.

2. The Members of the United Nations entering into such arrangements or constituting such agencies shall make every effort to achieve pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies before referring them to the Security Council.

3. The Security Council shall encourage the development of pacific settlement of local disputes through such regional arrangements or by such regional agencies either on the initiative of the states concerned or by reference from the Security Council.

4. This Article in no way impairs the application of Articles 34 and 35.

Article 53

1. The Security Council shall, where appropriate, utilize such regional arrangements or agencies for enforcement action under its authority. But no enforcement action shall be taken under regional arrangegents or by regional agencies without the authorization of the Security Council, with the exception of measures against any enemy state, as defined in paragraph 2 of this article, provided for pursuant to Article 107 or in regional arrangements directed against renewal of aggressive policy on the part of any such state, until such time as the Organization may, on request of the Governments concerned, be charged with the responsibility for preventing further aggression by such a state.

2. The term enemy state as used in paragraph 1 of this Article applies to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter.

Article 54

The Security Council shall at all times be kept fully informed of activities undertaken or in contemplation under regional arrangements or by regional agencies for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Chapter IX: INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION

Article 55

With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, the United Nations shall promote:

(a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development;

(b) solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational co-operation; and

(c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.

Article 56

All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 57

1. The various specialized agencies, established by inter-governmental agreement and having wide international responsibilities, as defined in their basic instruments, in economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related fields, shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations in accordance with the provisions of Article 63.

2. Such agencies thus brought into relationship with the United Nations are hereinafter referred to as specialized agencies.

Article 58

The Organization shall make recommendations for the co-ordination of the policies and activities of the specialised agencies.

Article 59

The Organization shall, where appropriate, initiate negotiations among the states concerned for the creation of any new specialized agencies required for the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in Article 55.

Article 60

Responsibility for the discharge of the functions of the Organization set forth in this Chapter shall be vested in the General Assembly and, under the authority of the General Assembly, in the Economic and Social Council, which shall have for this purpose the power set forth in Chapter X.

Chapter X: THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

COMPOSITION

Article 61

1. The Economic and Social Council shall consist of eighteen Members of the United Nations elected by the General Assembly.

2. Subject to the provisions of paragraph 3, six members of the Economic and Social Council shall be elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member shall be eligible for immediate re-election.

3. At the first election, eighteen members of the Economic and Social Council shall be chosen. The term of office of six members so chosen shall expire at the end of one year, and six other members at the end of two years, in accordance with arrangements made by the General Assembly.

4. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one representative.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 62

1. The Economic and Social Council may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the Members of the United Nations and to the specialized agencies concerned.

2. It may make recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all.

3. It may prepare draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence.

4. It may call, in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations, international conferences on matters falling within its competence.

Article 63

1. The Economic and Social Council may enter into agreements with any of the agencies referred to in Article 57, defining the terms on which the agency concerned shall be brought into relationship with the United Nations. Such agreements shall be subject to approval by the General Assembly.

2. It may coordinate the activities of the specialized agencies through consultation with and recommendations to such agencies and through recommendations to the General Assembly and to the Members of the United Nations.

Article 64

The Economic and Social Council may take appropriate steps to obtain regular reports from the specialized agencies. It may make arrangements with the Members of the United Nations and with the specialized agencies to obtain reports on the steps taken to give effect to its own recommendations and to recommendations on matters falling within its competence made by the General Assembly.

Article 65

The Economic and Social Council may furnish information to the Security Council and shall assist the Security Council upon its request.

Article 66

1. The Economic and Social Council shall perform such functions as fall within its competence in connection with the carrying out of the recommendations of the General Assembly.

2. It may, with the approval of the General Assembly, perform services at the request of Members of the United Nations and at the request of specialized agencies.

3. It shall perform such other functions as are specified elsewhere in the present Charter or as may be assigned to it by the General Assembly.

VOTING

Article 67

1. Each member of the Economic and Social Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Economic and Social Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 68

The Economic and Social Council shall set up commissions in economic and social fields and for the promotion of human rights, and such other commissions as may be required for the performance of its functions.

Article 69

The Economic and Social Council shall invite any Member of the United Nations to participate, without vote, in its deliberations on any matter of particular concern to that Member.

Article 70

The Economic and Social Council may make arrangements for representatives of the specialized agencies to participate, without vote, in its deliberations and in those of the commissions established by it, and for its representatives to participate in the deliberations of the specialized agencies.

Article 71

The Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member of the United Nations concerned.

Article 72

1. The Economic and Social Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Economic and Social Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Chapter XI: DECLARATION REGARDING NON-SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples hav enot yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and to this end.

(a) to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;

(b) to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territories and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;

(c) to further international peace and security;

(d) to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

(e) to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic and commercial matters.

Chapter XII: INTERNATIONAL TRUSTEESHIP SYSTEM

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

(a) to further international peace and security;

(b) to promote the political, economic, social and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and then progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;

(c) to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and

(d) to ensure equal treatment in social, economic and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

(a) territories now held under mandate;

(b) territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the Second World War; and

(c) territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organization itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Artice 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

Chapter XIII: THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

COMPOSITION

Article 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

(a) those Members administering trust territories;

(b) such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and

(c) as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS

Article 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

(a) consider reports submitted by the administering authority;

(b) accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;

(c) provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and

(d) take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

VOTING

Article 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.

2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

PROCEDURE

Article 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.

2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialized agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Chapter XIV: THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Article 92

The International Court of Justice shall be the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. It shall function in accordance with the annexed Statute which is based upon the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice and forms an integral part of the present Charter.

Article 93

1. All Members of the United Nations are ipso facto parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice.

2. A state which is not a Member of the United Nations may become a party to the Statute of the International Court of Justice on conditions to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council.

Article 94

1. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party.

2. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under a judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment.

Article 95

Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent Members of the United Nations from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreement already in existence or which may be concluded in the future.

Article 96

1. The General Assembly or Security Council may request the International Court of Justice to give an advisory opinion on any legal question.

2. Other organs of the United Nations and specialized agencies, which may at any time be so authorized by the General Assembly, may also request advisory opinions of the Court in legal questions arising within the scope of their activities.

Chapter XV: THE SECRETARIAT

Article 97

The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organization may require. The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. He shall be the chief administrative officer of the Organization.

Article 98

The Secretary-General shall act in that capacity in all meetings of the General Assembly, of the Security Council, of the Economic and Social Council, and of the Trusteeship Council, and shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs. The Secretary-General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization.

Article 99

The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 100

1. In the performance of their duties the Secretary-General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the Organization. They shall refrain from any action which might reflect on their position as international officials responsible only to the Organization.

2. Each Member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities.

Article 101

1. The staff shall be appointed by the Secretary-General under regulations established by the General Assembly.

2. Appropriate staffs shall be permanently assigned to the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, and, as required, to other organs of the United Nations. These staff shall form a part of the Secretariat.

3. The paramount consideration in the employment of the staff and in the determination of the conditions of service shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. Due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible.

Chapter XVI: MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Article 102

1. Every treaty and every international agreement entered into by any Member of the United Nations after the present Charter comes into force shall as soon as possible be registered with the Secretariat and published by it.

2. No party to any such treaty or international agreement which has not been registered in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article may invoke that treaty or agreement before any organ of the United Nations.

Article 103

In the event of a conflict between the obligations of the Members of the United Nations under the present Charter and their obligations under

any other international agreement, their obligations under the present Charter shall prevail.

Article 104

The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such legal capacity as may be necessary for the exercise of its functions and the fulfilment of the purposes.

Article 105

1. The Organization shall enjoy in the territory of each of its Members such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the fulfilment of its purposes.

2. Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connection with the Organization.

3. The General Assembly may make recommendations with a view to determining the details of the application of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article or may propose conventions to the Members of the United Nations for this purpose.

Chapter XVII: TRANSITIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS

Article 106

Pending the coming into force of such special agreements referred to in Article 43 as in the opinion of the Security Council enable it to begin the exercise of its responsibilities under Article 42, the parties to the Four-Nation Declaration, signed at Moscow, October 30, 1943, and France, shall, in accordance with the provisions of paragraph 5 of that Declaration, consult with one another and as occasion requires with other Members of the United Nations with a view to such joint action on behalf of the Organization as may be necessary for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security.

Article 107

Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action, in relation to any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory to the present Charter, taken or authorized as a result of that war by the Governments having responsibility for such action.

Chapter XVIII: AMENDMENTS

Article 108

Amendments to the present Charter shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two-thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Article 109

1. A General Conference of the Members of the United Nations for the purpose of reviewing the present Charter may be held at a date and place to be fixed by a two-thirds vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council. Each Member of the United Nations shall have one vote in the conference.

2. Any alteration of the present Charter recommended by a two-thirds vote of the conference shall take effect when ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two-thirds of the Members of the United Nations including all the permanent members of the Security Council.

3. If such a conference has not been held before the tenth annual session of the General Assembly following the coming into force of the present Charter, the proposal to call such a conference shall be placed on the agenda of that session of the General Assembly, and the conference shall be held if so decided by a majority vote of the members of the General Assembly and by a vote of any seven members of the Security Council

Chapter XIX: RATIFICATION AND SIGNATURE

Article 110

1. The present Charter shall be ratified by the signatory states in accordance with their respective constitutional processes.

2. The ratifications shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America, which shall notify all the signatory states of each deposit as well as the Secretary-General of the Organization when he has been appointed.

3. The present Charter shall come into force upon the deposit of ratifications by the Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, and by a majority of the other signatory states. A protocol of the ratifications deposited shall thereupon be drawn up by the Government of the United States of America which shall communicate copies thereof to all the signatory states.

4. The states signatory to the present Charter which ratify it after it has come into force will become original Members of the United Nations on the date of the deposit of their respective ratifications.

Article 111

The present Charter, of which the Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall remain deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatory states.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the representatives of the Governments of the United Nations have signed the present Charter.

DONE at the City of San Francisco the twenty-sixth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and forty-five.

Appendix C

Tashkent Declaration

Our beloved Prime Minister, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri has been snatched away by the cruel hand of death at far off Tashkent on the midnight of January 11th when he had retired to sleep after having signed the Tashkent Declaration which brought about peace between India and Pakistan. The people of India have deeply mourned the death of Shastriji. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was elected Prime Minister in Shastriji's place by the Congress Parliamentary Party.

The text of the Tashkent Declaration is given below —

"The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their people. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of the 600 million people of India and Pakistan.

I. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both sides will exert all efforts to create good-neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They reaffirm their obligation under the Charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

II. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than 25th February, 1966, to the position they held prior to August 5, 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

III. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

IV. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country, and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

V. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the High Commissioner of India to Pakistan and the High Commissioner of Pakistan to India will return to their posts and that the normal functioning of diplomatic missions of both countries will be restored. Both Governments shall observe the Vienna Convention of 1961 on diplomatic inter-course.

VI. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

VII. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners-of-war.

VIII. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue the discussions of questions relating to the problems of refugees and eviction/illegal immigration. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

IX. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both countries. Both sides have recognised the need to set up joint Indian-Pakistan bodies which will report to their Governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

X. The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan record their feelings of deep appreciation and gratitude to the leaders of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and personally to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. for their constructive, friendly and noble part in bringing about the present meeting which has resulted in mutually satisfactory results.

They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality. They invite the Chair-

man of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. to witness this declaration.

Prime Minister of India
Lal Bahadur Shastri

President of Pakistan
Mohammed Ayub Khan.

Tashkent, 10 January, 1966.

SALIENT POINTS

Prime Minister Shastri and President Ayub agreed to the following points to restore normal and peaceful relations between India and Pakistan :

* To withdraw armed personnel to the August 5 positions not later than February 25, 1966;
* To give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out repatriation of the prisoners of war;
* To continue meetings at the highest and other levels on matters of direct concern to both;
* To base their relations on "non-interference in internal affairs of each other";
* To restore normal functioning of diplomatic relations with the High Commissioners returning to their posts;
* To discourage propaganda against each other and encourage such as promote friendly relations;
* To consider measures towards restoration of economic and trade relations, communications and cultural exchanges;
* To create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people and to continue discussion of refugee and evictee problems;
* To discuss the return of property and assets taken over by either side during the recent conflict.

COMMENTS ON THE TASHKENT DECLARATION

Significance of the Declaration

It was due to the initiative of the Soviet Premier Alexei Kosygin that Prime Minister Shastri of India and President Ayub of Pakistan agreed to meet at Tashkent in the first week of January to have peaceful negotiations in order to end the armed clash between India and Pakistan. The outcome of this negotiation was the Tashkent Declaration signed on January 10, 1966. It was largely due to the herculean efforts of Kosygin that the Tashkent talks which were heading towards failure achieved a measure of success which is simply astonishing. It was a grand success for Soviet diplomacy. Her role in the Tashkent meeting has amply demonstrated that the Soviet Union is a power truly interested in the welfare of Asia,

---

* Source : Amrit Bazar Patrika, 10 January, 1966.

an impression opposite to what China has created. Prime Minister Kosygin by his efforts saved this sub-continent from the brink of precipice and ensured peace for 600 million people.

The Tashkent Declaration was a gain for all and loss for none. Had there been no agreement peace not only in this sub-continent but in the whole of South-East Asia would have been disturbed. For India the greatest gain is to have Pakistan reaffirm its obligation to the U.N. Charter not to take recourse to force and to settle disputes through peaceful means. The declaration, therefore, implied that Pakistan henceforth would be no longer free to disturb the peace of this sub-continent by trying to find a solution of the Kashmir issue by the use of force. The declaration also asked the signatories to base their relations on non-interference in internal affairs of each other. In the words of Shastriji, "the meeting ensures that there is no escalation of war between India and Pakistan." This by itself is a thumping victory for the forces of peace.

In the 'Tashkent Declaration' India and Pakistan agreed to restore normal function of diplomatic relations, to discourage propaganda against each other and to consider measures towards restoration of economic and trade relations communications, and cultural exchanges.

According to the declaration India and Pakistan agreed to withdraw all armed personnel to pre-August 5 position. India has made a big concession in agreeing to withdraw from the Haji Pir Pass, Kargil and other areas. But it was no easy matter for Pakistan either to agree to withdraw from Chamb. Since the agreement provides for non-interference by the two countries in each other's internal affairs there would be observance of cease-fire.

The spirit of Tashkent was so optimistic that even the question of Kashmir was not allowed to stand in the way for restoring peace between India and Pakistan. Prime Minister Shastri hailed the Tashkent Conference as a "unique experiment in international diplomacy where such an agreement was signed between a non-aligned and aligned country."

Subsequent Developments

But the optimism born out of Tashkent faded during the days that followed. The military manoeuvres at Rawalpindi with Chinese weapons, strengthened the hands of the critics of Tashkent. It is hoped, however, that Pakistan will not repudiate the Tashkent Declaration and ride rough-shod over the feelings of Russia who is friendly with her. Referring to Pakistani violations of the Tashkent Declaration Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi stated—"Things had been done by Pakistan which, we felt, have not been fully in letter and spirit of the Tashkent Declaration." Addressing her first press conference as Prime Minister (April 19) 1966, Mrs. Gandhi said she was seriously thinking of taking some positive steps to reverse the present trend about Tashkent Agreement. But Mr. Swaran Singh went to another extreme and stated that the Tashkent Agreement would be 'dead' if Pakistan once again took the Kashmir question to the U.N. Security Council India considers Kashmir to be an integral part of this country. Pakistan, on its side, is determined to give the highest priority to the Kashmir question. In the Commonwealth Conference held in January, 1969 Pakistan Foreign Minister Mr. Arshad Hussain was twice rebuff-

ed in his effort to raise the Kashmir question. It is not altogether improbable that Pakistan will try to break this deadlock through the Security Council. Would that be a violation of the Tashkent Agreement? If so, would that violation kill the Agreement in its entirety, i.e., would other parts of the Agreement cease automatically to be operative? These questions require clarification in view of the steady resuscitation of the pro-Tashkent spirit in Indo-Pakistan relations.

Conclusion

The importance of the Tashkent Declaration cannot be minimized. The Tashkent Declaration, in the words of our Late Prime Minister, Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, "is not just a legal document. It is very much more than a political document." The declaration was a turning point in Indo-Pakistani relations. Both the countries agreed in the declaration to renounce force as means of settling disputes and to adopt peaceful means to resolve their differences. The security of both the countries was strengthened by the assurance of peace flowing from the declaration. Mr. C.S. Jha in a statement rightly pointed out that "the significance of the Tashkent Declaration is not that it resolves all outstanding problems between India and Pakistan but that despite the existence of differences the two countries have pledged to live together in peace as good neighbours." This Declaration shows that given goodwill and understanding India and Pakistan can solve their differences by peaceful means.

To translate the Tashkent spirit into practice India's Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi offered a no war pact to Pakistan on August 15, 1968. It was to end tension between the two countries that the offer was followed up on January 1, 1969 by an Indian proposal for setting up a joint machinery to examine all disputes with Pakistan. The proposal for such bilateral machinery is contingent upon Pakistan agreeing to no war pact. The bilateral joint machinery would have two purposes. First, it would deal with normalization of Indo-Pakistani relations and, secondly, it would seek solutions to all disputes between the two countries. Such machinery would be in consonance with the Tashkent declaration. India is, however, against any third party interference and mediation, in the Indo-Pak dispute, which Pakistan eagerly seeks. Pakistan, for instance, desired to make the Farraka barrage question an international issue. Fortunately both the countries have consented to sit around the table and find out a solution to this dispute. Another factor which cast a shadow upon the Tashkent spirit is the arms aid which she receives from the Western World and China. India felt specially unhappy about the decision of the Soviet Union to supply arms to Pakistan. In spite of such disquieting developments there are signs of a revival of Pro-Tashkent spirit and Mrs. Gandhi's proposals have been well received in Pakistan. Both the countries have accepted the Kutch award and have agreed to delineate their border of mutual agreement. A revival of Tashkent spirit alone can bring peace to this sub-continent.

Index

Abyssinia, 28, 73, 80, 117, 143, 164, 177, 182, 239, 242, 605
Adenauer, 322, 344-46
Addis Ababa, 26, 80
Addis Ababa Conference, 531, 545
Africa, Awakening of, 526-51
—, Congo, 534
—, Factors for the growth of nationalism, 528
—, Glimpse into the Past, 526
—, Pan-Africanism, 529
—, Problems to be Overcome, 531
—, Progress of African Liberation, 531
—, Apartheid, 541
—, World War II and after, 529
Afghanistan, 140, 147, 605, 625
Albania, 26, 75, 80, 108, 115, 116, 144, 164, 183
Albert, John Lutli, 545
Alexander (Czar), 126
Alexander, King of Yugoslavia, 107, 117
Alexi Kosygin, 589, 590, 592, 614
Alsace-Lorraine, 9, 37
Anglo-French Invasion of Suez, 425
Angola, 527
Anschluss, 28, 84, 92, 95, 96, 109, 111, 143, 230, 239, 321
Anti-Comintern Pact, 83, 99, 143, 149, 230
Anzus Pact, 331, 332
Appeasement Policy of, 28, 29, 235-46, 258, 259
Arabs, 407, 408, 412, 413, 432, 433
Arab Awakening, 408
Arab-Israel Conflict, 427, 429, 432, 435
Arab League, 411
Arab States, 438-45
Arab Unity, 411
Argentina, 38, 570, 576
Armenia, 178-79
Austin Chamberlin, 35, 55
Australia, 9, 271, 331-32, 564, 605, 619
Austria, 2, 11, 15-17, 25, 26, 28, 32, 49, 62, 68, 76, 80, 83, 84, 143, 158, 183, 209-10, 215, 254, 321, 588
Austrian Economic Crisis, 92, 118
—, External Relations, 94
—, Internal Condition, 93
Austro-Hungarian Empire, 3, 91
Austro-Prussian War, 3
Avarell, Hariman, 508
Axis Powers, 109, 114, 118, 241, 321, 445, 559
Azana, 82

Baghdad Pact, 330, 438, 464
Balkan Entente, 116-118, 358
Balkan War, 3
Bao-Dai, 354, 503, 505
Baltic States, 130, 131, 143
Bandarnaike (Mrs.), 478, 616, 629
Barthou, M., 77, 99, 108, 115, 117
Bandung Conference, 519-21
Beck, 253, 255
Belgium, 7, 10, 23, 34-38, 45, 205, 303, 534-38
Belgrade Neutral Nations Conference, 521
Benes, Edward, 100, 145
Berlin, 47, 300, 343
Blum, Leon, 28, 82, 104, 237, 249
Boer War, 1, 541-42
Bolsheviks, 36, 54, 64, 74, 128, 129, 133, 135, 138, 320, 323, 556, 612
Bolivia, 38, 180, 557, 572

Boumedrenne, 540
Brazil, 38, 55, 276, 576
Brest-Litvosk, Treaty of, 131, 140
Briand, 35, 37, 55, 180, 209
Britain
—, Zionism, 432
—, Gold Standard, 217, 222
—, Foreign policy, Problems, 235
—, Appeasement, 238-40
—, Post-World War II Era, 401
Brooke, E., 377
Brussels, Treaty of, 327, 359
Bulgaria, 15, 16, 17, 111, 112-16, 334
Burma, 304, 478, 515-16

Cambodia, 478, 500, 504, 516, 517, 567, 616
Cairo Conference, 521
Canada, 33, 170, 278, 328, 504, 559
Carr, E.H., 32, 35, 100
Ceylon, 425, 628-631
Chamberlain, Neville, 29, 83, 96, 145, 255
Chile, 572
Chou En-lai, 426, 478, 521
Churchill, W.S., 78, 81, 96, 106, 108, 267
Chiang Kai-shek, 466, 473
China, 9, 181, 275, 277, 308, 310, 324, 459-81, 589-95, 614, 626
—, Consequences of Western impact, 460
—, Twenty-one demands, 462
—, World War I, 463
—, Washington Conference, 464
—, The Progress of the Revolution, 465
—, World War II and after, 469
—, Civil War and Emergence of Communist China, 470
—, Cultural Revolution, 471
—, Relations with USSR, 474
—, Sino-Indian Relations, 477
Ciano, 85
Clemenceau, 4, 5, 6, 21
Cole, 136
Congo, 303, 534-36, 537
Cold War, 282, 319-40
—, Different phases, 320
—, Origin, 319
—, Significance, 320
Cold War and UNO, 323
Collective Security, 174, 247-63, 486
Comecon, 370, 378, 379
Commonwealth Concept, 395
Commonwealth Politics and Discordant Factors, 396
Commonwealth Conference, 398
—Ideological Ties, 399
Common Market 388
—, Britain, 393
—, British Commonwealth, 393, 395
—, Economic Implications, 393
—, Objectives and Organisation, 388
Communist States—Their Relations, 378
Corporate State, 68, 86-87
Council of Europe, 359-61
Czechoslovakia, 3, 4, 10, 17, 23, 26, 29, 94, 101, 299, 374, 375
—, Role of U.N., 376
—, Tragic Betrayal, 104

Dag Hammerskjold, 282, 536
Daladier, 28, 29, 105, 106, 145, 320
Danial Malan, 542
David Horowitz, 372
David Thompson, 1, 2, 29, 30, 36, 37, 47, 54, 55
Dawes Plan, 31, 49, 57, 205
De Gaulle, 356, 390
—, Re-orientation of Foreign Policy, 356
Denkin, 131
Dien Bien Phu, 503
Disarmament, 636
—, Under the League, 639
—, Outside the League, 640
—, Under the UN, 642
—, Nuclear Test Ban, 646
—, Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, 646-49
Dominican Republic, 376, 577
Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance, 29, 30, 32, 144
Dubcek, 299, 375
Dulles, Foster, 503

East European Countries, 368-83
Ebert, 46, 51
Economic Nationalism, 218, 222, 223
Eden, Anthony, 83, 96, 267, 425
Egypt, 3, 300, 421
—, July Revolution, 424
—, Nationalisation of Suez, 425
—, Egyptian Nationalism, 422
—, Post World War II Developments, 423
—, Revolutionary Command Council, 424
—, June War, 426-32

Ethiopia—See under Abyssinia
European Coal and Steel Community, 386
European Defence Community, 361
European Economic Integration, 358

Far East, 458-99
—, Consequence of Western impact, 460
—, World War I, 463
—, Japanese Aggression, 467
Fascism, 67, 86
—, Church and the State, 77, 78
—, Fascist State, 68
—, Fascist Doctrine, 67
—, Domestic and Economic Policy, 77, 87
Fidel Castro, 578
Finland, 29, 145, 587
Five Particulars, 8
Fiume, 6, 26, 63, 65
Flandin, 77
Four Ends, 8
Four Principles, 5, 8
Fourteen Points, 6, 7, 554-55
France and Italy, 25
French Foreign Policy, 27, 356
Franco-Belgian Alliance, 23
French Colonies in Revolt, 354-56
French Search for Security, 21-43
French System of Alliance, 21-43
French Policy of Appeasement, 28
Franco, 82, 251

Gabriele D'Annunzio, 63
Gathorne Hardy, 25, 26, 30, 64, 65
Geneva Conference, 503, 504, 509, 564
Geneva Protocol, 30-32
Genoa Conference, 54, 140, 321
Georgi Dimitrov, 68
Germany, 2, 9, 20, 23, 28, 44-61, 341
German Democratic Republic, 345, 348, 349
German Federal Republic, 344, 349, 350
German Problem, 350
German Rearmament, 345
Giovann Gioliti, 63
Great Britain, 77, 92
—, Britain and E.C.M., 330
—, Collective Security, 237
—, Appeasement, 235-46
—, Foreign Policy in Post-World War II era, 401
—, Foreign Policy Problems, 237
—, Weakness of the Empire, 236
Greece, 16, 17, 29, 75, 108, 111, 113 144, 179, 324, 419, 444, 561-62
Greek Foreign Policy, 115, 561-62

Haiti, 558, 570, 574
Halifax, 88, 95
Haligoland, 10
Hallestine Doctrine, 346
Harriot, Edward, 30, 31, 177, 205
Hampden John, J., 63
Hartmann, 39, 54, 56, 143, 273
Hindenburg, 51, 52, 53
Hitler, 2, 27, 28, 48, 51, 53, 58, 77, 81, 82, 83, 85, 96, 101, 111
—, and Germany, 224-34
—, Munich and Drift Towards War, 231, 234
—, Nazification of Germany, 226, 233
—, Rise to Power, 225
—, Road to War, 237
—, Spanish War and Anschluss, 230
Hoare, Samuel, 28, 80, 82, 183
Ho-Chi-Minh, 332, 354, 502-04
Hoover Moratorium, 210, 221
Horthy, 97
Hungary, 96, 371
—, Hungarian Question, 376
—, Soviet Intervention, 371-72
—, Problems in post-Versailles era, 97
—, Role of UN in 1956, 372

Ian Smith, 301, 398, 546
India, 599-623, 625, 627-30
India and Hyderabad, 299, 300
India's Policy Towards Israel, 428
India's Stand in Czechoslovakian Crisis in 1968, 377
India's Foreign Policy, 599
—, Non-Alignment, 600-01
—, Co-existence, 601
—, Opposition to Colonialism and Racialism, 602, 605
—, A Realistic Approach, 603
—, Foreign Policy Record—Commonwealth tie, 604
—, India as Mediator, 607
—, Liberation of Foreign Enclaves, 608
—, Indo-US Relations, 609-12
—, Indo-Soviet Relations, 612-614
—, India's Relations with China 477-79, 614-16, 626-28

Indo-Pak Relations, 617-28
—, Kashmir Dispute, 300, 618-22
—, Border Dispute, 622-28
Indonesia, 301, 511, 512
Inter-Allied Debts, 214, 222
International Bank, 290-91
International Labour Organisation, 162, 164, 169-71, 270, 290-91
Iran and Oil Crisis, 436-37
Iraq, 331, 414, 444-45, 448
Israel since its birth, 436
—, Arab-Israel Conflict, 425, 435, 436
—, Arab-Jewish Relations, 432-35
—, Partition of Palestine, 434-35
—, Peace Plans for Middle East, 431
—, Blockade of Tiran, 427
—, Role of UN in June War, 429
Italy's Dissatisfaction with Peace Settlement of 1919, 62, 85
Italy's Foreign Policy, 73-85
—, Ethiopian Question, 78-80
—, Mussolini's Reluctance to Declare War, 85
—, Italy's Relation with Austria and Hungary, 76, 77, 94-96, 99

Japan, 3, 4, 6, 10, 38, 127, 143, 149, 150, 181, 182, 219, 228, 257
—, Rise of, 479
—, World War I, 481
—, Internal Politics, 482
—, Manchurian Aggression 483-86
—, Relapse in War, 486-87
—, World War II, 487-88
—, Post-World War II Japan, 488-91
Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 623
Jordan, 414, 428, 443-44
Julius Gambos, 98, 99
Julius Fucik, 374

Kaiser Wilhelm II, 10, 46
Kapp Putsch, 47, 48
Karl Marx, 21, 126, 586
Kellogg-Briand Pact, 37-40, 141, 485
Kemal Pasha, 147, 409, 415, 417, 418
Kennedy, 565-66
Kenya, 398, 473, 527
Khruschev, 310, 326, 378, 474, 578, 588, 589, 590
Korean War, 308, 472, 491-94

Lal Bahadur Shastri, 521, 566
Langsome, 71, 92, 103, 110
Laos, 508-09
Latavia, 3, 38
Laussane, Treaty of, 16, 416-17
Laval-Mussolini Pact, 26, 79
League of Nations, 2, 3, 54, 80, 92, 157-99
—, Activities, 171, 184, 196, 197
—, Assembly, 163, 194
—, Collective Security, 196
—, Covenant, 22, 161, 194, 273, 653 662
—, Evaluation, 190
—, Membership and Withdrawal, 169
—, Origin, 157, 193
—, Period of Success, 179
—, Period of Decline, 181, 198
—, Procedure for Pacific Settlement, 172
—, Sanction, 174
—, Organisation, 162
—, Secretariat, 166
—, Settlement of Dispute, 176
Lenin and Russian Revolution, 128, 135
Lipson, 107, 110
Litvinov Protocol, 38
Little Entente, 99, 101, 111, 117
Lloyd George, 4, 5, 6, 139, 203, 416
Locarno Treaty, 35-38, 55-56
Lumumba, 535-36
Ludendroff, 48

MacMahon Line, 478
MacDonald, Ramsay, 30, 77, 177, 217
Malaysia, 513-15
Manchuria and Japan, 483
Mandates, 186
Marshall Plan, 326
Mein Kamp, 48
Middle East, 407-57
—, Arab-Israel Conflict, 426
—, Blockade of Tiran, 427
—, Effects of Arab-Israel Conflict, 435
—, Oil Crisis, 437
—, Cold War, 445
—, Growth of Russian Influence, 446
—, US Policy, 444
—, Egypt and Egyptian Nationalism, 421-22
—, Turkey and the Cold War, 421

Middle East Arab League, 411
——, Settlement in Syria, 413
——, Settlement in Iraq, 414
——, Establishment of the Turkish Republic, 417
——, Straits Question, 320
Montreaux Convention, 147
Morocco, 16, 26, 304, 354, 355, 530, 531, 532, 538
Munich, 29, 48, 84, 106, 231, 240, 243, 254
Mussolini, 26, 27, 28, 65-72, 75-85, 94-96, 106, 182, 183, 230, 242, 256

Nahas Pasha, 422, 423
Nabuib, 424
Nasser, 425, 330, 424, 425, 426, 440, 447, 448, 521, 567, 616
Nazi, 27, 53, 56, 83, 96, 111, 145, 224-34, 251
Nazification of Germany, 226, 233
Nazi Germany, Foreign Policy of, 228
——, Repudiation of Treaties, 229, 233
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 521, 600, 602, 604, 609, 622
Neutral Nations Conference, 521
Nicholas, 126
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), 327-29, 331, 335, 421, 442, 553, 564
Norodom Sihanouk, 517, 61,6

Ochrana, 126
Odessa, 131
Organisation for European Economic Co-operation, (OEEC), 385-86
Ottoman Empire, 116, 412
Ottawa Conference, 218
Otto Grotewhl, 342
Orlando, Vittorio, 6, 62
Organization of American States, (O.A.S.), 566, 568, 575, 577, 578, 579

Pakistan, 299, 302, 303, 330, 514, 519, 566, 604-05, 609, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 623-31
——, Indo-Pak Dispute, 617-623
Palestine 187, 236, 297, 306, 414, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435
Palestine Partition, 434-35
Pancha Sheela, 477, 520, 601, 614
Peace Conference of Paris, 4, 8, 18, 555
Permanent Court of International Justice, 167, 195, 288, 609
Pearl Harbour, 150, 488, 560
Philippines, 331, 332, 500, 513, 514, 516, 518, 605
Pilsudski, 23, 132
Phoney War, 247
Poland, 3, 4, 10, 13, 17, 23, 55, 68, 106, 141, 144, 178, 216, 230, 232, 253, 256, 269, 334, 368, 374

Rapallo, Treaty of, 35, 141, 321
Rathenau, 48, 54, 141
Raymond Poincare, 21, 23, 33, 201, 203
Reparation, 200-11
——, its basis, 200
——, Commission, 201
——, Economic and Political Implications, 200
——, London Schedule, 202
——, Dawes Plan, 205-07
——, Young Plan, 207-09
——, Hoover Moratorium, 210-11
Rhineland, 28, 44, 45, 52, 143, 207, 209, 243, 259
Rhodesia, 301, 545-46
Rhur, 45, 48, 49, 54, 57, 200, 202, 203-05
Ribbentrop, 83, 146, 147, 254, 256
Riga, Treaty of, 23, 253
Rome-Berlin Axis, 28, 81, 85, 183, 254-55
Rumania, 4, 15, 17, 24, 25, 26, 38, 76, 80, 97, 109, 110, 111, 379
Russia (See under Soviet Russia)
Russian Revolution, 128, 129
——, its significance, 129-33
——, Foreign and Interventionist War, 130
——, Wartime Communism, 132
Russo-Japanese War, 481
Russia, Five-Year Plans, 136-37

Sa'ar, 9, 11, 44, 186-87, 346
Saint Germain, Treaty of, 7, 8, 15, 16
Sanjurio, 82
Saudi Arabia, 412, 438-39, 605
Schleicher, 53,
Schuman Plan, 382
Schusnigg, 83, 96
Severes, Treaty of, 8, 16, 114, 414

Seymour Parker Gilbert, 206
Spa Conference, 202
Spanish Civil War, 82, 143, 183, 230, 238, 243, 248-252
—, Non-Intervention Committee, 250-51
—, Victory of Franco, 251-52
South-East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO), 322-24, 479, 564, 616, 628
Soviet Foreign Policy, 137
—, The First Phase, 139
—, The Fight for Recognition, 140
—, Attempt at Collective Security, 142
—, Dangerous Collaboration, 144, 321
—, Soviet Relations with the Middle East, 146
—, Soviet Relations with the Far East, 148
—, Eastern European Countries, 368-83
—, Warsaw Pact, 334
—, Post-World War II—aims and objectives, 585
—, Russian Response to Western Challenge, 586
—, From Kruschev to Kosygin, 587-95
—, Sino-Soviet Relations, 474-77
Souvanna Phouma, 509, 510
Souphana Vong, 509, 510
South African Policy of Apartheid, 541-43, 545
Stalin, Joseph, 135, 138, 255, 613
Strachy, John, 71
Suez Crisis and after, 448
—, Nationalization, 425
Sukarno, 511-12, 513
Sun Yat Sen, 148, 461, 462, 465, 466
Sudan, 16, 424, 531
Syria, 413, 427, 428, 440-42

Thailand, 4, 9, 332, 500, 510, 517, 518, 564, 609
Tibet, 472, 477
Tito, 300, 370, 377, 378, 616
Toyanbee, J.A., 219
Trianon, Treaty of, 15-16, 97, 110
Trotsky, 130, 132, 135, 320
Trygve Lie, 282
Truman Doctrine, 305, 324-25, 586-87
Turkey, 17, 25-26, 62, 116, 147, 178, 180, 278 305, 325, 330, 414, 417, 421, 561

U Thant, 427, 537, 621
United Nations, and League, 277
—, Aims, Purpose and Principles, 274
—, Organisation, 275
—, Assembly, 301-08
—, Security Council, 277-79
—, Secretariat, 280
—, Secretary-General, 281
—, Economic and Social Council, 283
—, Trusteeship, 285-86, 287
—, Non-Self-Governing Territories, 287
—, World Court, 288-90
—, ILO, 290
—, FAO, 292
—, WHO, 292
—, UNCTAD, 294-96
—, ESCO, 293
—, Settlement of Disputes, 301-08
USA, Foreign Policy of, 552-84
—, Between two World Wars, 554
—, on the eve of World War II, 558
—, Development of Tension with USSR, 561
—, Policy of Containment, 561
—, New Frontiers of US Policy, 561
—, Johnson to Nixon, 566
—, Latin America and Inter-American Relations, 570, 573, 575, 576, 577
—, Policy towards Cuba, 577
USSR (See under Russia)

Versailles, Treaty of, 8, 10-11, 14, 21, 22, 25, 33, 44, 49, 53, 56, 62, 75-76, 105, 115, 169, 186, 209, 216, 229, 239, 242, 243, 252, 253, 256, 257, 258
Vietnam, Anti-Colonial Struggle, 502
—, Ho-Chi-Minh, 503-05
—, Geneva Conference, 503-04
—, Bao-Dai, 503, 504
—, Chaos in South Vietnam, 504
—, USA Policy in South Vietnam, 506
—, International Reaction, 507
Vilna, 23, 24
Victor Emanuel, 67

Wafd, 421-22
Walter Ulbrichet, 342
Washington Conference 3, 236, 464-65, 485, 557, 641
Warsaw Pact, 334-35, 370, 376, 377, 587, 588
Weimar Republic, 45, 46, 51, 53, 56, 227, 257
Wilson, Woodrow, 2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 14, 62, 139, 160, 161, 256, 481
World War I, Consequences of, 1-3
World War II,
—, Failure of Collective Security, 245, 262
—, Fear of Bolshevism, 259
—, Origin, 247-63
—, Maturing of the Crisis, 255
—, Polish Politics, 252
—, Failure of Disarmament, 258
—, Policy of Appeasement, 258
—, President Roosevelt's Peace Appeal, 254
—, Reversal of British Policy, 254

Yalta Conference, 268-70, 481
Yemen, 439-40
—, South Yemen, 440
Young Committee, 50, 56
Young Plan, 207-10
Yugoslavia, 10, 15, 16, 17, 23, 26, 75, 91, 97, 99, 104, 106, 108, 109, 113, 114, 202, 216, 300, 324, 377, 378, 587, 616

Zaghlul Pasha, 422
Zamora, 247
Zinoist, 4, 432
Zurich, 129

POLITICS

	Rs.	P
Parmatma Saran: Imperial Legislative Council of India	15	00
Ranbir Singh Jain: The Growth and Development of Governor-Generals' Executive Council 1858–1919	15	00
Acharya Kripalani: Current Affairs	2	00
D. R. Sachdeva and V. Bhusan: A Text Book of Public Administration	12	50
A. C. Kapoor: Principles of Political Science	12	50
A. C. Kapoor: Select Constitutions	20	00
A. C. Kapoor: Constitution of U.S.S.R.	3	50
A. C. Kapoor: Government of Switzerland	2	00
A. C. Kapoor: Government of Indian Republic	6	50
A. C. Kapoor: Select Constitutions Part II (France, Australia and Canada)	4	00
V. D. Mahajan: The Nationalist Movement in India and its Leaders	5	00
V. D. Mahajan: International Politics	12	00
V. D. Mahajan: Select Modern Governments (Being Constitutions of England, U.S.A., Switzerland, U.S.S.R., France and India).	13	50
Mahajan: Constitution of India	5	00
Vidya Dhar Mahajan: Constitutional History of India	13	00
R. C. Agarwal: Constitutional History of India	12	50
D. R. Bhandari and R. R. Sethi: Studies in Plato and Aristotle	6	00
Refresher Course in Political Science Theory	6	50
Refresher Course in Political Science Modern Constitutions	7	50

S. CHAND & CO.
RAM NAGAR, NEW DELHI-55.